

**KENTRON EΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΕΘΝΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ**

**RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY  
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION**

**ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ**

**41**

**INSCRIPTIONS FROM PALAESTINA TERTIA**

**VOL. Ia**

**THE GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM GHOR ES-SAFI  
(BYZANTINE ZOORA)**

**YIANNIS E. MEIMARIS**

**and**

**KALLIOPE I. KRITIKAKOU-NIKOLAROPOULOU**



**ATHENS 2005**

**DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD-11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS**





Cover illustration: Detail from the Madaba mosaic map.

Map and drawings by Y.E. Meimaris

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DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD-11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS



*To Dr. Konstantinos D. Politis*





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## PREFACE

After a period of almost ten years of hard but very satisfying work I feel a great relief to present to the public in this volume the Greek inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora). The Greek inscriptions cover 90% of all the inscriptions recorded till now. The remaining 10% are Jewish-Aramaic and will appear in a separate volume in the future. All these unpublished inscriptions belong to the 4th-6th centuries AD and are products of illicit excavations in the area during the last 20 years.

According to the local people these inscriptions were found to the south of the ruins of the Byzantine and Islamic Zoora, at the NW edge of the early Bronze Age cemetery. They were among the stones forming the walls or the coverstones of graves, found always with the inscribed surface facing towards the dead. One grave produced one Greek and two Jewish-Aramaic inscriptions and another five Greek inscriptions. There was not a single case in which an inscribed tombstone was found to be used in this proper manner as a stela, that is, in an upright position or fallen next to the grave. In addition, none of these inscriptions are products of scientific excavations. It is probable, therefore, that they were taken from their original place and were re-used as building material in graves of a later period.

The recording and rescuing of more than 400 of these inscriptions, out of 700 said to have been found, was conducted by Dr. K. Politis with the full consent and permission of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan. I am conscious of my good fortune to be entrusted by him with all this epigraphic material while I was working on the inscriptions found in his excavations at the nearby site of Deir 'Ain 'Abata in 1994. To the enthusiastic, devoted and hardworking Dr. Politis we owe this epigraphic treasure and it is to him that I decided to dedicate this book. I am more grateful to him than I can say, and I hope in some small way this book shows that gratitude.

The importance of these inscriptions becomes all the more apparent because they are studied in a large group, are of the same kind and deal with the same topic. The most characteristic elements presented are the great number of Greek personal names, as well as the many Hellenised Nabataean, Arabic and Latin names, Christian expressions and symbols, dating formulae, indication of the age of the deceased and many other significant features which contribute to the history of Zoora and its district during the 4th-6th centuries AD.

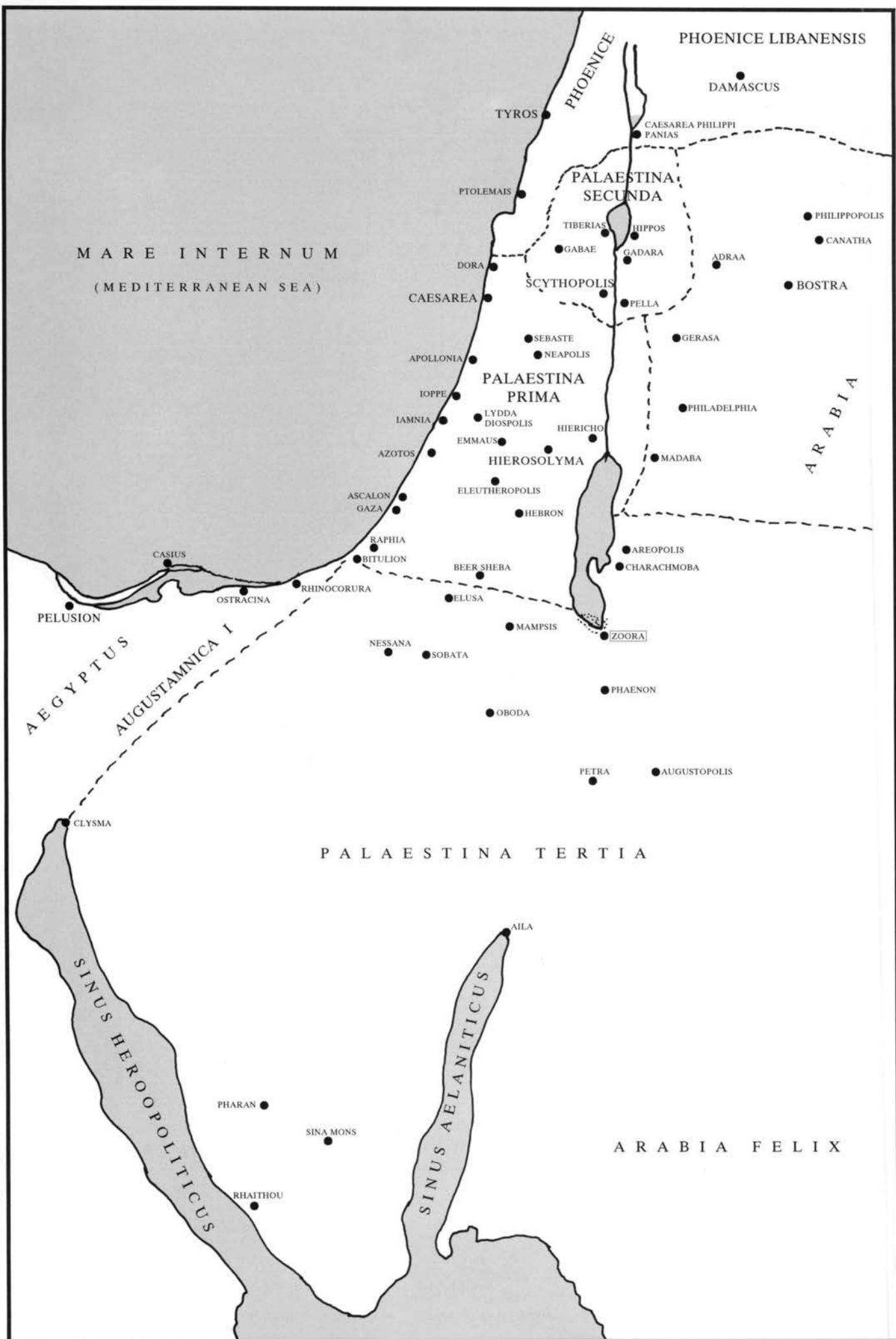
The inscriptions dated to the 4th century are the earliest Christian inscriptions known so far from the area using the planetary names for the days of the week. Three of these, state clearly the cause of death of four persons as victims of the earthquake of the 18-19 of May 363 AD. The 5th century includes the largest number of inscriptions and reflects not only the prosperity of the city but of the whole country as well. The 6th century has a very limited number of inscriptions and a gap during the years 517-570, bringing to mind memories of the disasters which struck the whole country such as the five-year famine of 516-521 AD, the years before and after the Samaritan revolt of 529 AD and its consequences upon the Christian communities, and the years of the great plague in 542-543 AD.

This book, in addition to an Introduction by K. Politis, contains two main parts. The introductory material of Part I includes several chapters dealing with the onomasticon, the offices, the age of the deceased, time of death, the burial formulae, the acclamations, the language, the script, the abbreviations of several words, the ligatures, the numerals and the symbols. Part II presents all the inscriptions in the original Greek text with an English translation, the critical apparatus and the commentary of each inscription.

## Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the full support of this project by the Director of the Centre of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Professor M. Hatzopoulos. I should also like to record my gratitude to the A.G. Leventis Foundation for a grant towards the accomplishment of this project as well as to the "Aristeia" programme of the Greek Ministry of Development, General Secretariat for Research and Technology within the European Union's 3rd Community Support Framework for a three-year grant. I wish to especially thank my colleague Mrs. K. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou for her excellent careful and pedantic scientific contribution.

Y.E.M.

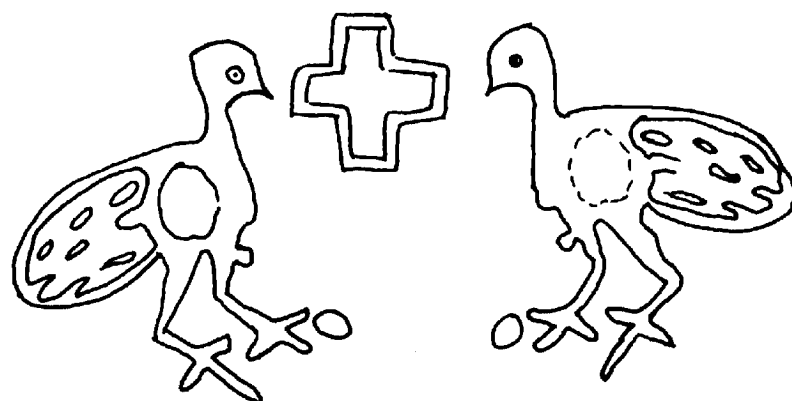


The provinces of Palaestina and Arabia in the Byzantine Period



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## A

AAES III	W.K. Prentice. <i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900</i> , Part III: <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> . New York 1908.
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
<i>Abhath al-Yarmouk</i>	<i>Abhath al-Yarmouk</i> . Yarmouk University. Irbid.
ACO	E. Schwartz, ed. <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , vols. 1-4. Berlin and Leipzig 1924-40.
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i> . Amman.
AE	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς</i> . Archaeological Society. Athens.
ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Berlin 1972.
<i>ArchOrient</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i> . Prague.
ASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> . Antwerp 1643- .
<i>ʿAtiqot</i>	<i>ʿAtiqot</i> . Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities. Jerusalem.

## B

BAG	W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 2nd ed. revised and augmented by F.W. Gingrich and F.W. Danker from W. Bauer's 5th ed. 1958. Chicago and London 1979.
BAH	<i>Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique</i> . Institut Français d' Archéologie du Proche-Orient, Beirut-Damas-Amman.
BAR-IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> . International Series. Oxford.
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> . Ann Arbor.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i> . Paris.
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique in REG</i> . Paris.
<i>Berytus</i>	<i>Berytus</i> . Archaeological Studies by the Museum of Archaeology of the American University of Beirut. Beirut.
BJ	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in Rheinlande</i> . Bonn.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> . London.
<i>Byzantion</i>	<i>Byzantion</i> . Revue internationale des études byzantines. Brussels.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> . Munich.

## C

CAHL	G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata, eds. <i>Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries, Essays in honour of Virgilio C. Corbo</i> (SBF Collectio Maior, vol. 36). Jerusalem 1990.
CIG	A. Boeck, ed. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Berlin 1828-77.
CIJ	J.-B. Frey, ed. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> , vol. I (Rome 1936, rev. ed. by B. Lifshitz, New York 1973), vol. II (Rome 1952).
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> . Paris 1883- .
<i>Cod. Ius.</i>	P. Krueger, ed. <i>Corpus Juris Civilis II: Codex Iustinianus</i> . Berlin 1954.
CRAI	<i>Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris.
Cyr. Scyth., <i>Vita Euth.</i> ; <i>Vita Sabae</i> ; <i>Vita Cyr.</i> ; <i>Vita Theod.</i>	E. Schwartz, ed. <i>Kyrrillos von Skythopolis</i> (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 49.2). Leipzig 1939. <i>Leben des Euthymios</i> , pp. 3-85; <i>Leben des Sabas</i> , pp. 85-200; <i>Leben des Kyriakos</i> , pp. 222-235; <i>Leben des Theodosios</i> , pp. 235-241.

## D

- DELG* P. Chantraine, ed. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*, vols. I-IV.2. Paris 1968-80.
- DJD II* P. Benoit, J.T. Milik and R. De Vaux. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II: Les grottes de Murabba'at*. Oxford 1961.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. Cambridge, Mass. 1941-58; Washington, D.C. 1959- .
- Dura V* C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink and J.F. Gilliam. *Dura Final Report*, vol. V.1: *The Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven 1959.

## E

- EE* *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens.
- EI* *Eretz-Israel*. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies. Israel Exploration Society. Jerusalem (in Hebrew and English).
- EO* *Échos d'Orient*. Paris.
- EPA* Era of the Province of Arabia.
- Eranos* *Eranos*. Acta Philologica Suecana. Uppsala.
- ESI* *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*. Archaeological Newsletter of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Jerusalem.
- Euphrosyne* *Euphrosyne*. Revista de Filologia Clássica. Instituto de Alta Cultura, Centro de Estudos Clássicos. Lisbon.
- Eus., De mart. Pal.* E. Schwartz, ed. *Eusebius, De martyribus Palaestinae. Über die Märtyrer in Palästina* (GCS, vol. 9 ii). Leipzig 1908, pp. 907-950.
- Eus., HE* E. Schwartz, ed. *Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica. Die Kirchengeschichte* (GCS, vol. 9 i-ii). Leipzig 1903-8.
- Eus., Onom.* E. Klostermann, ed. *Eusebius, Onomastikon. Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS, vol. 11i). Leipzig 1904. Repr. Berlin 1966.

## G

- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*. Kirchenväter Kommission der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin 1897-1941.
- Graeco-Arabica* *Graeco-Arabica*. Athens.

## H

- Hellenica* *Hellenica*. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques (ed. L. Robert), vols I-XIII. Paris 1940-1965.
- Hemerologion* D. Takos, ed. *Ἡμερολόγιον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ ἔτους 1899*. Athens 1899.
- HEO II* G. Fedalto, ed. *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*. Series episcoporum ecclesiarum christianarum orientalium, vol. II: *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus*. Padoua 1988.
- Hesychius* M. Schmidt, ed. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, 5 vols. Halle 1858-68. Repr. Amsterdam 1965.



## I

- IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*. Israel Exploration Society. Jerusalem.
- IGA V *Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti*, vol. V: G. Lefebvre, ed. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*. Cairo 1907. Repr. Chicago 1978.
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris 1929- .
- ILCV Ch. Diehl, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols. Berlin 1924-1931; vol. 4: *Supplementum*. Dublin and Zurich 1967.
- ILS H. Dessau, ed. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, vols. I-III. Berlin 1892-1916.

## J

- JA *Journal Asiatique*. Société Asiatique. Paris.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. The Egypt Exploration Society. London.
- JECM V *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports*, vol. V: C.M. Lehmann and K.G. Holm. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (ASOR). Boston 2000.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- JJP *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. Society of Sciences and Letters. Warsaw.
- Jos., AJ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*
- Jos., Ap. Josephus, *contra Apionem*
- Jos., BJ Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*. All three works are included in H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus and L.H. Feldman, eds. *Josephus, LCL*, vols. I-IX. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1926-1965.
- JRA *Journal of Roman Archaeology*. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor.
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*. London.

## K

- KP K. Ziegler, W. Sontheimer and H. Gärtner, eds. *Der Kleine Pauly Lexikon der Antike*. Stuttgart and Munich 1975.

## L

- LA *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Liber Annuus*. Jerusalem.
- Lampe G.W.H. Lampe, ed. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford 1961. 5th repr. 1978.
- Late Antiquity G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar, eds. *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, Mass. and London, Engl. 1999.
- Latomus *Latomus*. Revue d'études latines. Brussels.
- LCL *Loeb Classical Library*. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1912- .
- LGPN P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford 1987- .
- Lib., Epist. Libanius, *Epistulae*: R. Foerster, ed. *Libanii Opera*, vols. X-XI. Leipzig 1921-2.
- LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir H.S. Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie. Oxford 1978, repr. of the 9th ed. (1940). *Revised Supplement* (ed. by P.G.W. Glare and A.A. Thompson), Oxford 1996.
- Luc., Dmort. Lucianus, *Dialogi Mortuorum*: M.D. MacLeod, ed. *Lucian, LCL*, vol. VII. London and Cambridge, Mass. 1969.

## M

- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*

- Mansi J.D. Mansi. *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. Florence 1758-98. Repr. Graz 1960-1.
- Marc. diac., *Vita Porph.* H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, eds. 1930. *Marc le diacre. Vie de Porphyre, évêque de Gaza* (Coll. G. Budé). Paris.
- MEFRA *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité*. Paris.
- Meletemata *Meletemata*. Publications of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity. The National Hellenic Research Foundation. Athens.
- Michmanim *Michmanim*. Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. University of Haifa.
- MNDPV *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*.
- Muséon *Le Muséon*. Revue d'études orientales. Louvain-la-Neuve.

## N

- NAM *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*. Paris.
- NDIEC *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. The Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, vols. 1-5 (ed. G.H.R. Horsley, Alexandria-Marrickville 1981-9); vols. 6-7 (ed. S.R. Llewelyn with the collab. of R.A. Kearsley, Marrickville 1992-4); vol. 8 (ed. S.R. Llewelyn, Marrickville 1998) - .
- NEAEHL E. Stern, A. Lewinson-Gilboa and J. Aviram, eds. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols. Jerusalem 1993.
- Nessana 1 G.E. Kirk and C.B. Welles. "The Inscriptions", in H.D. Colt, ed. *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir, Palestine)*, vol. 1. London 1962, pp. 131-197.
- Nessana 3 C.J. Kraemer, Jr. *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3: *Non-Literary Papyri*. Princeton, N.J. 1958.
- Not. Dign. O. Seeck, ed. *Notitia Dignitatum in partibus orientis occidentis*. Berlin 1876. Repr. Frankfurt am Main 1962.
- NS *Nέα Σιών*. Periodical of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. Jerusalem.

## O

- ODB A.P. Kazhdan et al., eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. New York and Oxford 1991.
- OGIS W. Dittenberger. *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vols. I-II. Leipzig 1903-05. Repr. Hildesheim and New York 1970.
- OLD P.G.W. Glare. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford 1982.
- OMS L. Robert. *Opera Minora Selecta: épigraphie et antiquités grecques*, vols. I-VII. Amsterdam 1969-90.

## P

- PA R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski. *Die Provincia Arabia (auf Grund zweier in den Jahren 1897 and 1898 unternommenen Reisen und der Berichte früherer Reisender)*, vols. I-III. Strasbourg 1904-9.
- PAAH Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας. Athens.
- PAES IIIA E. Littmann, D. Magie Jr. and D.R. Stuart. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, Division III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section A: Southern Syria*. Leyden 1921.
- PAES IIIB W.K. Prentice. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, Division III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section B: Northern Syria*. Leyden 1922.
- PAES IVA E. Littmann. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909, Division IV: Semitic Inscriptions, Section A: Nabataean Inscriptions from the Southern Hauran*. Leyden 1914.

- PAES IVC E. Littmann. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*. Division IV: *Semitic Inscriptions*. Section C: *Safaitic Inscriptions*. Leyden 1943.
- PalJ *Palästina-Jahrbuch* des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem. Berlin.
- Pall., *Hist. Laus.* Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*. C. Butler, ed. *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, 2 vols. in 1. Cambridge 1898-1904. Repr. Hildesheim 1967.
- PEFQS *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*. London 1869-1936, continued as *PEQ*.
- Pella I R.H. Smith et al. *Pella of the Decapolis*, vol. I: *The 1967 Season of the College of Wooster Expedition to Pella*. Wooster, Ohio 1973.
- PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*. Palestine Exploration Fund. London.
- Photius, *Bibl.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*. R. Henry, ed. *Photius Bibliothèque*, vol. I-V. Paris 1959-67.
- PG J.P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, Paris 1857-86.
- PLRE *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I: A.D. 260-395 (eds. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale and J. Morris, Cambridge 1971); vol. II: A.D. 395-527 (ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1980); vols. IIIA-B: A.D. 527-641 (ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1992).
- POC *Proche-Orient Chrétien*. Jerusalem.

## Q

- QAL *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*. Rome.
- QDAP *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*. London, vols. 1-14, 1932-50.
- Qedem *Qedem*. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem.

## R

- RA *Revue Archéologique*. Paris.
- RAO Ch. Clermont-Ganneau. *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vols. I-VIII. Paris 1888-1924.
- RB *Revue Biblique*. Paris.
- RE G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, and K. Mittelhaus (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Neue Bearbeitung (Stuttgart 1958-72).
- REG *Revue des Études Grecques*. Paris.
- RHR *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. Paris.
- RömQSch *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*. Freiburg.

## S

- SBF *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*. Jerusalem.
- SCI *Scripta Classica Israelica*. Yearbook of the Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies. Jerusalem.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leyden and Amsterdam 1923-.
- Smyrna I G. Petzl, ed. *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Part I: *Grabchriften, postume Ehrungen, Grabepigramme* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, vol. 23.1). Bonn 1982.
- Sophocles *Sophocles. Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*. New York and Leipzig 1888.
- Syria *Syria*. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie. Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient. Paris.

## T

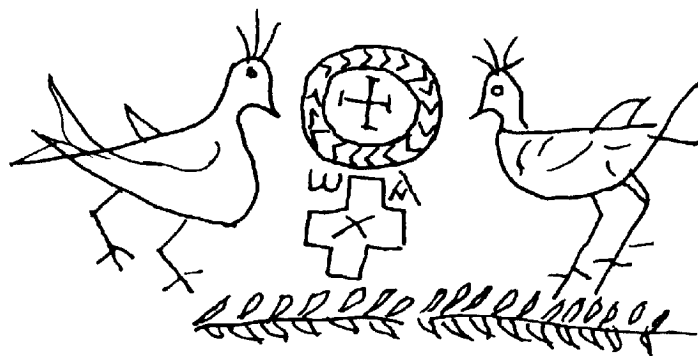
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.</i> Cleveland, Ohio.
<i>Tarbiz</i>	<i>Tarbiz.</i> A Quarterly for Jewish Studies. Jerusalem.
Thdt., <i>HE</i>	L. Parmentier, ed. <i>Theodoretus, Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (GCS, vol. 19). Leipzig 1911.
<i>Tyche</i>	<i>Tyche.</i> Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik. Wien.

## W

Waddington	W.H. Waddington. <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie recueillies et expliquées.</i> Paris 1870.
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## Z

Z-	Letter used to denote tombstones found in Zoora (modern Safi).
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i> Wiesbaden.
Zonaras	J.A.H. Tittmann. <i>Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig 1808.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i> Bonn.





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## **PART I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

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## INTRODUCTION

### *Zoora in the Ghor es-Safi*

(by Konstantinos D. Politis, Hellenic Society for Near Eastern Studies)

#### Identifying the Site

Modern *Ghor es-Safi* is located at the southeastern end of the Dead Sea (map reference, E 195, N 048) on the valley floor near the lowest point on earth. It is accurately identified as ancient *Zoora* on the shore of the Dead Sea, next to the Sanctuary of Agios Lot (*Deir 'Ain 'Abata*) on the late sixth century A.D. mosaic floor map at Madaba in Jordan (Politis 1999, 225-227). *Zoora*, or *Zoara*, is depicted as a fortified town with three towers and an arched entrance gate, surrounded by six date palms.



Fig. 1. Detail of the Madaba mosaic map showing the Dead Sea with Zoora at its right edge (after Alliata 1999, inset drawing of the map between pp. 98-99).

In the Old Testament Zoora is described as being one of the five 'cities of the plain' to which Lot and his daughters initially fled after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19).

Early Islamic traditions add to the story claiming that it was also the burial place of Lot's younger daughter, *Zughar* (Le Strange 1890, 288), hence the naming of the medieval town.

### History of Research

Ancient remains in the *Ghor es-Safi* were first recorded in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Albright 1924, 1-12; Frank 1934; Glueck 1935, 7-9). They have since been investigated by Rast and Schaub (1974, 5-53), King 1985, 41-47), MacDonald (1992), Waheeb (1995, 553-555) and Politis (1998, 627-634). In 1999 a long-term research project began initially focusing on a ground survey (Jones *et al* 2000, 523-534) and subsequently on test excavations (Photos-Jones *et al* 2002, 591-614). From 2004 the survey was expanded to encompass the entire *Ghor es-Safi* and the previous excavations were extended (Politis *et al* 2005).

### Periods of Occupation

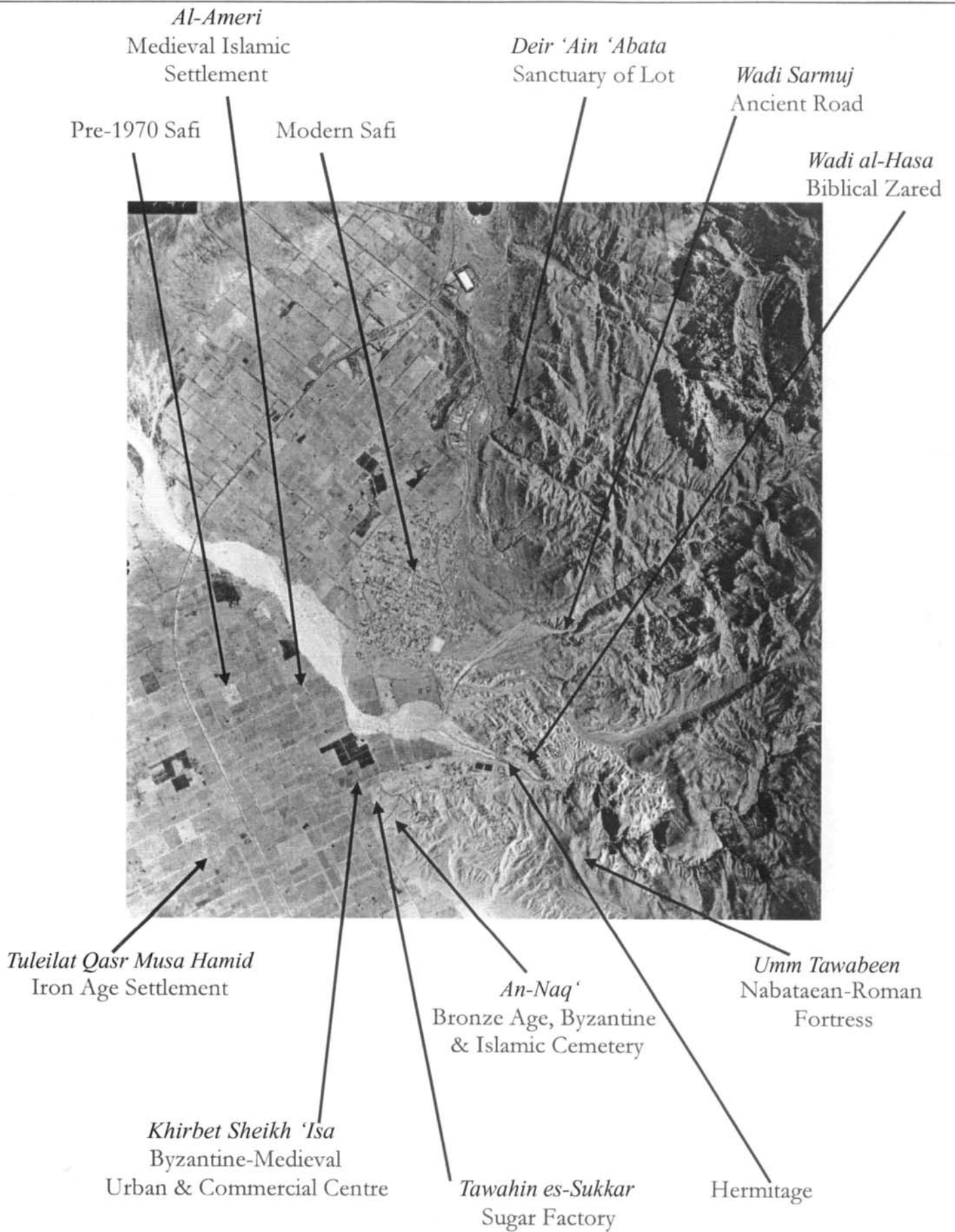
The earliest known evidence of human activity dated from Early Bronze Age I (ca. 3,000 B.C.) when tens of thousands of burials were made on the south-eastern slopes at the mouth of the *Wadi al-Hasa* in an area known today as *an-Naq'*. No associated settlement of this period has yet been definitely identified, but extrapolating from the extent of the cemetery (Papadopoulos *et al* 2001, 189-193) it must have been very substantial. There is also evidence of Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1750 B.C.) burials in this area. Investigations at the nearby site of *Tuleilat Qasr Musa Hamid* revealed a large Iron Age (ca. 1000 B.C.) agricultural settlement, which may have been Moabite Zoar (Politis 1999a, 534-544).

According to the *Notitia dignitatum* (34.26), a garrison was stationed at Zoora during the late 4th century A.D. On the southeastern hill above the *Wadi al-Hasa* lies *Umm Tawabeen*, a large Nabataean-Roman fortress with remnants of circular tent encampments on its western slopes which are probably associated with this garrison (MacDonald 1992, 83-87, 104, 249). Immediately to the northeast, is the *Wadi Sarmuj*, where a 3-6 metre wide ancient road connected Zoora with the Kerak plateau to the east and ultimately to the *via nova Traiana* (Politis *et al* 2005).

Surveys, architectural remains and excavations in the vicinity of an area known as *Khirbet Sheikh 'Isa*, all indicate the existence of a large Byzantine settlement with churches adorned with mosaic floor pavements and enclosed by fortification walls reflecting those depicted on the Madaba map. The whole area was surrounded by agricultural fields which were well-watered by the perennial outflows of the *Wadi al-Hasa*. A dam and water conduit has been identified at the mouth of the wadi presumably used for this purpose (Politis *et al* 2005).

Early Byzantine Zoora was the seat of a bishop in the Province of *Palaestina Tertia*. Excavations at Deir 'Ain 'Abata have brought to light an important early Byzantine monastic complex dedicated to Agios Lot (Politis 2001, 586-588). On the northern slope of the *Wadi al-Hasa* is a hermitage with an inscription and associated tomb which probably belonged to a holy man (*ibid.*, 588).

The latest period of occupation also has the most substantial surviving remains in the *Ghor es-Safi* that have now been identified as the medieval (11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.) city of *Zughar*. They include a standing sugar factory (*Tawahin es-Sukkar*) complete with three water-fed mills and a refinery. Early Arab writers refer to *Zughar* as an important commercial centre based on sugar, date and indigo production. It is quite plausible that the modern inhabitants of the *Ghor es-Safi* are descendants of African slaves brought there to work in these industries.



**Fig. 2.** Annotated 1992 aerial photograph of Zoora in the Ghor es-Safi

## Objectives and Results of Rescue Project

After the 1994 launching of a public awareness campaign regarding the antiquities of the *Ghor es-Safi* (Politis 1994, 12-15), a rescue project was initiated in 1996 with the approval of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Politis 1998, 627-634). The main objective was to retrieve as much information as possible from the local inhabitants who, before their village was transferred to modern Safi, used to live on the site of ancient Zoora and frequently discovered antiquities both by accident and through illicit looting activities (Politis 2001a, 257-267). A series of interviews were conducted with the local inhabitants who had a particular knowledge of the ancient remains in the area which were previously unknown to archaeologists. The most surprising discovery was the identification of an extensive early Byzantine-period cemetery in the *an-Naq'* neighbourhood on the south bank of the *Wadi al-Hasa* (Politis 1998, 631-632).

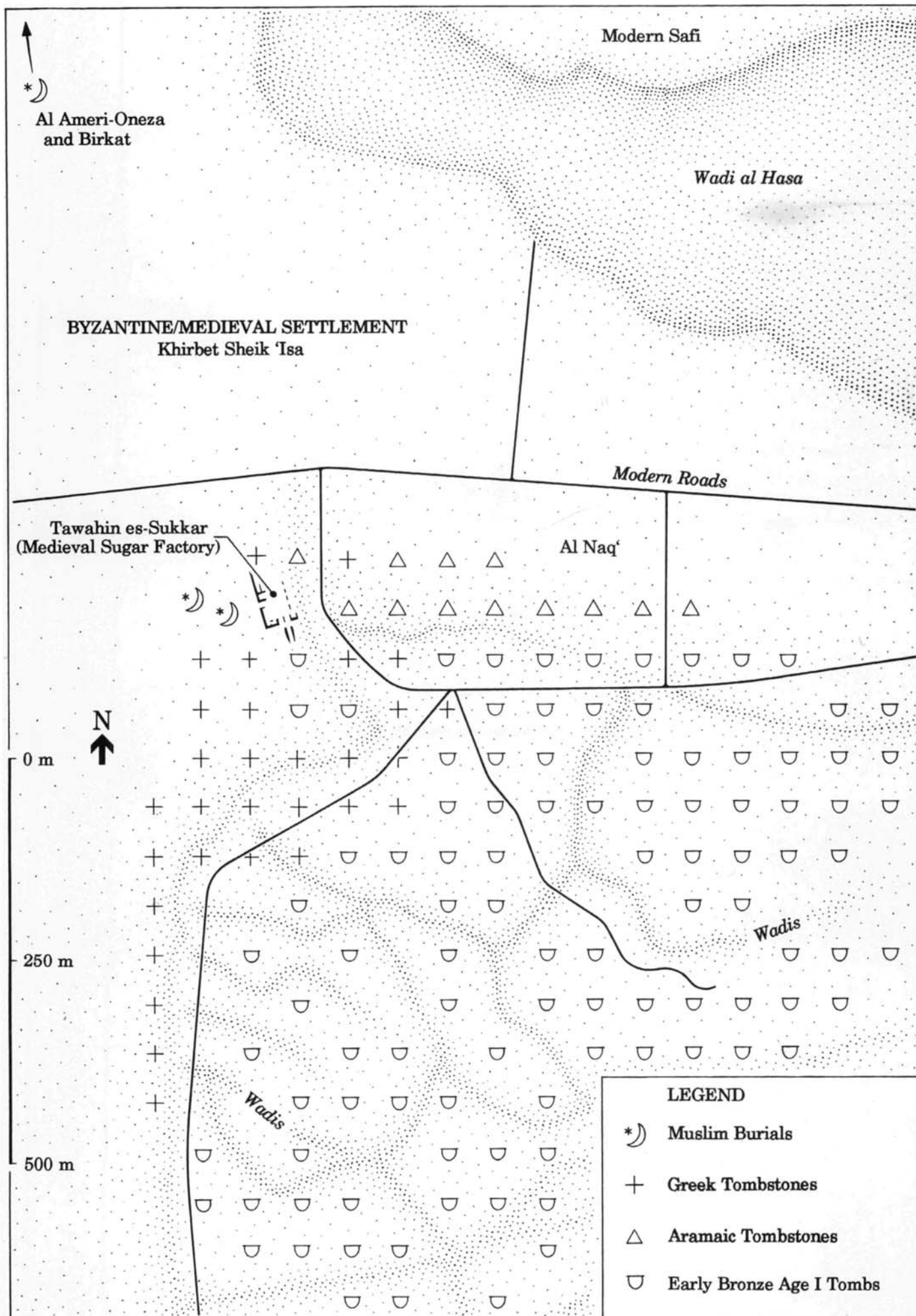
From the outset, inscriptions, particularly those on tombstones were deemed to provide the most important historical information, and therefore an exceptional effort was made to acquire as many of them as possible. When they could not be obtained, they were recorded and when possible, photographed. By 2004, 413 of these funerary *stelae* were registered and catalogued using a 'Z' prefix to each entry. The majority of these were inscribed in Greek and virtually all were Christian. However, there were also about 50 Jewish-Aramaic *stelae* (representing just 10% of the collection). Most were dated between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. Since they were largely rescued from local looting activities, their exact provenance at *an-Naq'* was usually arbitrary. This gave us the extraordinary, though unintentional, opportunity to 'random-sample' the entire cemetery. The final result of this effort may be a more reliable reflection of the ethnic identity of the early Byzantine population at Zoara (Politis 2004, 366-367).

## Acknowledgements

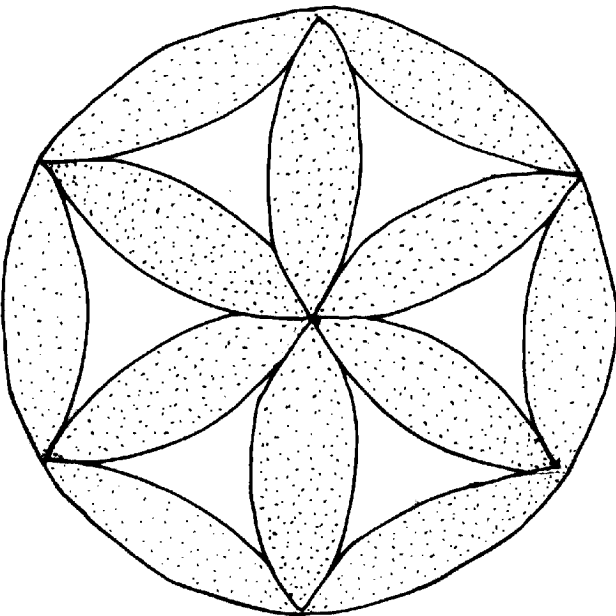
The documentation and rescue collections of funerary *stelae* from the *Ghor es-Safi* were conducted by me with the initial permission of Dr Ghazi Bisheh, former Director-General of Antiquities and Dr Abdul-Ila Khatib, former Minister of Tourism and Antiquities of Jordan. The actual collections were greatly facilitated by a number of local inhabitants from the *Ghor es-Safi*, in particular the late Yacoub Ahmed Turki Aleshebat and Jihad Afash Hashoush.

Support for the project came from the National Hellenic Research Foundation and the British Museum's Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities and indirectly from the Deir 'Ain 'Abata Excavation Project as well as a number of private Jordanian and European sponsors. Most of the *stelae* were also re-photographed by Trevor Springett of the British Museum's photographic department, prints and colour slides of which are deposited in both aforementioned institutions and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

The Department of Antiquities is responsible for curating the collection of funerary *stelae*, a selection of which will be exhibited in the new museum at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in the *Ghor es-Safi*.



**Fig. 3.** Ancient Zoora in the Ghor es-Safi  
(map by J.M. Farrant, based on 1992 aerial photographs)





## THE TOMBSTONES (STELAE)

### DESCRIPTION

The material used for the tombstones is local sandstone of various colours, occasionally with natural stripes. A block and a nicely decorated stele of white marble (nos. 62, 290) and a slab of blue-green marble (no. 297) are the only exceptions. Their form is more or less elongated, either narrower or wider, tending to be almost square in a few cases. Some tombstones present a rounded top and/or bottom, while others a roughly pointed lower part probably in order to be driven more easily into the soil. The variety and disproportion in their dimensions as well as the irregular shape of some of them show that they are often stones collected by chance or stones readily extracted from the natural rock.

The preparation of the tombstones, made with chisel, is relatively rough. The back surface is left almost unwrought. The front surface is more carefully worked and is as a rule smoothed all over or only in the inscribed area. Sometimes it is partially chipped, flaked or presents cracks and cavities, some of which may have existed before the working since the letters are often placed at irregular intervals following the defects of the stone.

The delimitation of the inscribed area is frequently denoted with the use of a linear or raised frame, while the inscription's alignment with that of guide-lines, which can be engraved, red painted or both. The guide-lines appear usually single, rarely double (e.g. nos. 74, 75, 78, 211, 290) and occasionally are applied every second (nos. 171, 217) or third line (no. 181). Despite the use of frame and/or guide-lines, however, symmetry in the distribution of the epigraphic text is achieved in a relatively small number of examples, while a miscalculation of the space available for writing is often obvious. Thus sometimes at the end of the line or towards the bottom of the epitaph, when there is less or more space left, the letters become smaller or bigger, squeezed or sparse (e.g. 43, 90, 259, 274), are written above other letters or go beyond the frame (e.g. no. 190). Sometimes carving of more guide-lines than necessary results in leaving the area between them uninscribed (e.g. 74, 77, 112, 117). In addition, the interlinear space may be irregular, and it is not uncommon that one or more lines or even the whole inscription present an ascending (e.g. nos. 24, 129) or descending alignment (nos. 33, 233).

As in the case of the border and the guide-lines the commonly preferred technique for writing the text is incision. This is usually superficial and on average of mediocre quality, but there are also inscriptions carefully and accurately cut. Undoubtedly the technique varies according to the hardness of the material and the ability of the engraver (for more skilled letter-cutters see chapter on palaeography). Worthy of mention is the use of red paint, quite frequent and of good preservation in the funerary epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi. This is not limited only to the decoration, the frame and the guide-lines, but it is also employed to colour the incised text in order to emphasize it and make it more legible and elegant. Red paint can be used over the whole inscription or selectively over certain lines, numerical signs or individual letters. The partial colouring is either based on symmetry (every other, two, three [no. 214] or even four [no. 89] lines) or is rarely accidental (no. 137). A few inscriptions present a text partially incised and partially red painted (nos. 12, 18, 20, 83, 283, 290), while in one case the painted text, placed over the incised one up to a point, served to correct mistakes of the incision and then continues by itself (no. 32). Epitaphs entirely written in red colour number to a few instances (nos. 10, 87, 204, 222, 271, 300) and are occasionally partially faded. Remarkable, due to its rareness, is the use of green colour (cf. only one parallel in Moab, Canova 1954, no. 42) in a small number of inscriptions, either emphasizing the incised letters (e.g. no. 153; along with red colour: nos. 149, 163) or forming part of the decoration (no. 100) or both (nos. 150, 158, 167, 198). Other colours, seldom used for the partial decoration of the symbols and the text, are black (nos. 83, 137, 169, 290) and white (no. 150).

### DECORATION

A considerable number of epitaphs are usually embellished with incised and/or red painted decoration (for use of other colours see above), in its majority simple and schematic. Using these two characteristics as criterion, one could assume that at Ghor es-Safi the person who cut the inscription was identical to that responsible for its decoration. Such a hypothesis seems to be corroborated by inscr. no. 145 which concludes with the phrase "γράφας δ'ἀλάγραφος χιρί". This statement most likely refers to the anonymous artisan who, as he asserts, carried out the entire work of the tombstone, that is the cross-shaped epitaph and the surrounding red painted decoration. The phrase "εἶς Θεός, ὃν θάρος

ἔγραψα", added hastily in smaller letters above the text of epitaph no. 20, may be the signature of another anonymous letter-cutter.

Typologically the elements which adorn the tombstones could be separated into the purely decorative (e.g. geometrical, floral, etc.) and the symbolic (e.g. crosses, monograms, etc.) ones.

As regards the decorative motifs, these can be found all over the inscription or within it. In the latter case these are small S-signs, angular brackets, tabulae ansatae, etc. inserted in the text and serving mostly as numeral dividers (for their analytical presentation see Numerical letters).

Frequently the vertical and horizontal lines of the frame enclosing the text are selectively decorated with or replaced by geometrical decorative designs (fig. 5), such as: series of angular motifs (nos. 130, 162), dots (e.g. 154, 162, 176), small squares (nos. 96, 111, 289) and triangles (nos. 89, 110-113, 161); zigzag (nos. 17, 85, 89, 132, 151, 157, 162, 163, 176, 194, 204, 289), chain-like (no. 46) or trellis (no. 118) pattern. In a number of cases the inscription is partially or entirely framed by a floral (ivy branch: no. 278; coral branch: nos. 122, 210; myrtle leaves?: no. 137; lily?: no. 185) or fruit (berries: nos. 42, 80; pomegranates?: no. 17) decoration (fig. 5) and often by motifs bearing also a symbolic significance, like palm branches or serpents (see below respective symbols).

Sometimes the frame itself is shaped in the form of a cross (nos. 131, 148, 205, 225, 227, 291; cf. also below cross), of an arched entrance or of an edifice with a pediment. The last two types of frame, reminiscent of the entrance or of the church building itself, are encountered on stelae dated between the second quarter of fifth and the beginning of sixth century (AD 427-502). The first motif, the vaulted entrance, composed of two columns supporting an arch, has yielded eight examples. Two of these (nos. 145, 290) are represented in a naturalistic way including in their interior even painted imitations of church marble decorative compositions. Another two (nos. 253, 313) are quite schematically depicted, while the remainder end up as simple linear vaults (nos. 192, 315, 316, 334). The second motif, the edifice bearing a pediment, houses the inscription on five tombstones. In three of these the pediment is symbolically embellished with one or more crosses (nos. 131, 265, 304). A small cross should have also originally occupied the now lost upper corner of the pediment in the remaining two stelae (nos. 151, 185).

## **SIGNS AND SYMBOLS**

The funerary inscriptions are often accompanied by signs and symbols intended to illustrate the new Christian belief in afterlife and in salvation of the soul. The symbolic motifs discussed below are drawn from the rich funerary repertory of early Christianity and most of them are especially common on the monuments of this period (Grabar 1966; Milburn 1988, pp. 1-7; Gauthier 1975, pp. 50-59).

### **Signs representing Christ**

**Cross** (fig. 6): The cross is the predominant symbol in use on the Ghor es-Safi tombstones witnessing their indisputable Christian character. Its first secure attestation dates to AD 345 (no. 6), while its last is of AD 591 (no. 264). The Christian nature of a few stelae, dated before or a little after AD 345, is doubtful because of the absence of the cross. However, their Christianity cannot be entirely ruled out, granted that at least some of them are mutilated in the upper or lower part, where the cross should have originally stood (nos. 5, 15), or include a typically Christian name (e.g. no. 3). Moreover, Christian onomasticon and phraseology as well as depiction of other Christian symbols, such as monograms, palm branches etc., speak for the Christianity of some late fourth and fifth century tombstones devoid of a cross.

The sign of the cross is usually placed in the centre above and/or below the text or the frame enclosing it. Often a cross opens or closes the inscription or both. Sometimes the first or the last line is flanked by crosses (e.g. nos. 23, 27, 29, 52, 188, 207). In a few cases a bigger cross is inserted in the middle of the first line (nos. 120, 138, 318) and once of the last line (no. 276).

The area above or below the inscription is often decorated with more than one cross arranged mostly in groups of three (nos. 29, 31, 33, 68, 78, 129, 132, 136, 138, 150, 156, 180, 184, 195, 196, 198, 201, 217, 221, 233, 258, 272, 300, 304, 308), once in a group of four (no. 221) and of five (no. 306). On one tombstone (no. 129) the number of crosses represented comes up to six (three above the text and three at its end), while in another (no. 221) it reaches seven (three above and four below the text). These groups usually consist of crosses of the same type, but sometimes especially in the groups of three crosses, the central is bigger or different in shape or decoration from the flanking ones (nos. 33,

78, 132, 136, 150, 156, 195, 272, 308; cf. no. 201 where each one of the three crosses is of different type).

Crosses of various forms are sometimes enclosed or inscribed within a circle (nos. 136, 137, 150, 156, 169, 283, 293, 327, 329-333), a lozenge (no. 328), a wreath (nos. 183, 255) and also under a vault (nos. 61, 116, 124, 334).

The cross appears also at the top and/or the bottom of the text as the central figure of a larger symbolic representation. Thus it is depicted flanked by *cross-rho* monograms, the letters A Ω, palm branches, birds (usually doves or peacocks) and fish (see discussion on respective symbols).

On nine stelae, dated between AD 427 and 474, the inscription itself has the form of a big outlined cross, usually plain (nos. 131, 145, 156, 162, 205, 225, 227) and rarely with serifs (nos. 148, 291). On three of these tombstones the shape of the cross is formed by the text itself (nos. 145, 156, 162), while on the remaining six the text is enclosed within a cross-shaped frame. The upper and lower corners of the cross-shaped inscriptions are decorated (except for nos. 205, 291) with heraldic birds (mainly peacocks), pairs of crosses, vases and geometrical designs (see fig. 7).

Finally, a cross of big dimensions, placed in the centre of the front surface, suffices to indicate the Christian identity of the deceased on a few tombstones deprived of any funerary text (nos. 322, 325-335).

Regarding the typology of the crosses encountered on the Ghor es-Safi tombstones, the prevalent type is that consisting of two bars equal in length, the so-called *Greek cross* (the occasional asymmetry of the bars in certain crosses may be rather attributed to clumsiness of the engraver than to use of another type of cross). This occurs in two basic forms, the *linear* and the *outlined*.

The linear cross is very frequent and, when found in the beginning and/or the end of the text or within it, its size is usually analogous to that of the letters. It presents two main types, the plain and the one bearing serifs. The first one, composed simply of two intersecting straight lines, is the most common. It is rarely found decorated with dots in its four corners (nos. 140, 207) and once with a small cross formed at the upper part of its vertical bar (no. 244). A combination of the two variations is observed in the cross motif of inscr. no. 169. In its second type the linear cross terminates in serifs which can be triangular (e.g. nos. 27, 73, 179, 201), linear (e.g. nos. 28, 120, 153, 235, 248, 253) or forked (nos. 258, 259, 261, 262, 264, 318). Dots decorate the corners of a few crosses bearing triangular (nos. 68, 158) or linear (no. 304) serifs.

The outlined cross, also commonly employed, is placed as a rule in a prominent position above or below the inscription, serving not only symbolic but also decorative purposes as indicated by some richly ornamented variations. This kind of cross could be roughly subdivided also into a plain and an apiced form. The plain outlined cross consists of equal bars simply drawn in outline which are occasionally filled with red paint (nos. 76, 96, 106), but more often with symbolic or decorative elements such as *chi*-signs either in the centre of the cross (e.g. nos. 97, 132, 175, 234) or covering its whole interior (nos. 38, 182, 184); small linear crosses placed in the centre (nos. 40, 81, 184) or once on top of the cross (no. 193); dots in the outer corners of the cross (nos. 61, 108, 181). Sometimes small linear crosses or dots are combined with a *chi*-sign decoration in the interior of an outlined cross (nos. 73, 151, 194, 219). Another variety of the plain cross is the double outlined one (nos. 126, 156, 196), whose inner cross is in one case decorated either with a *chi*-sign in its centre or with a linear motif in its interior (no. 156).

The second form, the outlined cross with serifs, presents a type with slender bars triangulated at the edges (e.g. nos. 51, 141, 173, 235) and another with broader bars markedly triangulated (e.g. nos. 78, 102, 130, 149, 293), some of them filled with red or green colour (e.g. no. 156). Decorated versions of the slender type include one with a linear cross in its interior (no. 128), and another with a linear cross in its centre and on top of its vertical bar, as well as decorative drops at the edges of its horizontal bar (no. 214). The broader type twice bears linear decoration in its interior (nos. 132, 149) accompanied in the second instance by dots in its four corners.

An elaborate combination of the plain cross and of that equipped with serifs is met in a double outlined cross comprising the central symbol of a mid-fifth century tombstone deprived of text (no. 335). The outer cross has serifs at the edges, while the inner one is plain filled with symmetrically arranged crosses and *chi*-signs.

Three less frequent and later types of outlined crosses, geometrically designed, are also mentioned here: a cross formed by four triangles and a central lozenge drawn with one stroke of the pen (nos. 207, 240, 259, 315) or by four separate triangles (no. 201); a rosette-like cross (no. 188); and a *chi*-shaped cross formed by angular V-shaped motifs (no. 156).

**Cross-rho** (fig. 8): *Cross-rho* is the most common of the monograms referring to Christ since it is attested in 57 inscriptions extending over a period of one and a half centuries, from AD 355 to 494. Its

usual position is above and/or below the text, but it is occasionally placed at the very end of the inscription (e.g. nos. 200, 210, 266) or at the end of one of its lines (e.g. nos. 25, 38, 166) and rarely it is inserted in the middle of a line (no. 43) or between two successive lines (no. 30). It also occurs as the central symbol of an anepigraphic tombstone (no. 323). The cross of which the monogram is composed is mostly of plain linear form and only in a few cases is it outlined with serifs (nos. 41, 43, 45, 46, 141). Two decorated versions of the plain linear *cross-rho* monogram are encountered on a tombstone of AD 404 (no. 86): the first bears small serpentine motifs and the second small dots at the four corners of the monogram. Frequently the symbol is depicted alone in the text (e.g. nos. 14, 25, 30, 49, 176). Noteworthy is its unusual depiction with an inverted *rho* (nos. 55, 121, 166). In one case (no. 121) one of these inserted *cross-rho* monograms is followed by three normal ones reaching the number of four. Groups of two (no. 58) and especially three *cross-rhos* (nos. 32, 47, 70, 86, 267) in a row are not an uncommon phenomenon on the tombstones. Sometimes all two (no. 282) or three of them (no. 284), are enclosed within a circle, and once the central of the three (no. 281) within a sun-disc. In a few examples *cross-rho* monograms are flanking an outlined cross (nos. 42, 45?, 56, 61, 171), while more often the monogram itself is flanked by crosses of different shapes (nos. 54, 57, 90, 91, 154, 157, 203, 266, 268) and once is just followed by two crosses (no. 200). Being the central figure, *cross-rho* is also flanked by other Christian symbols, like birds, palm branches, the letters A Ω, and once by clusters of grapes (see respective symbols).

**Cross-chi** (fig. 8): This monogram is attested twice. It first appears at the upper part of a tombstone of AD 383, depicted next to a cross which is combined with the letters A Ω (no. 45) and a century later, AD 485, the same symbol is found incised on the left and right margin of a framed inscription (no. 241).

**Cross-rho and chi** (fig. 8): In two of its four preserved representations this monogram is flanked by heraldic birds (see also birds). The earlier one, dated to AD 386 (no. 51), occupies the lower part of the tombstone, while the later one, dated to AD 463 (no. 212) is placed in the area above the frame. In the remaining two occurrences, relatively dated to the early fifth century, *cross-rho* and *chi* is combined with the symbolic letters A Ω which in the first example (no. 87) flank the christogram, while in the second (no. 324) have replaced the lower strokes of *chi* in the lower corners of the cross (see also A Ω below).

**Chi-rho** (fig. 8): This monogram composed of the first two letters of the sacred name Χριστός, occurs twice at the end of a series of symbols. More specifically, in its earlier occurrence dated to AD 391 (no. 63), is preceded by the compendium ΧΜΓ and the *cross-rho* monogram accompanied by A Ω, and in the later one of AD 411 (no. 97) by four crosses. On a tombstone of AD 412 (no. 100) *chi-rho* stands alone within a radiant sun-disc above the inscription.

**Iota-chi** (fig. 8): The initial letters *iota* and *chi* of the sacred name Ἰησοῦς Χριστός appears joined in a monogram in an inscription dated to AD 413 (no. 102), where they are inserted at the end of line 7.

**A Ω** (fig. 8): These symbolic letters are usually depicted on the local tombstones accompanying the *cross-rho* monogram (nos. 63, 69, 86, 303, 323) or the sign of the cross (nos. 125, 148, 175, 255, 311, 322), thus portraying the known passages of *Revelation* that Christ is the beginning and the end of all the universe, that He is eternal (on the symbolism of A Ω see commentary of inscr. no. 63). The examples with A Ω related to a *cross-rho* monogram are earlier, dated between AD 391 and 404, while those associated with a cross cover the first half of the fifth century (early fifth to AD 444). To this period should also be placed two examples of A Ω, combined with a *cross-rho* and *chi* monogram (nos. 87, 324; see also above for this monogram). In the above mentioned cases the letters A Ω are represented either in the upper (nos. 86, 255) or the lower (nos. 63, 125, 148, 175, 311, 322-324) corners of the symbol or are flanking it (nos. 69, 86, 87, 303). Noteworthy is the inverted position, Ω A, of the letters at the upper corners of an outlined cross (no. 255). In one instance (no. 135) the letters A Ω appear alone to the right edge above the text. Due to the uniqueness of this example in the area, one could assume that they were probably accompanying a painted cross, now faded. Finally, worthy of mention is the representation of a vertical palm branch flanked by A Ω on the upper part of a tombstone devoid of text (no. 341).

**ΧΜΓ** (fig. 8): The compendium ΧΜΓ, commonly interpreted as Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) γ(έννα) or Χ(ριστόν) Μ(αρία) γ(έννα) is attested only once on a late fourth century tombstone (AD 391, no. 63 with bibliography on the various interpretations of ΧΜΓ and commentary on it). It appears on top of the funerary text as the second of a series of four symbols, cross, *cross-rho* combined with A Ω and *chi-rho*, all representing Christ.

## Other symbols

**Birds** (fig. 9): Birds are the second symbol in terms of frequency after cross, since they are represented on about 55 stelae dated from the late fourth to the late fifth century (AD 378-481). Although the identification of the specific species of birds is often difficult because of the naïvety of design or the fading of colours, the traditional use suggests that in their vast majority the depicted birds are *doves* or *peacocks*, taken as symbols of the Holy Spirit or of the released soul in heaven and of immortality, respectively. Exceptional seems to be the depiction of a pair of birds, which resemble *ostriches*, flanking a cross (no. 2), and of a *pelican* or *eagle* symbolizing Christ's sacrifice or resurrection (no. 132).

Typologically the earliest and most common theme is a pair of doves or peacocks on either side of a central cross occurring on approximately 40 tombstones. This symbolic scene is usually placed on top or bottom of the inscription, rarely on both (nos 169?, 208), while in one case it is repeated twice below the text (no. 182). In this composition the birds are as a rule heraldically depicted, but they can also be found facing to the right (no. 217) or to opposite direction (no. 132). It is to be noted that in one instance (no. 171) the right bird has been replaced by a seated animal, plausibly a camel or an ox. Doves or peacocks decorate also the corners of a cross-shaped inscription (no. 148) or more often its upper corners (nos. 131, 225, 227). Apart from the cross, christograms, such as the *cross-rho* (nos. 41, 65, 206) or the *cross-rho* and *chi* (nos. 51, 212), are flanked by birds which once (no. 212) are presented with their heads bent to the ground, either pecking at the soil or probably in an act of adoration (cf. Canova 1954, no. 176). Heraldic birds are finally depicted flanking a vase out of which vine twigs are sprouting (no. 196; for symbolism see below vase).

Rare, on the other hand, is the representation of a bird as the central figure flanked by a pair of crosses of different types (nos. 102, 207), and unique is its position as the second of a series of four symbols, including also two crosses and a flower (no. 185). A bird stepping on a horizontal palm branch occurs once to the left of a cross (no. 91), while another bird in inverted position is engraved to the right of a cross (no. 123).

The bird is securely attested alone as an independent symbol only in two inscriptions (nos. 50, 289), while in a few partially effaced ones, although standing alone, it seems to have originally formed part of a larger composition (nos. 37, 196 [below the cavity], 236). Birds appear finally by themselves in pairs (nos. 146, 164, 290) and once in a group of four (no. 195).

**Deer flanking a fountain** (fig. 10): A barely discernible symbolic scene appears in the lower right margin of inscr. no. 244 (AD 486) and is placed vertically to the text. If our identification of the scene, based on the preserved traces of red paint, is correct, then this might represent two heraldic deer approaching a spring in order to drink water. This theme, inspired by *Psalms* 41.2 and symbolizing the thirst of the soul for the true God, appears for the first time in this area.

**Fish** (fig. 10): The fish, one of the early symbols of Christ, appears in two forms: a. as the figure of the fish, and b. as the compendium IXΘΥC, fish, acrostic of the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, i.e. "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour". The figure of the fish, alluding to the waters of baptism and to the food of the faithful as a type of Holy Eucharist, is depicted in five of our epitaphs dated between AD 397 to 436. As an isolated symbol it occurs in two inscriptions (nos. 78, 150); in the first it is drawn horizontally at the end of line 6, while in the second it is found in upright position in the left margin of the text. In both positions, horizontal and upright, it is encountered below the text of inscr. no. 137. In another epitaph (no. 126) two fish (the left one partially preserved) in inverted position flank the upper corners of a cross, being part of a larger symbolic scene. In the fifth example (no. 125) the fish is encountered at the bottom of the text accompanied by a bird.

**Lampstand** (fig. 9): In the right margin of a late fourth century epitaph (AD 386, no. 51) is drawn in red colour a lampstand resting on a tripod holding an oil-lamp. The representation of such a symbol is hitherto unique for the area. Practically oil-lamps were used in the cemeteries, while symbolically an allusion to Christ as the true Light, probably dictated the selection of this particular motif.

**Palm branch** (fig. 10): Being a common symbol on Christian funerary monuments, the palm branch is depicted on no less than 31 tombstones dated between AD 372 and 481. Regardless of its size, long or short, it appears mostly schematized in horizontal, vertical or oblique position above, below, at the sides or even within the text. Symbolizing triumph or victory, the palm branch is frequently found combined with a christogram or a cross as an emblem of the victory of the Christian faith. It first appears flanking a *cross-rho* monogram (nos. 38, 54, 84) and a little later is encountered on either side of a cross (nos. 61, 63, 198). Once the composition occurs inverted with the palm branch represented amidst two *cross-rho* monograms (no. 67). In a number of examples, although standing separately, the palm branch seems to be in immediate connection with other symbols drawn above or below it, like crosses (no. 138), cross

and bird (no. 150), snakes (no. 93). On a small number of late 4th-early 5th century tombstones bearing no text the palm branch comprises the sole symbolic element indicative of the Christian faith of the deceased (nos. 336-339). On one of them this is explicitly demonstrated by the incision of the letters  $\Lambda$   $\Omega$  symbolizing Christ on either side of the palm branch (no. 341). Worthy of mention is the depiction of the palm branch on tombstone no. 340. In addition to its big size, occupying the whole front surface of the stone, this palm branch bears also a triangular base which makes it look like a palm tree. The same conjecture could be made for a smaller palm branch equipped with schematic roots at the bottom of another inscription (no. 280). Not deprived of its symbolic character the palm branch often serves as decorative design replacing (no. 57) or ornamenting the linear frame (nos. 42, 61, 235) enclosing the text. Analogous seems to be its role when it appears at the end of a certain line within the text (nos. 30, 58, 68, 71, 76, 90), while its use as word divider is obvious especially before or after a numeral (for this use see chapter on numerals).

**Pomegranate** (fig. 10): The pomegranate, a chthonic symbol since ancient times, appears in two epitaphs of the first half of the fifth century. In both occurrences (nos. 145, 290) pomegranates are depicted below the arch of the vaulted entrance including the inscription. In the second case (no. 290) pomegranates are also scattered in the area below the text among birds pecking at grapes.

**Serpent** (fig. 11): Snakes or serpents are commonly depicted on the tombstones presented here despite the fact that they infrequently occur in the Christian epigraphy of the area. They are attested on ca. 50 stelae dated between the last quarter of fourth and the first half of fifth century (AD 385 - 453).

It is well known that snakes and serpents represent powers of evil, but it is also true that the snake has a good Christian meaning as a symbol of wisdom and prudence (*Gen.* 3.1; *Matth.* 10.16). It may also be an allusion to the brazen serpent of Moses as a type of crucified Christ (*John* 3.14) which is a plausible reason for its presence on the tombstones. The manner of its representation seems also to serve a decorative purpose. Serpents usually frame the inscription on its two vertical sides or are occasionally found below or within it. When used as a frame they are often in the form of heraldic snakes placed vertically on either side of the text (nos. 111, 115, 135, 293) or on its lower half (nos. 93, 121). But a more common theme flanking the text is a serpentine motif consisted of a vertical series of snakes attached to each other (nos. 50, 89, 95, 96, 110, 112, 113, 119, 283). In another variant two continuous series of serpents appear on either side of the inscr. (nos. 2, 104, 105). In a decorated version of this type dots fill the concavities formed by the bodies of the snakes (no. 187), while a continuous vertical series of small interlaced snakes decorates in one case the left (no. 289) and in another the right margin (no. 107) of the inscription. However, nicely drawn interlaced snakes are usually placed horizontally below the text (nos. 112, 113, 145). At the bottom of the text is also found the unique representation of a group of upright snakes in the symbolic number of seven (no. 98). When encountered within the text the serpentine motifs are of small size, appear in groups and are employed as diacritical marks for numerals (see relevant chapter).

**Ship** (fig. 10): The ship, "ναῦς οὐρανοδοπομοῦσα" according to Clement of Alexandria who already in the late second century recommended it as one of the suitable Christian symbols (*Paedagogus* III.11; *PG* 8.633), represents the safe voyage towards the heavenly haven of salvation. This early symbol occurs only once here, inserted in the lower part of inscr. no. 120 which dates to AD 422. It has the form of a schematized single masted boat in full sail equipped with double stern rudder and two oars. Above the prow a standing human figure is discernible.

**Sun** (fig. 12): The sun as a Christian symbol occurs in 27 tombstones covering a period of almost sixty years from AD 387 to 446. These are the earliest and the only depictions known so far from the area. The use of the sun symbol on these stelae probably alludes to the brightness of eternal life which will be enjoyed by the souls of the righteous in heaven (cf. *Matth.* 13.43).

This symbol is placed usually above or below the text or both. In two cases (nos. 145, 162) it is flanking the upper corners of a cross-shaped inscription reminding us of sun and moon in the crucifixion scenes of later Byzantine art. In all cases it is drawn in red colour and in only two (nos. 70, 281) is it incised and painted over in red. Typologically the sun is depicted in the form of: a. a simple circle (sun-disc) heavily outlined in red paint (nos. 74, 75, 80, 88, 95, 99, 100, 104, 105, 107, 113, 119, 122, 145, 164, 181), b. an outlined circle with small linear (nos. 57, 70, 144, 169) or triangular (nos. 89, 96, 104, 110, 111, 112) rays around it, and c. a simple or radiant sun-disc enclosing a *cross-rho* (nos. 57, 70, 281) or *chi-rho* (no. 100) monogram or the sign of the cross (nos. 124, 169).

**Vase** (fig. 9): The vase is one of the motifs introduced in the symbolic iconography of the area rather late in the first quarter of the fifth century (AD 424). It occurs in total on six stelae, the latest of which is dated to the year 481. The vases represented are mostly schematized amphoras, are usually placed at the bottom of the text (once at the top, no. 124), and in all cases are combined with other symbols such as the cross and the birds. In the earliest depiction (no. 124) two vases are painted (the right one almost

totally faded) on either side of a cross enclosed within an arch, while in a later one (no. 227, AD 474) two vases with small crosses in their mouths decorate the lower corners of a cross-shaped inscription whose upper corners are filled with two birds also with crosses on their heads. In two other examples (nos. 134, AD 429; 173, AD 443) the vase stands in the centre flanked by two big outlined crosses. In a third type (no. 196, AD 453) the vase is again the central figure but this time it is flanked by two birds pecking at bunches of grapes whose twigs are sprouting out of the vase, a scene generally taken to symbolize the soul rejoicing in heavenly bliss. The vase depicted in the latest of the inscriptions (no. 235) should also have been combined with birds, of which only the left is faintly preserved.

**Vine** (fig. 10): The vine, as an emblem of the true Vine, Christ, and by extension of the Holy Communion, is depicted twice (above and below the text) in epitaph no. 85 (AD 404) in the form of a bunch of grapes placed on either side of a circle including a *cross-rho* monogram. In a second example (no. 196, AD 453) vine twigs bearing clusters of grapes are sprouting out of a vase which is flanked by two heraldic birds pecking at the grapes (for the symbolism of this scene see above vase). Birds pecking at grapes are also represented in another fifth century inscription (no. 290).

**Unidentified:** The character of the fork-like motifs, placed above and below the text of inscr. no. 1 facing towards it, cannot be specified. A similar motif appears at the top of a tombstone from Maḥaiy in Moab (Canova 1954, p. 350, fig. 385, cf. the central tombstone).

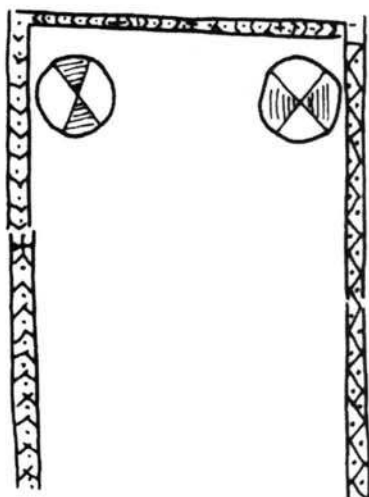
Also unspecified is the nature of another motif incised above the text of inscr. no. 48. It looks like the letter *lambda* surrounded by a vault-like covering.

#### SIGNS AND SYMBOLS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF APPEARANCE

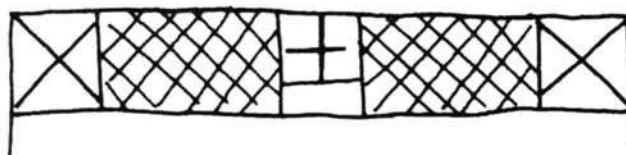
Representing Christ			Other		
<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
cross	345-591	ca. 250	palm branch	372-481	31
cross-rho	355-494	57	birds	378-481	ca. 55
cross-chi	383-485	2	serpent	385-453	ca. 50
cross-rho and chi	386-463	4	lampstand	386	1
chi-rho	391-411	3	sun	387-446	27
A Ω	391-444	15	fish	397-436	5
XΜΓ	391	1	vine	404-453	3
iota-chi	413	1	ship	422	1
			vase	424-481	6
			pomegranate	435	2
			deer	486	1

Fig. 4

Consulting the table above to summarize the evidence furnished by the Christian signs and symbols decorating the Ghor es-Safi tombstones, one could make the following remarks. The earliest symbols to appear around the middle of the fourth century were the cross and the *cross-rho* monogram, followed in the last quarter of the same century by the majority of the motifs described above. Only a small number of symbols, the *iota-chi* monogram, the vine, the ship, the vase and the pomegranates, are later introduced during the first half of the fifth century, while the symbolic scene with the deer drinking water from a spring is the latest of all (AD 486). This scene is uniquely represented on the stelae as are also the lampstand and the ship. XΜΓ and *iota-chi* monogram are attested only once as well. On the contrary, especially popular are motifs like the birds, the serpents, the palm branch, the sun, the *cross-rho* and above all the cross. Some of the Christian symbols, as well as the purely decorative elements, begin to fall into disuse by the mid-fifth century (*chi-rho* and *iota-chi* monograms, A Ω, pomegranate, fish, sun, serpent, vine), while the others seem to disappear by the end of this century. In the few sixth century inscriptions available to us, the cross, the primary Christian symbol, is the only motif that remains.



No. 162



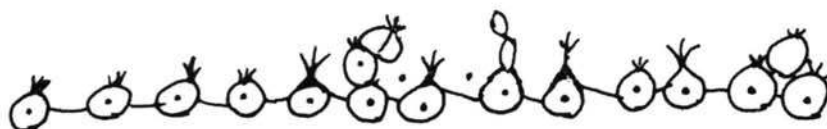
No. 118



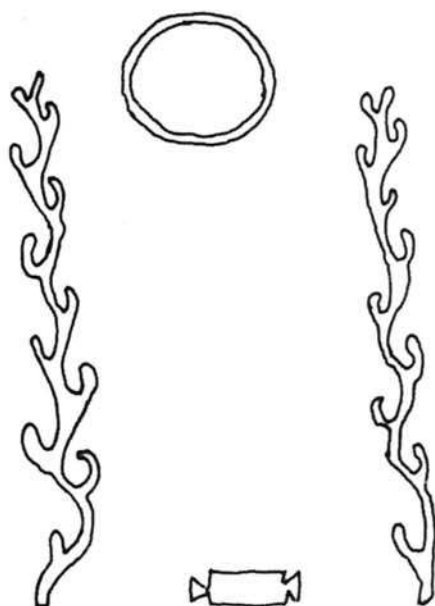
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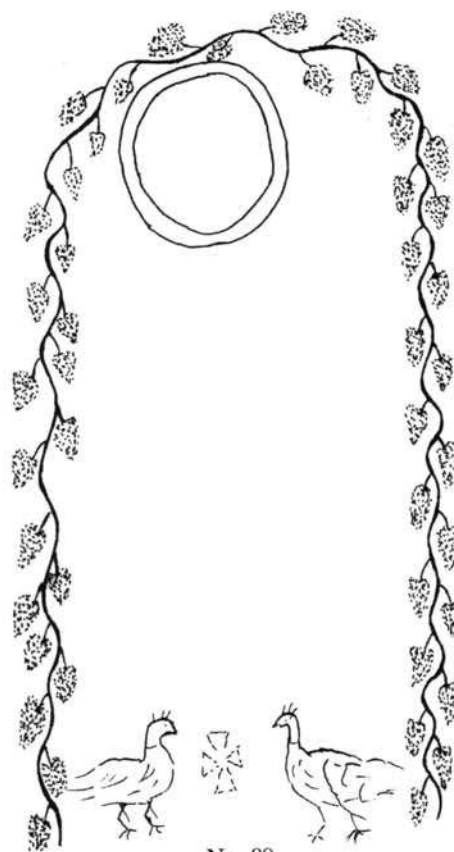
No. 278



No. 17



No. 122



No. 80

**Fig. 5.** Drawings of selected samples of geometrical floral and fruit decoration.



# Types of Cross

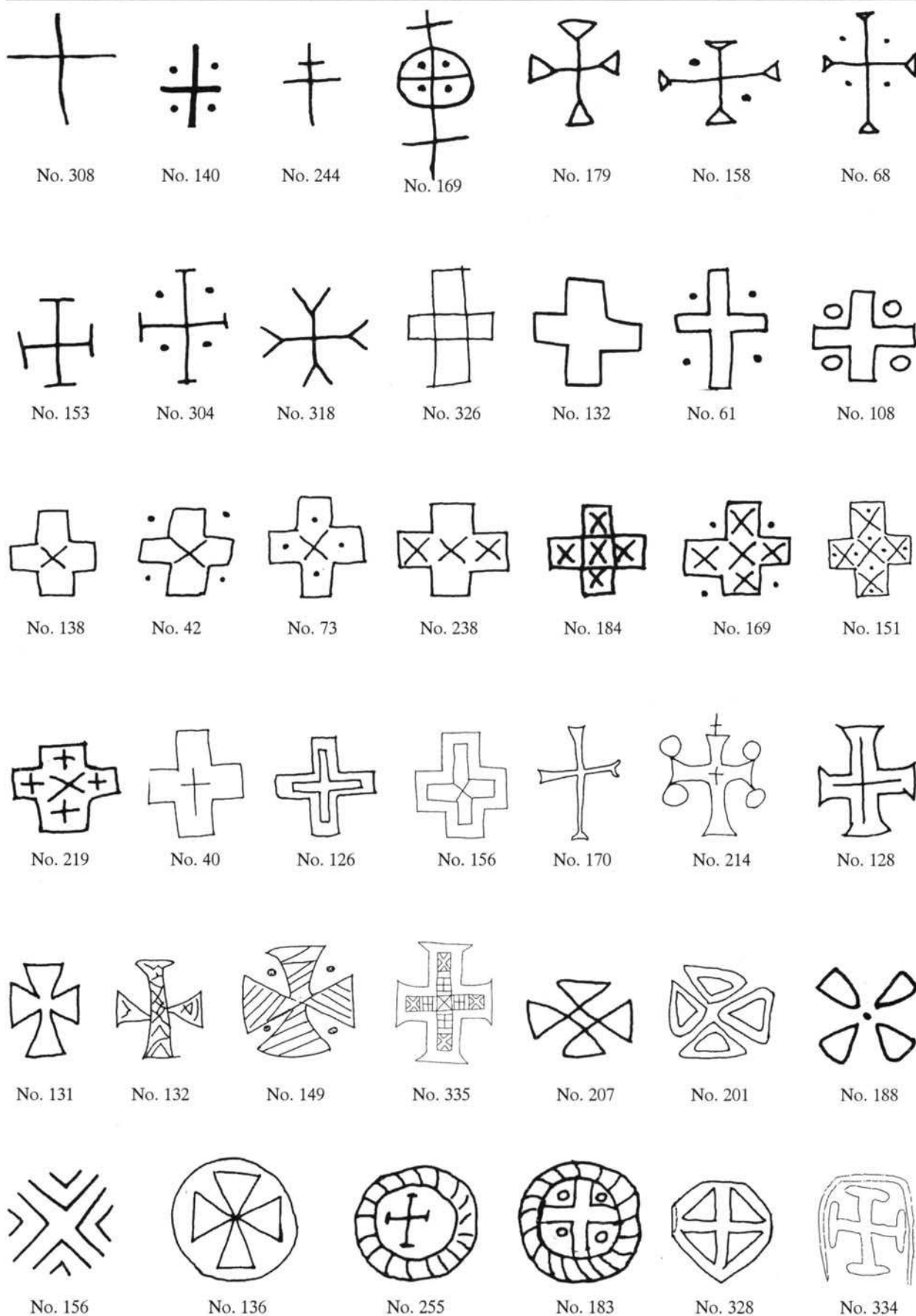


Fig. 6. Drawings of selected types of crosses.

Appendix: Dated inscr. 13



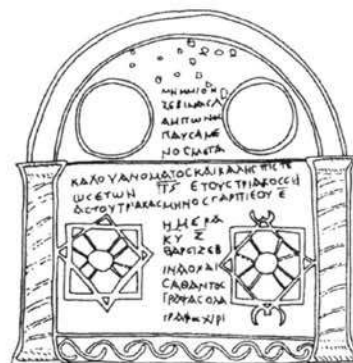
12 June AD 427

Inscr. 131



12 September AD 427

Inscr. 145



23 August AD 435

Inscr. 148



17 March AD 436

Inscr. 156



17 February AD 438

Inscr. 162



8 November AD 439

Inscr. 205



15 March AD 456

Inscr. 225



1 April AD 473

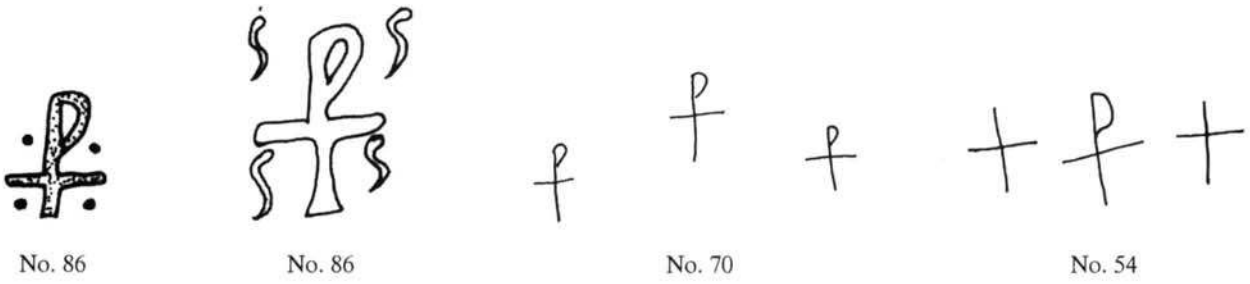
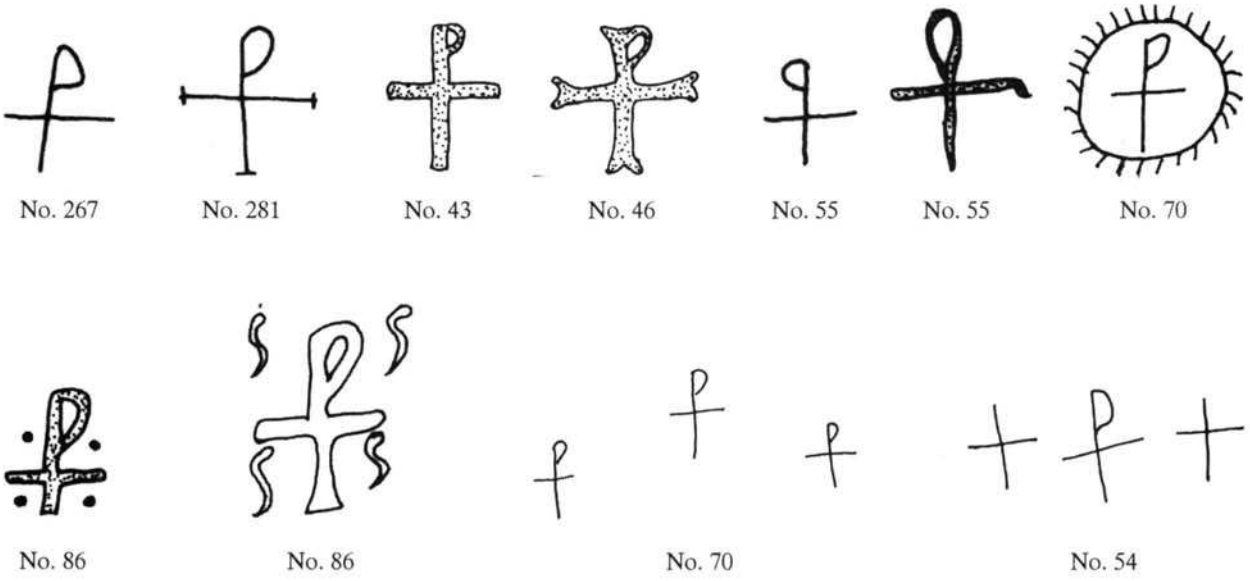
Inscr. 227



1 December AD 474

Fig. 7. Drawings of cross-shaped inscriptions

# Cross-rho



## Cross-chi

## Cross-rho and chi

## Chi-rho

## Iota-chi



No. 45



No. 241



No. 51



No. 63



No. 102

# Alpha-omega

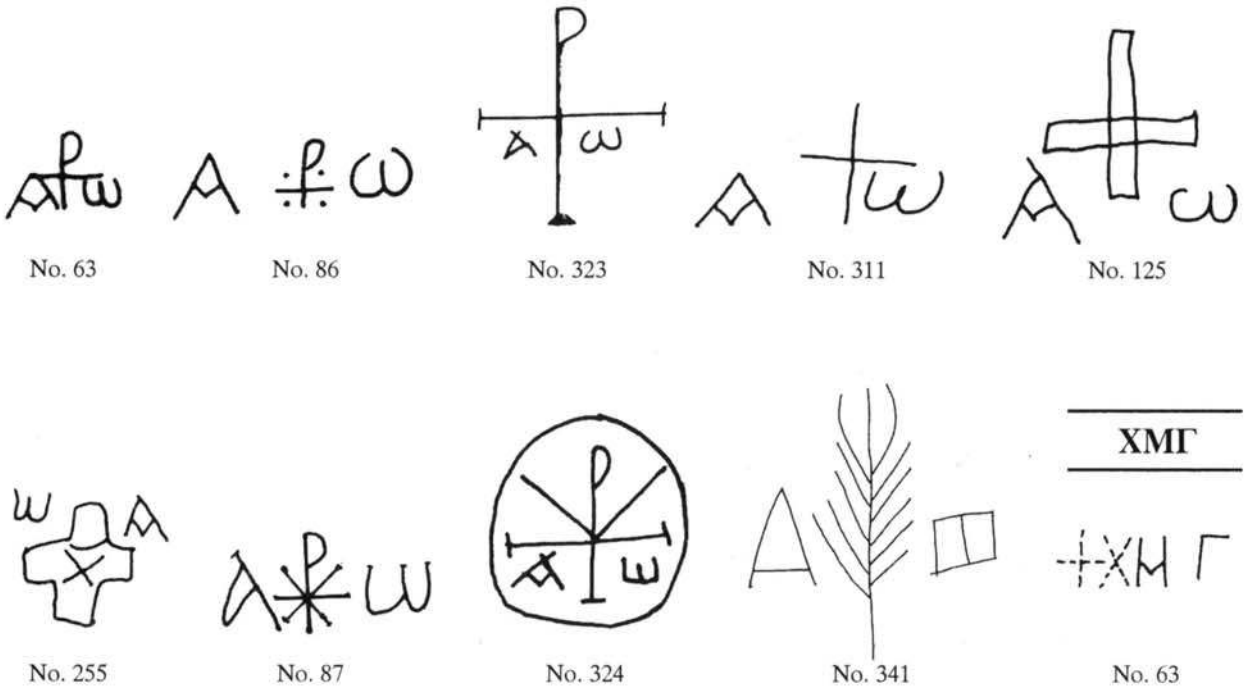
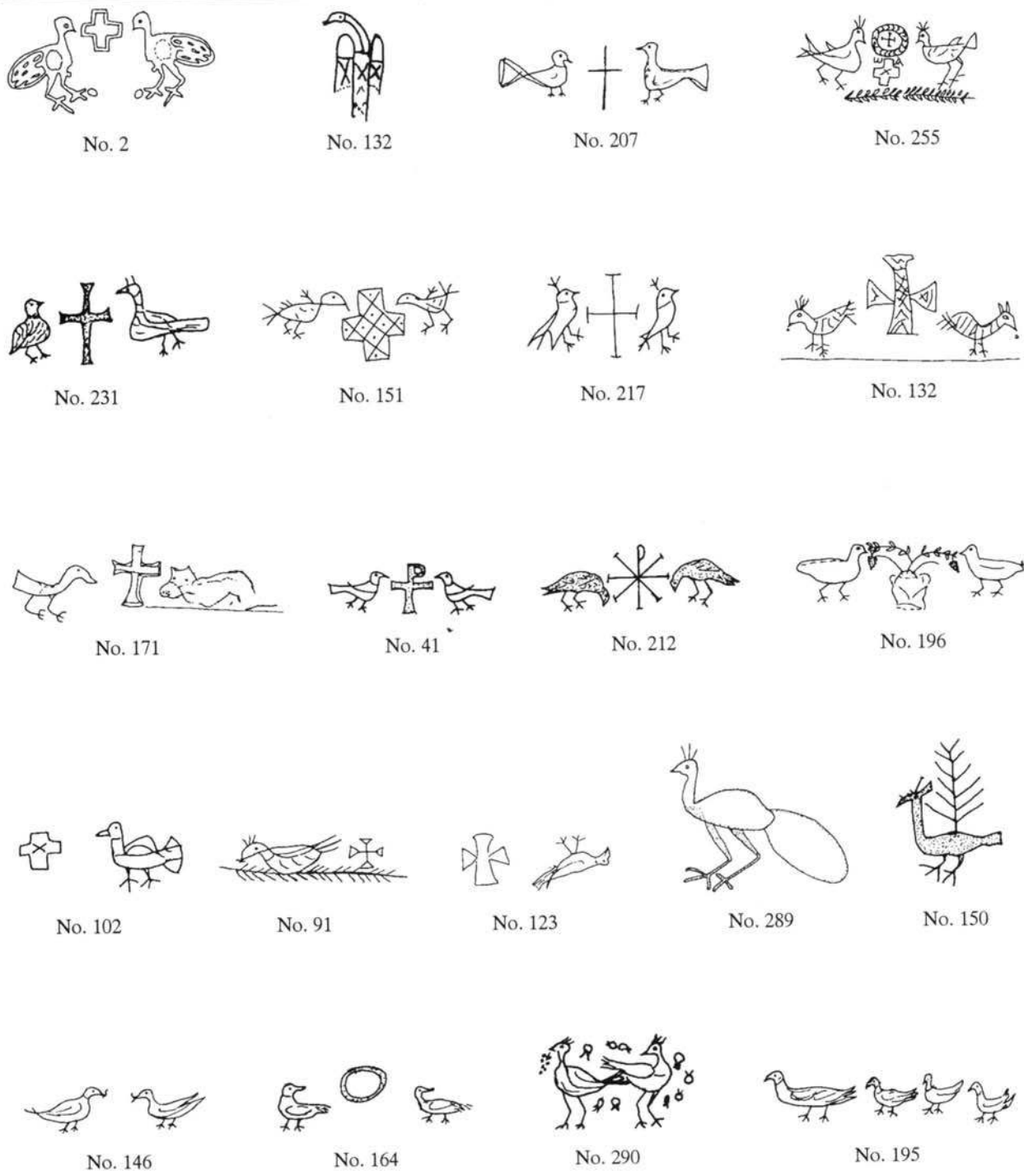


Fig. 8. Drawings of selected monograms of Christ.

**Birds**



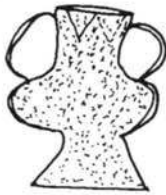
**Lampstand**



No. 51



No. 124



No. 134



No. 173



No. 227



No. 227

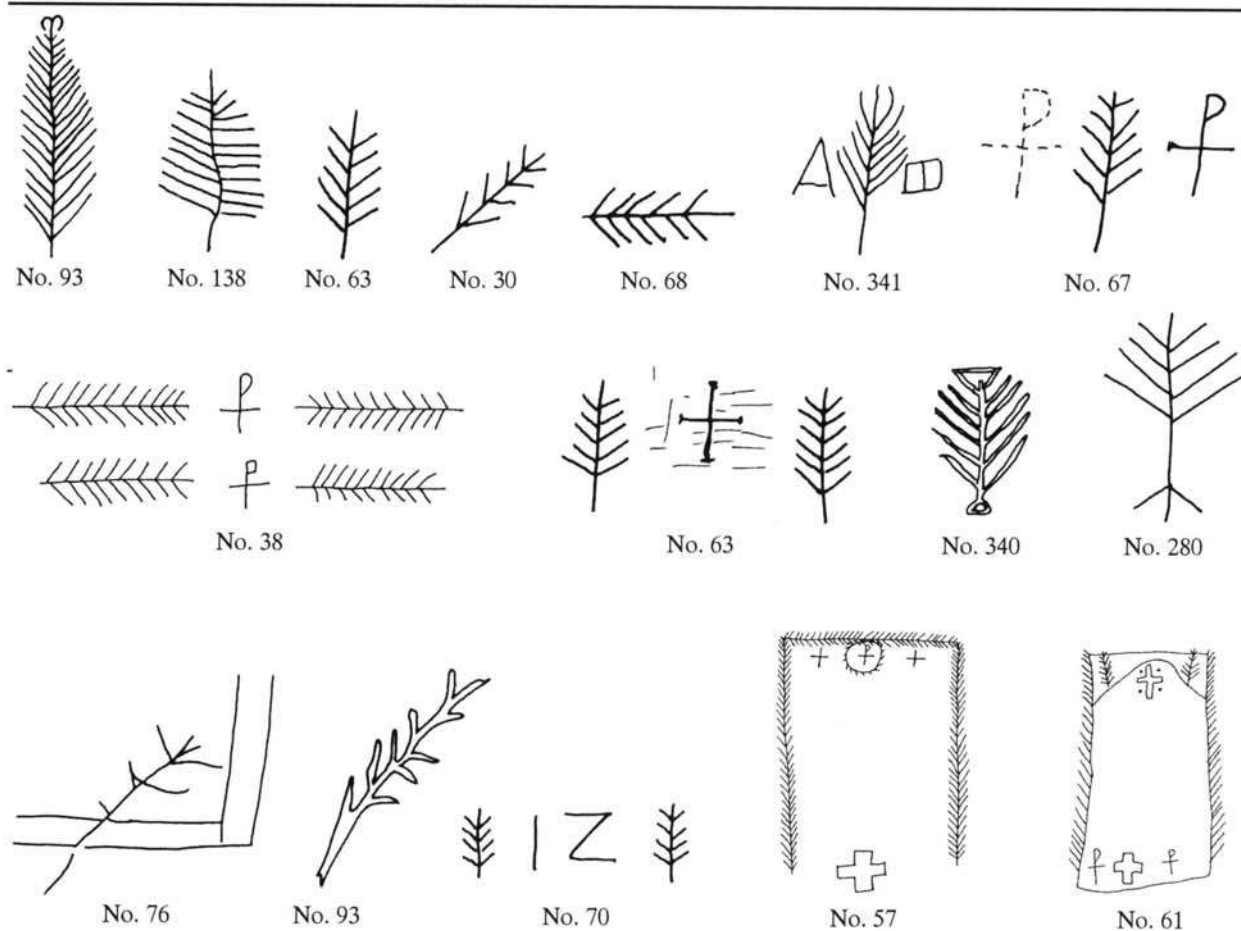


No. 235

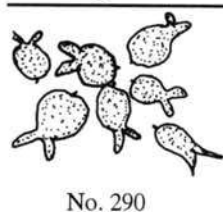
**Vase**

**Fig. 9.** Drawings of selected types depicting birds, a lampstand and vases.

## Palm branch



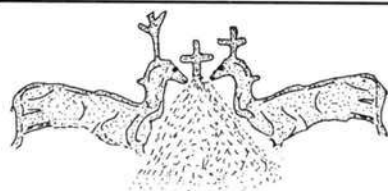
## Pomegranate



## Vine



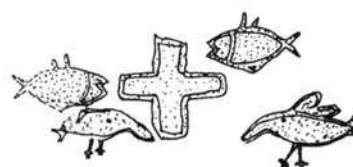
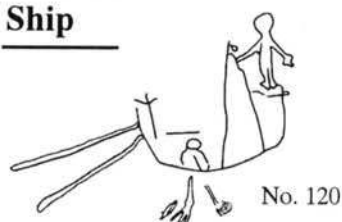
## Deer



## Fish



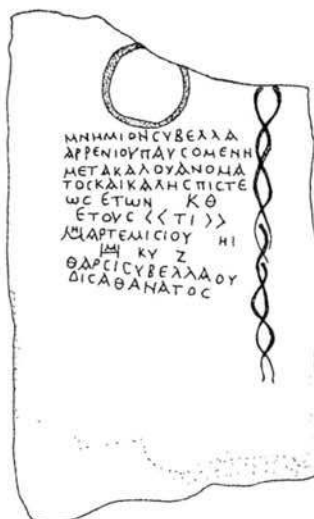
## Ship



**Fig. 10.** Drawings of selected types depicting the palm branch, pomegranate, vine, deer, fish and ship.



Inscr. 98



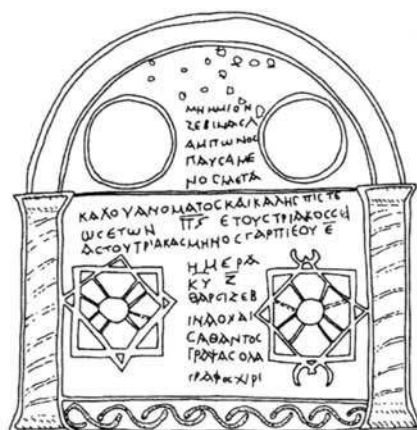
Inscr. 107



Inscr. 105



Inscr. 112



Inscr. 145



Inscr. 113



Inscr. 104

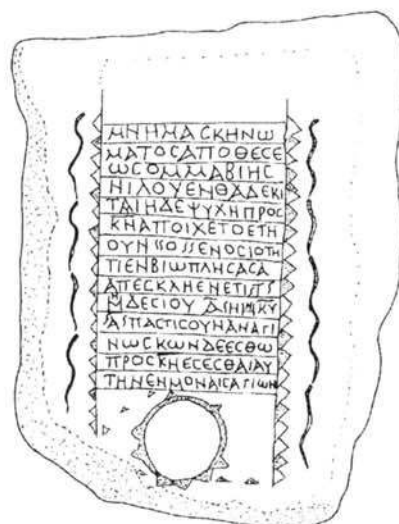


Inscr. 289

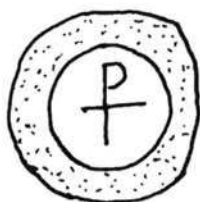
Fig. 11.  
Drawings of selected  
inscriptions depicting  
serpents



Inscr. 57



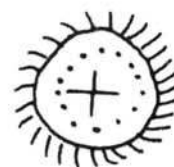
Inscr. 89



Detail of inscr. 281



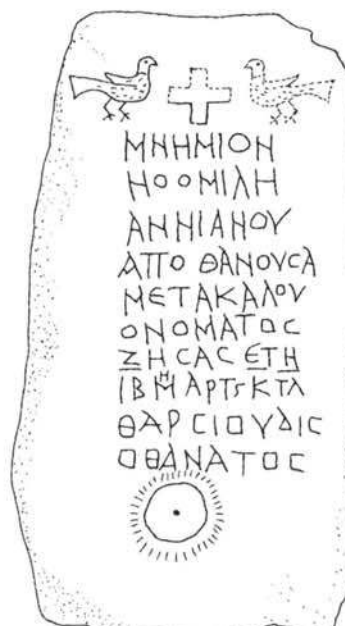
Inscr. 100



Detail of inscr. 169



Inscr. 124



Inscr. 144

**Fig. 12.** Drawings of selected inscriptions which depict the symbol of sun in various forms

## BURIAL FORMULAE

### BURIAL TERMS AND PHRASES

The sepulchral formulae employed in the Christian epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi are either inherited from the pagan tradition or are typically Christian expressions and can be roughly distinguished into two main types: those denoting or indicating the place of burial and those referring to the deceased.

The practice of neighbouring regions, such as Moab (Canova 1954, pp. Lxxviii-Lxxx) and the Negev (Alt 1921; Nessana 1, p. 134; Negev 1981, pp. 79-81, index c; Tsafirir 1988, p. 184), which in their funerary epigraphy show a preference for one or two main burial formulae (see Kirk 1939, who has made a special study on the different formulae used in the Christian epitaphs from the towns of Negev), seems to have been followed also at Ghor es-Safi. Thus regarding the first category of burial phrases, it is evident that the ancient Greek term "μνημεῖον", denoting both the memorial and the grave (see commentary of inscr. no. 1), is the dominant here. It is to be noted that its occurrences in the epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi comprise so far the highest proportion of the term in the whole of Palestine and Arabia (for the relevant epigraphic evidence from these provinces see *ibid.*). Out of a total of 321 inscriptions, 283 include the word μνημεῖον; however, their actual number could be augmented because some of the mutilated epitaphs should have originally included this term. The predominant spelling is that of μνημῖον based on the phonetic pronunciation of the word (261 instances). Other unorthographic variants which occur less frequently are: μνημῖαν (nos. 29, 32, 77, 88, 113, 138, 151, 187, 218, 229, 238, 252, 283, 307); μνημεῖαν (no. 312); μνημῖων (no. 57); μνημῖον (nos. 170, 265); μνημεῖον (nos. 98, 130); μνεμῖον (no. 128), while once is encountered the abbreviated form μνεμ(εῖον) (no. 225).

The term μνημῖον, being in most the introductory word of the epitaphs (or in some instances preceded by acclamations) is followed by the name of the deceased in genitive (165 examples) or in nominative (ca. 105 cases) or even in three instances (nos. 12, 103, 190) in accusative case. The high frequency in the use of nominative in the place of the correct genitive form after μνημεῖον could possibly be attributed to the confusion in the employment of the various grammatical cases, a common phenomenon in the funerary language of Ghor es-Safi (see Syntax) and generally in the Christian epitaphs (for μνημεῖον+nominative see Canova 1954, no. 319; for analogous examples with the word στήλη+ nominative see *ibid.*, pp. Lxxix-Lxxx, where Canova, at least for a certain case [no. 69: ἐνθάδε κεῖται στήλη Γεώργιος], did not consider this syntax a simple solecism, but was inclined to accept Alt's interpretation that in Greek-Nabataean milieu the word στήλη renders the idea of *nephesh*, "soul", attributed to the stone which was placed above the ground).

In contrast to the high frequency of μνημεῖον, its alternative term μνήμα occurs only once. Taking into consideration that this term is usually employed in funerary epigrams, it is not surprising that μνήμα is found in an early fifth century epitaph (AD 405, no. 89 with commentary on the term) which, although not metrical, contains a number of poetic expressions, some of them unique for the stereotyped funerary language of Ghor es-Safi.

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται, another formula of classical origin indicative of the burial place but also referring to the deceased, was adopted by the local inhabitants (for parallels see commentary of inscr. no. 76). With the exception of a single occurrence in the late fourth century (no. 76, AD 395, one of the earliest Christian mentions in Palestine) and two in the first half of the fifth century (no. 89, AD 405; no. 194, AD 453?), all the attestations of this phrase (either securely or relatively dated) are concentrated in the sixth century (nos. 253, 254, 258-264, 313-318). Judging from the available evidence, especially in the epitaphs dated in the second and the last three decades of this century (since in the interim, extending between AD 517 and 570, no epitaphs have been brought to light in this area up to the present), "ἐνθάδε κεῖται" seems to have fully supplanted the term "μνημεῖον" as the introductory burial formula of the text. If this supposition is confirmed by future sixth century discoveries then we will have the phenomenon of the simultaneous use of the same funerary expression, "ἐνθάδε κεῖται", in two neighbouring areas, that is Ghor es-Safi and Moab, since in the latter this phrase is of almost exclusive use.

Concerning the second type of formulae, referring specifically to the deceased, these include some of the verbs commonly employed to denote the passing away in Christian epitaphs, like ἀνεπάη, ἐκοιμήθη, ἐτελεύτησεν, etc. These verbs occasionally replace the phrases "μνημεῖον" or "ἐνθάδε κεῖται" or more often are combined with them; in the latter case they usually appear in the form of a



participle following the name and the patronymic of the dead and introducing the age of the deceased or less frequently the date of his death (see relevant chapters).

The highest frequency is observed in the classical verb ἀποθνήσκω which, interestingly enough seems to be used almost exclusively at Ghor es-Safi (see commentary of inscr. no. 1). Attested from the early fourth (AD 309, no. 1) to the early sixth (AD 516, no. 259) century, it is principally encountered in the participles ἀποθανών or ἀποθανούσα employed usually in genitive (205 instances), while twice it is found in the form ἀπέθανεν (nos. 302, 317) and once in the aorist infinitive ἀποθανεῖν (no. 276). Of rare occurrence, however, is the aorist masculine participle of the simple verb form, θανών (nos. 90, 260) or in the genitive θανόντος (no. 76).

Worthy of mention at this point is the restricted use in time (AD 346/7-363) and number (3 examples: nos. 9, 11, 24) of the related in meaning but unconventional participle ἀπογενόμενος, -ένη, which is, hitherto unparalleled in the epitaphs of Palestine. Exceptional, although consonant to the poetic content of the inscription in which it is encountered (no. 89), is the verb ἀπέσκλη used metaphorically for ἀπέθανεν (see commentary of this inscr.).

Another formula of classical origin, which survived in the burial Christian vocabulary of Ghor es-Safi, is the verb τελευτῶ, especially popular at Nessana (for parallels see commentary of inscr. no. 3). It occurs as a rule in the aorist participle form τελευτήσας, -ασα (17 instances, plus no. 22 using the present perfect participle τελευτηκότων, documented from AD 324 [no. 3] until AD 576 [no. 262]). The verb is also attested twice in the form ἐτελεύτησεν (nos. 53, 86) and once in the formula ἅπαντες τελευτᾶμεν (no. 106) which is an infrequent substitute for "οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος" in this area.

Finally, in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi are employed the typically Christian sepulchral verbs (ἀνα)παύομαι and κοιμῶμαι. The former, which is much more frequent, is attested in the following forms: παυσάμενος, -ένη, ἀναπαυσάμενος, -ένη, ἀνεπάη (for the forms ἀνάπαυσον and ἀναπαύση see Invocations). The aorist middle participle παυσάμενος, -ένη is the most common of all (see commentary of inscr. no. 23), enumerating 38 examples which fall between AD 363 (no. 23) and 448 (no. 182). Its compound counterpart ἀναπαυσάμενος, -ένη makes its appearance almost half a century later (AD 415, no. 109) and is less frequent with five occurrences (nos. 109, 115, 135, 170, 221), while once is recorded the second aorist passive participle ἀναπαεῖσα (no. 125). In a few cases the expanded formula παυσάμενος, -ένη τοῦ βίου (nos. 114, 148, 152, 154, 291) or ἀναπαὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου (no. 98) or even the peculiar form ἀποθανὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου (no. 130) accompany the name of the deceased. The term ἀνεπάη appears only three times (nos. 121, 129, 263). A chronological survey of the various forms of this funerary verb shows that the peak in its use coincides with the first half of the fifth century.

More or less within these chronological limits, that is from AD 404 to 437, is also placed the scanty epigraphic evidence concerning the latter burial verb "κοιμῶμαι". This occurs twice in the form ἐκοιμήθη (ἐκυμέθε: no. 84; ἡκυ<μ>ήθη: no. 106) and once in the participle κοιμηθείς (in genitive κυμαθέντος: no. 153).

Although an introductory burial formula is the norm for Ghor es-Safi, there is an extremely limited number of epitaphs (nos. 298-301) relatively dated in the late fourth or fifth century, in which the name of the deceased opens the funerary text or comprises its unique element.

The aforementioned burial verbs, particularly those in the form of a participle, are usually accompanied by an expression which praises the Christian identity and/or faith of the deceased and in some cases his/her Christian virtues.

The most popular of these phrases is μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως, which is encountered in 85 inscriptions dated from the early fifth (AD 405, no. 91) to the first quarter of the sixth century (AD 516, no. 259). The phraseology of this formula, hitherto epigraphically unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia, plausibly alludes to the double status, that of the baptized and faithful Christian, possessed by the deceased. Hence its declaration on the tombstone seems to have been of importance for the local Christian community (for more on the meaning of this formula, see commentary of inscr. no. 91). It is to be noted, however, that the first part of this expression i.e. "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος", appears forty years earlier in AD 363 (no. 22). It enumerates 61 examples and, according to the present evidence, until its last attestation in AD 474 (no. 228) coexists with the full formula. On the contrary, its second component, "μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως", is recorded alone only once (no. 181), while in two instances it is placed in the beginning of the phrase: "μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως καὶ καλοῦ ὀνόματος" (nos. 168, 195).

At this point it should be remembered that the use of "καλῆς πίστεως" as an allusion to the Christian faith at Ghor es-Safi is further elucidated by the explicit statement "ζήσας ἐν πίστι Χ(ριστο)ῦ" employed in the epitaph of *praepositus* Petros (no. 254, AD 503). In addition, a similar mention to the fact that the owner of the tomb died or lived as a Christian is made in the phrases

"ἀνεπάη ... ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ" (no. 121), "ἐν Κ(υρίῳ) παυσαμένη" (no. 147), "τεληυτήσαν(ος) ἐν Χ(ριστο)ῷ" (no. 223) and "ζήσας ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ" (no. 258) which are recorded in the period between AD 423/4 and 516.

In a limited number of inscriptions the wording of the second part of the common formula "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως" appears slightly differentiated, as for instance in no. 246 (AD 489) in which *καλῆς πίστεως* is replaced by *πίστεως ἀγαθῆς* or in no. 262 (AD 576) where *καλῆς ὁμολογίας* (for the meaning of ὁμολογία as "confession of faith" see commentary of this inscription) is found in the place of "καλῆς πίστεως". In another epitaph (no. 162, AD 439) "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος" is combined with the rare expression *καλῆς συνειδήσεως*, pure conscience, which is an outcome of a moral way of life (for this notion see commentary of the epitaph). Moreover a reference to the decent and modest life of the deceased, a frequent theme in the Christian epitaphs, is added next to the mention of his Christian identity and faith in two late sixth-century inscriptions: "ζήσας ἐν καλῷ ὀνόματι κ(αὶ) ἐν καλῇ ζωῇ" (no. 260, AD 571) and "ζήσας ἐν πίστι καλῇ κ(αὶ) σεμνῷ βίῳ" (no. 264, AD 519; cf. also the mutilated phrase "ἐν καλῇ - - -" no. 263).

Another significant Christian virtue, *δοσιότης* (holiness, piety), is attributed to a small number of persons who died during the second half of the fourth and the early fifth century. Among them is Siltha and her daughter Kyra who were both killed in the earthquake of AD 363 and buried in the same tomb (no. 22). The phrase "ἐν δοσιότητι" comprises either the only quality of the deceased (no. 61, AD 389: ἀποθανόντος ἐν δοσιότητι; no. 89, AD 405: ἔτη οὖν ο' ἐν δοσιότητι ἐν βίῳ πλήσασα) or is complemented by the reference to his/her Christian identity (no. 22, AD 363: τελευτηκότων ἐν δοσιότητι μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος; no. 95, AD 408: παυσάμενος ἐν δοσιότητι μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως).

Only occasionally is the funerary text enriched with an epithet qualifying the deceased. The most characteristic is the common Christian appellation *μακάριος*, blessed, whose low frequency at Ghor es-Safi is noticeable in view of the numerous examples offered by other Palestinian areas (e.g. the Negev and Gaza: see commentary of inscr. no. 260). The term is attested twice in abbreviated form: in one case applied to a young man, "ὁ μ(ακάριος) Θεόδωρος" (no. 260, AD 571) and in the other to a young woman, "ἡ μακαρ(ία) Ἀριάνθης" (no. 262, AD 576). The superlative form "μακαριώ(τατος)" occurs also once (the possibility of having *μακάριο(ς)* spelled with ω cannot be excluded, no. 264, AD 591). All three instances are dated in the last quarter of the sixth century in contrast to the similar in meaning *μακαρίτης*, which is recorded much earlier in the beginning of the fifth century. The latter term, especially popular in Egypt but rare in Palestine, is borne here by two middle aged men (no. 282), one of whom was a deacon (no. 86, AD 404). In AD 431 another deacon is designated by the usual title for his office *εὐλαβέστατος* which is one of the earliest attestations in Palestine and Arabia (no. 136). The common Christian epithet *δοῦλος* with the meaning of "servant" of God or Christ (see commentary of inscr. no. 207) is represented in this corpus by only two fifth-century examples (no. 129, AD 425 and no. 207, AD 456).

Of special interest are three rare appellations applied to two women and one man buried in the cemetery. The first, infrequently recorded in the Palestinian epigraphy, is the word *κυρά*, a title of respect attributed as a rule to married women. Such could have been also the case of our "κυρά Ὀλυμπία" although her age is not indicated in the epitaph (no. 302). The second epithet *ἐγκρατής*, continent, was intended in all probability to praise chastity, that is the eminent virtue of its bearer Thopse, an old woman aged 85 years (no. 141, AD 434). It is so far epigraphically unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia (see commentary, *ibid.*). A good-natured man is implied by the also unattested expression *καλέ ἀνθρῶπε*, addressed to a certain tribune Victorinus in a Christian epitaph of AD 371/2 (no. 30).

Exceptional is the use of words or phrases expressing the feelings for the loss of a beloved person. One of these, the adjective *φιλότατη*, dearest, addressed to the young Christian girl Marthous, epitomizes all the love and affection of her family (no. 16, AD 356). Also the phrase "φίλων ἀπάντων λύπη καὶ γο<ν>έων δάκρυον" is employed to show vividly the sorrow that the death of Calpurnius caused to his parents and friends (no. 297, early fourth? century AD). The grief upon the death of a beloved person is a common theme in the pagan Greek metrical epitaphs (for the possible pagan identity of epitaph no. 297, see commentary, *ibid.*).

## ACCLAMATIONS

Acclamations are a constituent part of the Ghor es-Safi burial texts and relate to the deceased, to the living and of course to God. The principal type of acclamation addressed by relatives to the dead is *θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος*, be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal, a common formula employed in the first Christian centuries equally by pagans, Jews and Christians (on its meaning see Simon 1936, pp. 188-206; cf. *SEG* 41 (1991), no. 1873 and commentary of inscr. no. 2).

The frequency of "*θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος*" at Ghor es-Safi is remarkable since it is preserved on approximately 210 stelae, most of them securely dated. Its use in the extant epitaphs covers the period from the mid-fourth to the late sixth century with the earliest example dated in AD 345 (no. 7) and the latest in AD 591 (no. 264). The overwhelming majority of the relevant occurrences appear on Christian tombstones. The formula usually comprises the closing phrase of the epitaph (only in nos. 67 and 273 is it inserted in the middle of the text) and it is mostly spelled in iotacized form. In a few cases it occurs either wholly (no. 184) or partially abbreviated (nos. 217, 251, 270; cf. also nos. 185, 273 where the second syllable of *οὐδής* and the word *ἀθάνατος* are omitted: abbreviation or letter-cutter's oversight?).

In 38 inscriptions the exhortation is personally addressed to the deceased as reveals the mention of his/her name in vocative (or sometimes nominative) after *θάρσει* (in no. 156 the dead's title is added). However, in two late sixth-century epitaphs the encouragement formula is intended for the soul of the departed: "*θάρσει, ψυχή, οὐδής ἀθάνατος*" (nos. 260, 264).

Noteworthy are as well the variants of the original expression. These include the more developed forms "*θάρσει, οὐδής ἀθάνατος ὁ Θεός ἀθάνατος*", be of good cheer no one (is) immortal; (only) God (is) immortal (no. 11, AD 349), and "*θάρσει, οὐδής ἀθάνατος ἐν κόσμῳ*", be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal on earth (no. 162, AD 439), both of pagan origin but generalized in the Christian period. In two other variants the second component "*οὐδείς ἀθάνατος*", reminding of the inevitable character of death, has been replaced by the synonymous phrase *πάντες θνητοί*, all (are) mortals (no. 148, AD 436) or by the expression common among pagans and Christians *ὁ βίος ταῦτα*, that is life (no. 33, AD 373; no. 36, AD 376). Finally, in a limited number of fourth-century stelae "*θάρσει*" alone (spelled *θάρσει*) opens (nos. 4, 15, 269) or closes the funerary text (nos. 286, 297), while in one case it is combined with the full formula (no. 148).

Apart from "*θάρσει*", similar short acclamations such as *εὐμοίρει*, have a good fortune, and *εὐψύχει*, be of good cheer, are sporadically encountered mainly in fourth-century epitaphs. The first, in the spelling "*εὐμύρι*" and preceded by the formula "*θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος*", refers to a young Christian girl (no. 16, AD 356). In an almost contemporary inscription (no. 18, AD 358/9) the dead is indirectly addressed by the third person imperative form "*εὐμοιρίτω*". The second, spelled "*εὐψύχι*", is engraved on the tombstone of a tribune (no. 30, AD 371/2). Of interest is the rare periphrastic form *εὐψυχος ἴσθι*, coupled with the name of the dead, which introduces a plausibly pagan epitaph including also the acclamation "*θάρσει*" (no. 297, early 4th? century AD).

Addressing the living, a common practice in ancient funerary epigraphy, is here restricted to two examples which are composed in a distinctively Christian phraseology influenced by the liturgical vocabulary. In the first instance the passer-by is invited to pray to the Lord for the repose of the deceased woman among the Saints, that is in paradise: "*πᾶς τις οὖν ἀναγινώσκων, δεέσθω πρὸς Κ(ύριον) ἕσσεσθαι αὐτὴν ἐν μοναῖς ἁγίων*" (no. 89, AD 405), while in the second one he is exhorted to praise God: "*ὁ ἀναγινώσκων δοξάσι τὸν Θεόν*" (no. 246, AD 489).

Concerning the acclamations addressed to God the most important is *Εἰς Θεός*, a common formula in the East being a confession of monotheistic faith (on the origin, meaning and parallels of "*Εἰς Θεός*", see commentary of inscr. no. 20).

In the Ghor es-Safi epigraphy the formula "*Εἰς Θεός*" appears in the beginning of the epitaph (except for no. 23 where it occurs at the end) either alone or with the addition of other phrases: *Εἰς Θεός, εἰς Θεός ὁ μόνος, εἰς Θεός ἁμῶν, εἰς Θεός ὁ βοηθῶν, εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης*. The first and last expressions are the most numerous (35 and 53 examples respectively). *Εἰς Θεός* seems to prevail in the first half of the fifth century (AD 404-456), the earliest examples dating in 360/1 (no. 20) and 363 (no. 23), while the use of *Εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης* predominates in the second half of the same century, its earliest attestation dating in AD 412 (no. 101) and its latest in AD 591 (no. 263). *Εἰς Θεός ὁ μόνος* is represented by three examples of the late fourth century (one dated: no. 71, AD 394, and two undated: nos. 305, 306), while the form *Εἰς Θεός μᾶνος* by a mid-fifth century instance (no. 171, AD 443). *Εἰς Θεός ὁ βοηθῶν* occurs in two epitaphs of AD 439 (no. 159) and 454 (no. 197), while its variant *Εἰς Θεός ὁ β(ο)ηθός* is met in an inscription of AD 452 (no.

192). Εἰς Θεός followed by ἀμήν appears also in two mid-fifth century epitaphs (nos. 164, AD 440 and 176, AD 444).

The epigraphical material for "Εἰς Θεός" from Ghor es-Safi adds considerable evidence on the use of this acclamation in Palestine. More specifically: a. it consists of the largest concentration of Christian attestations in Palestine (ca. 100 instances; these far outnumber those from Hauran and Golan which were considered to date the most numerous at approximately 16 examples: Di Segni 1994, p. 113); b. it appears exclusively in epitaphs in contrast to the meagre number of the known Palestinian examples found in a funerary context (4-5: *ibid*); c. it is mostly dated, thus offering a good chronological sequence for the development of the "Εἰς Θεός" expression and for the Christianization of the area; d. it extends the limits of the geographical distribution of the acclamation.

## INVOCATIONS

Except for the acclamations to God, invocations, another frequent theme in Christian sepulchral inscriptions, are adequately represented in this work. The formulae used, encountered elsewhere in Palestine but especially in Egypt (see commentary of inscr. no. 106), are in their majority dated in the fifth century. In these God or Christ are, as a rule, invoked to give rest to the deceased or to his/her soul: "Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνάπαυσον (no. 116, AD 418) or "Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλ(ης) ... (no. 129, AD 425). It is worthy of mention that in one case the usual invocation "<Κ>(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησ)οῦ ἀνάπαυσον" is exceptionally followed by the statement "ἅπαντ<ε>ς τελε<ε>σταιμεν", we all die (no. 106, AD 414).

In three more epitaphs the prayer is expressed in the form of a wish indicated by the use of the verb "ἀναπαύειν" not in aorist imperative but in aorist subjunctive. In the first expression "ὁ Θεός καὶ ὁ Χ(ριστ)ὸς αὐτοῦ σὲ ἀναπαύσῃ" is observed the unparalleled at Ghor es-Safi phenomenon of requesting from two persons of the Holy Trinity, God and his Son Jesus Christ, to give rest (no. 28, AD 370). The second reads simply "ὁ Κ(ύρι)ος Ἰ(ησ)οῦς ἀναπαύσῃ" (no. 125, AD 424), while the third "ὁ Θεός ἀναπαύσει σ<ε> μετὰ τῶν δικέων" presents some interest because it is borrowed from the funeral service (no. 225, AD 473).

## DOXOLOGIES

God is not only invoked but also praised by the local people. The doxologies, which appear in a small number of epitaphs bearing dates around the mid-fifth century AD, are of biblical origin with preference to the *Psalms*. They are placed either in the beginning (more common) or at the end of the text and are occasionally followed by the term ἀμήν. Two of them include the word δόξα: "Δόξα τῷ Κυ(ρί)ῳ. Ἀμήν", glory to the Lord. Amen, preceded by "Εἰς Θεός" (no. 150, AD 436) and "Δόξα τῷ κτῆσοντι τὰ πάντα", glory to the Creator of all (no. 166, AD 441). Another two inscriptions, dated in successive years, start with the phrases "Εὐλογητός Κ(ύρι)ος. Ἀμήν", Blessed (is) the Lord. Amen (no. 152, AD 436) and "Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός. Ἀμήν", Blessed (is) God. Amen (no. 154, AD 437/8). The closing expression of a partially mutilated epitaph is an exact quotation from the first verse of *Psalms* 24 (in the *Septuagint*) rendered in a heavily vernacular and erroneous spelling: "τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ (sic) πλέρομα αὐτῆ<ς>, οἱ (sic) οἰκουμένε καὶ πόντες οἱ {κατε}κατεκόντε{τε}<ς> ἐν αὐτῇ, (the earth (is) the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world, and all that dwell in it (no. 296, 5th century ?).

Finally the word ἀμήν, verily, so be it, employed frequently in the Old and New Testament and also as a liturgical term, is found at Ghor es-Safi not only at the end of doxologies as mentioned above (nos. 150, 152, 154), but also after acclamations (nos. 164, 176, 296) or invocations (nos. 125, 225).

Only in two of the early epitaphs, dated in the late fourth century, the term "ἀμήν" is represented by its isopsephic symbol, ζθ', equivalent to 99. In the first (no. 28, AD 370 with commentary on ζθ') it comprises the final word of the prayer "ὁ Θεός καὶ ὁ Χ(ριστ)ὸς αὐτοῦ σὲ ἀναπαύσῃ", while in the second (no. 42, AD 382) it stands alone at the end of the funerary text.

## ONOMASTICON

Due to their exclusively funerary character, the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions collected at Ghor es-Safi (with the exception of a short epitaph without name [no. 303] and another 13 in which the names are obliterated [nos. 37, 64, 87, 97, 127, 255, 284, 291, 292, 295, 319-321]) include personal names which either belong to the deceased or are patronymics (for the latter see below). This results in a rich nomenclature represented by approximately 270 different names.

The onomasticon could be classified according to its linguistic origin in three main categories: Semitic, Greek and Latin. The names of each group are listed at the end of the chapter in the case and spelling they appear in the texts and are accompanied by a number indicating their frequency as well as by their date or chronological span. The left curly bracket is used to embrace a name and its variants.

### NAMES OF SEMITIC ORIGIN

The onomasticon of Semitic origin amounts to more than half of the total number of names (ca. 150 instances). The vast majority of this nomenclature are Greek transcriptions of local Semitic names derived from Nabataean, Arabic and Aramaic. This demonstrates that, although the indigenous population adopted the Greek language, they also used their native language(s). The Hellenization of the local Semitic names, obvious mainly in the vocalization of their consonantal root and in the addition of a Greek ending, causes sometimes an uncertainty concerning the identification of the exact Semitic original (see for example \**Αμηρος*, no. 1).

A large proportion of the Semitic names encountered at Ghor es-Safi has already been attested in the onomasticon of Palestine and Arabia, but there are also several others which are so far unparalleled in the Greek epigraphy of these provinces, such as \**Αβδαλμίθαβος*, \**Αβιδάκαρος*, \**Αλουλόθη*, \**Αμάθησος*, \**Αψης*, \**Βάγγας*, \**Βαργουννάς*, \**Γάσος*, \**Ζαννούρος*, \**Θημουρέϊσας(?)*, \**Μαργαλίη*, \**Μαργάνις*, \**Μερώσθα*, \**Μόρεσος*, \**Μουββάνος*, \**Όκελος*, \**Σαμίραββος*, \**Φύαλος*. Special reference should be made to two of these names, \**Σαμίραββος* and \**Αψης* which, although unattested elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia, appear here with eleven and five examples respectively, a strong indication of epichoric usage. In terms of frequency the most popular Semitic name at Ghor es-Safi is that of \**Αλφιος* with thirteen attestations, closely followed by its diminutive \**Όλεφος* (12) and by \**Σαμίραββος* (11). Common are the names: \**Αβδάλγης* (9), \**Σίλθα* (8), \**Όβόδας*, \**Σαμμασέος* (7); \**Καϊάμος*, \**Ό(ύ)μ(μ)αβίη*, \**Φασέλη* (6); \**Αψης*, \**Ζεβίνας*, \**Όλέφθα* (5). With relative frequency are encountered the names: \**Δουσάρι(ο)ς*, \**Κασσισέος*, \**Μαρθίνη*, \**Σαδάλλας*, \**Σεάλλας*, \**Σόλεμος* represented by four examples each, and \**Αλουφάθη*, \**Αμρίλι(ο)ς*, \**Ασλομος*, \**Μάγδιος*, \**Μίλιχος*, \**Σαμάκων*, \**Σαωρέος* numbering three instances each (for the specimens of all the above mentioned names see index 2).

Phonetic changes of vowels and consonants due either to the use of the Hellenistic *Koine* diffused in the Greek East or to local idiosyncracies (outcome of the poor knowledge of Greek) result often in variant spellings and pronunciations of the same name: e.g. \**Σαμίραββος*-\**Σαμίραβος*, \**Αμερος*-\**Αμηρος*, \**Μαγαδέλη*-\**Μαγοδέλη*, \**Όμμαβίη*-\**Όύμμαβίη*, \**Όμμάβι*-\**Όμμάβι* (see also Phonetics). Several names are encountered in both genders, masculine and feminine: e.g. \**Ζεβίνας*-\**Ζεβίνθα*, \**Καϊάμος*-\**Καϊάμη*, \**Μάλεχος*-\**Μαλεχάθη*, \**Όβόδας*-\**Όβοδοϋς*, while a few others occur both in simple or compound form: e.g. \**Θέμος*-\**Θεμάλλας*, \**Μάγδιος*-\**Μαγαδέλη*. Noteworthy is the presence of the article *al* (7) in the composition of names, such as \**Αβδάλγης*, \**Αβδαλμίθαβος*, \**Αλολεφάθη* (no. 164), \**Αλούλαφος* (no. 137), which is according to Macdonald (1993, p. 381) a "relatively sure criterion" of their Nabataean Arabic origin.

The most representative group among the compound names is the theophoric one. The most common of them are the names having as second component the divine name *Allah*: \**Αλφάλλας* (no. 130), \**Θεμάλλας* (nos. 108, 146), \**Σαδάλλας* (nos. 126, 156, 196, 216), \**Σαλμάλλας* (no. 147) and \**Σεάλλας* (nos. 31, 140, 256, 293) or \**El*: \**Αμρίλι(ο)ς* (nos. 92, 109, 189), \**Μαγαδέλη* (nos. 47, 229), \**Μαργαλίη?* (no. 201), \**Νοομίλη* (no. 144), \**Ραβίβηλος* (no. 169), \**Φασέλη* (nos. 92, 116, 147, 210, 225, 296).

Another interesting category of theophoric names borne by the local inhabitants includes those composed of the word *bd*, "servant", and the name of a Semitic divinity or its epithet. Preponderant among them are the names \**Αβδάλγης* (nos. 12, 32, 53, 75, 82, 90, 212, 221, 270) and \**Αψης* (nos. 27, 40, 74, 124, 200), while rare are the attestations of \**Αβδίσαρος* (no. 61), \**Αβδοσιμέος* (no. 305), \**Αβδαλμίθαβος?* (nos. 48, 123), \**Αβιδάκαρος?* (no. 191). A similar composition is observed in two

non-theophoric names in which the name of the god has been replaced by that of a Nabataean king: *Ἀβδοάρθας* (nos. 21, 75) and *Ἀβδομάνχος* (nos. 152, 279, 280).

Other names favoured by the natives were those of the important Nabataean deities *Obodas* and *Dushares* as witnesses the frequent use of the names *Ὀβόδας* (nos. 20, 63, 178, 202, 208, 223, 245; cf. *Οὐβοδοῦς*, no. 10) and *Δουσάρμ(ο)ς* (nos. 190, 197, 215, 315) in the area. It is worthy of mention that, despite their pagan origin, *Ὀβόδας* and *Δουσάρμ(ο)ς* as well as several of the aforementioned theophoric names were still in use by the Christian indigenous population at least until the late fifth century.

A small percentage of the Semitic names recorded at Ghor es-Safi (not exceeding ten) is related to the Christian tradition since in their majority they are encountered in the Old and New Testament and make their appearance in the epitaphs from the second half of the fourth century onwards. The most popular among them seem to be the names *Σίλας* (nos. 77, 80, 106, 225, 263, 275), *Σάβας* (nos. 134, 142, 151, 182, 238, 250) and *Ἰωάννης* (nos. 57, 153, 155, 196, 203), followed by *Σωσάννα* (nos. 20, 148, 283), *Ἄννα* (nos. 91, 131), *Τάβθα* (nos. 101, 181), *Ἀβράμιος* (no. 252), *Θαδδέος* (no. 99), *Ἰάκωβος* (no. 218), *Μουσίς* (no. 18) and *Ἀλκάνης* (no. 14).

### NAMES OF GREEK AND LATIN ORIGIN

Proceeding now to the personal names of Greek and Latin origin, one can easily observe that, taken separately, they are less numerous compared to the Semitic ones. More specifically the Greek group amounts to ca. 73 names, that is exactly half the number of the Semitic nomenclature, while the Latin is the smallest group consisting of 45 names (proportionally one-sixth of the total onomasticon).

Many of the names of these two groups belong to the pagan onomastic heritage of the Greek East. A distinctive category of the Greek names is comprised of the mythological and historical ones which are frequently represented at Ghor es-Safi: *Αἰανός* (nos. 226, 240), *Αἰνίας* (nos. 17, 59, 130, 96, 237, 278, 285), *Ἀλέξανδρος* (nos. 139, 152, 174, 186, 195, 238, 249, 290), *Ἄντυς* (nos. 162, 184, 231), *Ἀριάδνη* (nos. 158, 262?), *Γοργόνιος* (no. 150), *Ὀλυμπία* (no. 302), *Πασιφάη* (no. 113), *Ρωμύλος* (no. 215), *Σίβυλλα* (nos. 5, 107), *Τρωίλα* (no. 8), *Ὠρίων* (nos. 54, 274). Greek pagan theophoric names are also adequately encountered in the epitaphs, *Ζηνόβιος* being the most common (nos. 13, 33, 38, 189, 217, 274) and followed by *Ἰσίδωρος* (nos. 121, 129, 289), *Ζήνων* (nos. 159, 283), *Διονύσι(ο)ς* (nos. 113, 317), *Ἀσκληπιάδης* (no. 5) and *Παλλάδιος* (no. 309).

However, a large amount of the Greek and to a smaller extent Latin names attested at Ghor es-Safi are derived from the Christian tradition. To the Greek Christian onomasticon could be attributed: a. names appearing in the New Testament: e.g. *Πέτρος* (see below), *Φιλήμων* (no. 220) b. names of Saints, Martyrs, etc.: e.g. *Γεώργιος* (no. 318), *Ζωσιμᾶς* (no. 111), *Κοσμᾶς* (nos. 50, 279), *Κυριακή* (nos. 140, 218), *Λεόντιος* (nos. 133, 246), *Νεῖλος* (nos. 89, 190) c. theophoric names, such as *Θεόδωρος* (nos. 112, 128, 173, 179, 206, 233, 245?, 260, 262, 281), *Θεοδώρα* (nos. 81, 288, 316), *Θεόδουλος* (nos. 160, 201), *Θεοδόσιος* (no. 164), *Θεόφιλος* (no. 176), *Τιμόθεος* (nos. 257, 259, 296?) d. names denoting Christian virtues: e.g. *Ἐλπίδιος* (nos. 166, 266), *Εὐσέβιος* (nos. 165, 253, 273, 282), *Ἥσυχιανή* (no. 179), *Παρθένιος* (nos. 67, 116, 138, 301), *Σωφρονία* (no. 216) or Christian doctrines: *Ἀναστασία* (no. 230), *Ἐπιφάνιος* (no. 251), *Ἐπιφάνια* (no. 165). Names from c and d groups may also belong to the group b.

The Latin Christian nomenclature includes mainly names that had been borne by Saints and Martyrs: e.g. *Βάσσος* (no. 209), *Δαμιανός* (no. 264), *Μαρκέλλα* (nos. 125, 228, 308), *Ματρώνα* (nos. 44, 241, 287), *Σέργιος* (no. 318), *Σιλουανός* (nos. 115, 247, 261). The most favourite among them but also of all the Latin names recorded at Ghor es-Safi is the name *Παῦλος*, enumerating 16 instances (see index 2). Similarly the most popular name in the Greek onomasticon is the name *Πέτρος* presenting 20 specimens (see *ibid.*), that is twice as many as the second most common names *Θεόδωρος* and *Κύρα* which occur 10 times each (see *ibid.*). The popularity of the names *Πέτρος* and *Παῦλος* is certainly to be attributed to the two prominent Apostles, Peter and Paul. Especially frequent are as well the Greek names *Αἰνίας* (8 cases), *Ἀλέξανδρος* (8), *Ζηνόβιος* (6) and the Latin ones *Κλαύδιος* (9) and *Οὐλιανός* (6). It is to be noted that several Greek and Latin names, unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia, appear at Ghor es-Safi with relative frequency: e.g. *Ἄντυς* (nos. 162, 184, 231), *Καρπώνι(ο)ς* (nos. 104, 161, 210), *Λάμπων* (nos. 41, 145), *Σίβυλλα* (nos. 5, 107), *Χρήσκης* (vernacular form of *Κρήσκης*: nos. 49, 82, 122).

On the other hand, a few Greek and Latin names rarely attested at Ghor es-Safi seem to have been chosen by the natives due to their phonetic resemblance to certain Semitic originals. Such names could be for example the Greek *Ἀπτικός* (nos. 57, 86), *Ἐρασίνος* (no. 44) or the Latin *Γέμελλος* (no. 3),

*Γερμανός* (no. 118), *Σοῦμμος* (no. 265; for the disguised Semitic names see commentary of each name).

Generally speaking, a comparative examination of the names and patronymics has shown that the inhabitants of Ghor es-Safi bear: **a.** Semitic names and Semitic patronymics (79 instances) **b.** Semitic names and Greek/Latin patronymics (68 cases) **c.** Greek/Latin names and Semitic patronymics (55 cases) **d.** Greek/Latin names and Greek/Latin patronymics (60 instances). The amount of specimens offered by the first three categories suggests that the bulk of the population was Semitic. It also shows that an adequate number of them remained faithful to the old tradition by using from generation to generation the indigenous Semitic names, while a larger portion gradually followed the new fashion and alternated them with the Greco-Roman names. The fact that 60 people bear exclusively Greek or Latin names and patronymics, could be considered as an oblique hint for the existence of a Greek or Latin element within the population of Ghor es-Safi. However, in a period of Hellenization and Christianization one cannot easily distinguish among the bearers of Greek names, for example, the ethnic Greeks from the Hellenized ones.

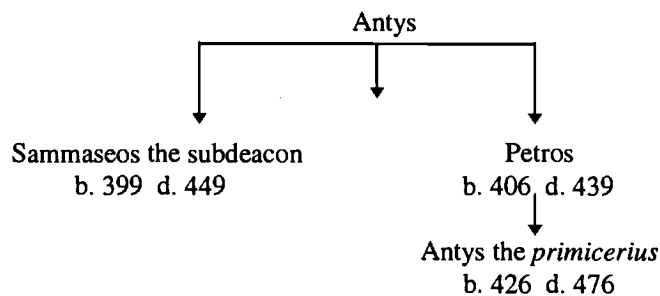
### **PATRONYMIC AND KINSHIP**

In the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi the single name of the deceased person is accompanied as a rule (269 instances) by the genitive of the father's name, thus demonstrating an adherence to the traditional Greek naming practice followed in general by the people from the Greek East (Kajanto 1963, p. 5). In the case of mature women, of course, we cannot be absolutely certain whether the accompanying name in genitive is that of a father or a husband (for this issue see Canova 1954, p. Lxxxviii) due to the lack of any specifying word, like e.g. *θυγάτηρ* (daughter) or *σύμβιος* (wife). However, the fact that two sisters, having exceeded by far the marriagable age, Troila aged 35 (no. 8) and Ouardous 30 (no. 9) - who died in the same year (AD 346/7) - are identified by their rare patronym, probably corroborates the first possibility.

Only in a small number of inscriptions (26) the name of the deceased stands alone (nos. 35, 36, 62, 66, 71, 94, 135, 138, 151, 155, 185, 194, 207, 222, 244, 253, 269, 271, 288, 297, 300, 302, 307, 313, 315, 316), while in a few others it is accompanied either by a military (nos. 4, 30, 69, 197) or ecclesiastical title (nos. 27, 55, 86, 181, 246), and once by an ethnic (no. 268).

Remarkable, though not unparalleled in the neighbouring areas (for Moab see Canova 1954, pp. Lxxxviii-xc), is the scarcity of words denoting the kinship. In one case the genitive *θυγατρός*, accompanying the name of Kyra (no. 22), specifies her as the daughter of the 38-year-old Siltha mentioned before her in the same epitaph. Mother and daughter, probably killed together in the earthquake of AD 363, shared the same tomb. In another instance (no. 297) the word *γονεῖς*, parents, is employed in a more abstract sense as part of the common phrase "*γονέων δάκρυον*" expressing here the parents' grief for the death of their beloved son Calpurnius.

Occasionally, despite the omission of relevant terms, a relationship between two or more persons mentioned in different epitaphs could be assumed by combining chronological and prosopographical data. Thus it seems that the two women of approximately the same age, the 35-year-old Troila (no. 8) and the 30-year-old Ouardous (no. 9), who share the same rare patronymic *Auxibios* and died in the same year (AD 346/7), were most likely sisters. The same could be said for the two girls, *Olefta* (aged 10, no. 121) and *Ommabi* (aged 15, no. 129), daughters of *Isidoros* (a rare name), who passed away within a short period of time (AD 423/4 the first and 425 the second). Similarly, two clerics, *Rufus* the presbyter who died at the age of 66 in AD 408 (no. 95) and *Karponios* the archdeacon aged 61 at the time of his death in AD 413 (no. 104), both sons of a certain *Samirabbos*, stand a good chance of being brothers, as also do the διδάσκαλοι *Samirabbos* (no. 156) and *Ogezou* (no. 196 with the relevant commentary). In addition, *Samakon* (no. 24) and *Obbe* (no. 23), victims of the 363 earthquake, could plausibly be father and daughter as suggested by their age (*Samakon* 40, *Obbe* 15) and the patronymic of *Obbe*. Even more revealing is the correlation of the evidence furnished by three epitaphs which leads to the identification of three members of the same family. More specifically, it is highly probable that *Petros* of inscr. no. 162 and *Sammaseos*, the subdeacon of no. 184, were brothers on account of their rare father's name in combination with their age and time of death. Accordingly, *Antys* the *primicerius* mentioned in epitaph 231, could have been son of *Petros* and grandson of *Antys*, as evidenced by his patronym and age. Thus the following family stemma could be reconstructed:



It is apparent that in the case of Antys the *primicerius* the custom of naming the grandchild after the paternal grandfather has been followed. Based on the use of this practice as well on dating criteria we were able to discern among the deceased some of the male members (father-son) of three more families. According to the evidence, *Paulus* of inscr. no. 52 is the son of *Domitius*, owner of the epitaph no. 25. Similarly *Attikos* the deacon referred to in inscr. no. 86 is the son of *Ioannes* of no. 567, while *Cassianus* of no. 182 seems to be the son of *Sabas* surnamed *Claudius* (no. 142: for this person see below). In three other epitaphs, however, it is observed that the deceased inherited the name of his father (no. 187: Καϊάμου Καϊάμου; no. 237: Αϊνίου Αϊνίου; no. 265: Σοῦμμος Σοῦμου).

### SUPERNOMINA

Another interesting phenomenon related to the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi is the limited - as expected - use of *supernomina* (on this category of names, see Kajanto 1966). Among the plethora of persons attested in the epitaphs, only two men bear an additional name denoted with the usual formula "ὁ καὶ". Both men were natives as suggested by their names but the first one *Sabas* (no. 142) employed a Latin *supernomen*: Σάβα ὁ καὶ Κλαυδίου (Latin is also his patronymic Κασσιανοῦ), while the second one, the teacher *Ogezōn* (no. 196) bore a Hellenized biblical name as a surname: Ὁγέζωνος ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννου (for placing the article in nominative instead of genitive see Syntax). Both *supernomina* were especially popular as personal names in the area (for Κλαύδιος see no. 54; for Ἰωάννης no. 57).

### ETHNICS

In addition to the local inhabitants, a very small number of people originating from neighbouring cities were buried in the cemetery of Zoora, as we are informed by the explicit mention of their ethnics: two of them hailed from the metropolis of Petra (no. 131: Μνημῖον Ἀννα Ἀξιζου [ἀ]πὸ πόλεως Πέτρα, AD 427; no. 279: Μνημῖον Κοζμάς Ἀβδαμόχο[σ]υ, Πετρεός, last quarter of 4th c.), another two from Phaino (modern Khirbet Finan, no. 80: Μνημῖον Σίλα Ὁλέφου, Φαινουσίου), AD 400; no. 268: Μνημῖον Ὁκεῦλου, Φαινοισί<ου>, 2nd half of 4th c.) and one from Augustopolis (recently identified with modern Udruh, east of Petra, no. 278: Μνημῖον Ἀλφίος Αἰνίου, Ἀγουστοπολίτης, last quarter of 4th c.). These three cities were all situated south of Zoora and like it belonged to the province of Third Palestine (for the exact location and the history of each city, see commentary of the relevant inscriptions).

Four of the persons bearing the ethnics are men of mature age (except for Okelos in no. 268 whose age is not indicated), while the fifth is a seven-year-old girl (no. 131). The specific reasons for their presence at Zoora, either as permanent (e.g. through intermarriage) or temporary (merchants, craftsmen etc.) residents, cannot be further elucidated due to the lack of any piece of evidence concerning their activities.

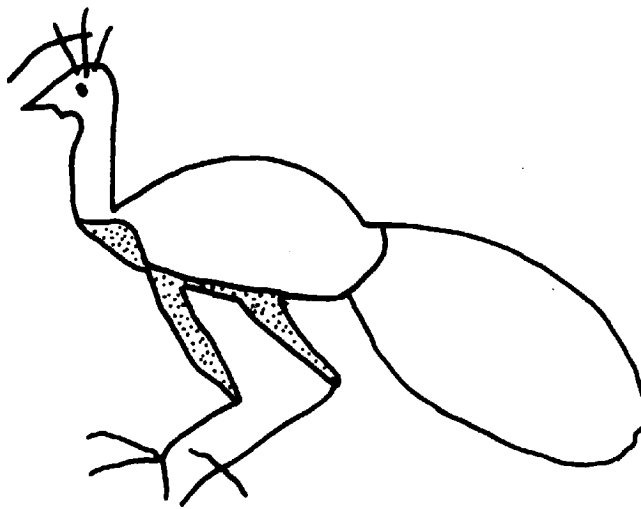
The ethnics appear as a rule in the usual adjectival form and only in the case of Petra a periphrasis is used "[ἀ]πὸ πόλεως Πέτρα" (no. 131). It is to be noted also that the ethnic *Ἀγουστοπολίτης* is attested here for the first time.

### CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

In conclusion, a few remarks could be made resulting from a brief survey of the Ghor es-Safi onomasticon available to the present day. First of all it should be stressed that the epitaphs offer a rich variety of names which includes usually the patronymic and rarely the ethnic of the deceased. The Semitic nomenclature outnumbers the Greek and Latin one. The fact that the majority of the names are



Semitic demonstrates that their bearers belonged to an indigenous Semitic population. Greco-Roman names were also used by the natives as indicated by the alternation of Greek and Latin with Semitic names within the same family. A large proportion of the Greco-Roman nomenclature is connected to the Christian tradition. It makes its appearance along with the Christian names of Semitic origin from the middle of the fourth century AD onwards and seems to predominate at Ghor es-Safi only in the late sixth century as evidenced by the dated epigraphic material. Nevertheless, despite the progressive Christianization of the nomenclature, the local Semitic onomasticon, including the pagan theophoric names, continued to be used until at least the early sixth century. The chronological gap, observed at Ghor es-Safi between AD 517 and 570, restrains from substantiating either the continuation of the indigenous Semitic onomasticon or the prevalence of the typically Christian names during this period.



## LIST OF NAMES ACCOMPANIED BY THEIR FREQUENCY AND DATE

## NAMES OF SEMITIC ORIGIN

Name	Frequency	Date
{ 'Αβαβέα .....	1 .....	441
{ 'Αβάβη .....	1 .....	424
{ 'Αβάβιος .....	1 .....	437/8
{ 'Αββίβου(g.) .....	1 .....	435
'Αβδάλης, 'Αβδάλην(a.), 'Αβδάλγου(g.) .....	9 .....	354/5-472
{ 'Αβδαλμιθάβου(g.) .....	1 .....	424
{ 'Αβδολμίθαβος .....	1 .....	385
'Αβδήσου(g.) .....	1 .....	382
*'Αβδητος(g.) .....	1 .....	431
'Αβδισάρου(g.) .....	1 .....	389
'Αβδοάρθα(g.) .....	2 .....	361-395
'Αβδομάνης .....	1 .....	367/8
{ 'Αβδομάνχου(g.) .....	1 .....	436
{ 'Αβδόμαχος .....	1 .....	last quarter of 4th c.
{ 'Αβδαμόχου(g.) .....	1 .....	"
[ 'Α]βδοσιμέου(g.) .....	1 .....	late 4th - early 5th c.
'Αβδοῦς .....	1 .....	453?
'Αβιδακάρου(g.) .....	1 .....	452
'Αβουβάθη .....	1 .....	358
'Αβραμίου(g.) .....	1 .....	499
*'Αγγου(g.) .....	1 .....	385
'Αζίζου(g.) .....	1 .....	427
'Αθίλης(g.) .....	1 .....	443
'Αλέσου(g.) .....	2 .....	416-439
'Αλίθας .....	1 .....	394
'Αλκάνις .....	1 .....	355
'Αλουλάφο<υ> .....	1 .....	431
'Αλουλόθη .....	1 .....	449
'Αλούφα(g.) .....	1 .....	389
{ 'Αλολεφάθης(g.) .....	1 .....	440
{ 'Αλουφάθης(g.) .....	3 .....	1st half of 5th c.- 456
'Αλφάλου(g.) .....	1 .....	425
{ *'Αλφιος, 'Αλφίου(g.) .....	12 .....	367/8-494
{ *'Αλφου(g.) .....	1 .....	440
'Αμάθα .....	1 .....	417
'Αμαθήσου(g.) .....	1 .....	389
'Αμαλάθη .....	1 .....	407
{ 'Αμέρου(g.) .....	1 .....	391
{ 'Αμήρου(g.) .....	1 .....	309
'Αμ<ρ>ίλις, 'Αμυιλίου(g.) .....	3 .....	406-450
*'Ανγα .....	1 .....	427
'Αννής (?) .....	1 .....	405
'Αραβιονοῦ(g.) .....	1 .....	413
'Ασάδου(g.) .....	1 .....	395
'Ασέμου(g.) .....	1 .....	404/5
'Ασλόμου(g.) .....	3 .....	355-434
Αὔδωάνου(g.) .....	1 .....	441
*'Αψη(g.), *'Αψητος(g.) .....	5 .....	369-454
Βάγγα(g.) .....	1 .....	354/5
Βαργουννᾶ(g.) .....	1 .....	382
Βεσαμέας(g.?) .....	1 .....	419
Βίτζου(g.) .....	1 .....	403
Βουέσθα(g.) .....	1 .....	345

Βωλανοῦ(g.)	1	395
Γαλαέου(g.)	1	444
Γάσου(g.)	1	473
Γοδέου(g.)	2	388-461
Δουσάρις, Δουσάριον(a.), Δουσαρίου(g.)	4	451-465
Ἑλλίου(g.)	1	395
Ἑνζεβίνα(g.)	1	382
Ἑννάθη	1	402
Ἑννης(g.)	1	477
Ζάβδα(g.)	2	363-418
Ζανάγωνος(g.)	1	486
{ Ζαννέου(g.)	1	397
{ Ζονένου(g.)	1	422
Ζαννούρου(g.)	1	late 4th - early 5th c.
Ζεβίνας, Ζεβίνα(g.), Ζαβί<ν>α(g.)	5	383-435
{ Ζεβίνθα	1	474
{ Ζεβινθοῦ	1	435
Θαδδέου(g.)	1	411
Θέης(g.)	2	429-445
Θεμάλλου(g.)	2	415-435
Θέμου(g.)	2	2nd half of 4th c.-405
Θέου(g.)	1	2nd half of 4th c.
Θηάθη	1	370
Θημουρείσα(g.)	1	389
{ Θοάιει	1	387
{ Θοαίς(g.)	1	349
Θόψη	2	395-434
Ἰακώβου(g.)	1	466
Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννου(g.)	5	387-455?
{ Καϊάμη<ς>(g.)	1	465
{ Καῦμης(g.)	1	479
{ Καϊάμου(g.)	5	393-452
{ Καϊαμίου(g.)	1	422
{ Καϊόμου(g.)	1	414
{ Καϊούμου(g.)	1	456
Κασέτου(g.)	1	2nd half of 4th c.
{ Κασσισέου(g.)	4	445-485
{ Κασσίσου(g.)	1	late 4th - early 5th c.
{ <Μ>αγαδέλη	1	475
{ Μαγοδέλης(g.)	1	385
Μαγδίου(g.)	3	2nd half of 4th c.-452
Μαζαβάνου(g.)	1	1st half of 5th c.
{ Μαλεχάθη	1	424
{ Μολεχάθη	1	386/7
Μαλέχω(g.)	1	391
Μαργαλῆς(g.)	1	455
Μαργάνι(g.)	1	484
{ Μαρθίνη	2	2nd half of 4th c.- 1st half of 6th c.
{ Μαρθόνης(g.)	2	454-494
{ Μάρθον	1	2nd half of 4th c.
{ Μαρθοῦς	1	356

Μάρου(g.)	1	2nd half of 4th c.
Μάρσου(g.)	1	358/9
Μερώσθα	1	378
{ Μιλίχου(g.)	3	2nd half of 4th c.- 411
{ Μίλχι(g.)	1	386
[M]ολέχη	1	468
Μολέχης	1	395
Μορέσου(g.)	1	439
Μοσαλέμου(g.)	1	498
Μουββάνου(g.)	1	474
Μουσί(g.)	1	358/9
Νάμος	1	5th? c.
{ Νατίρα(g.)	1	5th? c.
{ Νετίρου(g.)	1	454
Νεσρέου(g.)	1	454
Νοομίλη	1	435
*Οββης(g.)	1	363
{ *Οβέδας	1	360/1
{ *Οβόδα(g.), *Οβόδου(g.), *Οβόττου(g.)	6	391-489
Ούβοδοϋς	1	349
*Ογέζωνος(g.)	2	417-453
*Ογελάθη(ν.)	1	430
{ *Οεβάνγος	1	418
{ Ούαιβάν<ν>(g.)	1	499
*Οκεϋλου(g.)	1	2nd half of 4th c.
{ *Ολέφθα	5	372-455/6?
{ *Ολεφος, *Ολέφου(g.)	11	345-516
{ *Ιόληφος	1	2nd half of 4th c.
*Ομέρου(g.)	1	516
{ *Ομμάβι, *Ωμμάβι	2	375-425
{ *Ομαβίη, *Ομμαβίης(g.)	3	375/6 - 2nd half of 5th c.
{ Ούμμαβίη, Ούμμαβίης(g.)	2	384-485
*Ονενάθης(g.)	1	370
*Ονένου(g.)	1	392
*Οσνης(g.)	1	429/30
Ουαρδοϋς	1	346/7
Ουάρθας	1	398
Οϋδι(g.)	1	417
Ουρέου(g.)	1	395
*Οφρότου(g.)	1	448
*Ραβιβήλου(g.)	1	442
*Ρουκεμάθης	1	394
Σάβας, Σάβα(g.)	6	429-495
Σαβινάθη(ν., ν.)	1	379
Σαδάλλου(g.)	4	412-453
Σαλμάλλο<ν>(g.)	1	435
Σαμάκωνος(g.)	3	363-413
Σαμμάσας, Σαμμασέου(g.), Σαμασέου(g.)	7	2nd half of 4th c.-503
Σαμιράβου(g.), Σαμιράβου(g.)	11	356/65-479
Σαρίδας	1	345
Σαωρέος, Σαωρέου(g.)	3	481-516
Σεάλλου(g.), Σε<ά>λου(g.), Σηάλλου(g.)	4	372-505/6?
Σελαμάνου(g.)	2	416-441
Σεούδα	2	411-416
Σίλας, Σίλα(g.), Σίλου(g.)	6	395-591

Σίλθα, Σίλθας(g.)	8	363-485
Σοέδου(g.)	1	1st half of 6th c.
Σόλεμος, Σολέμου(g.)	4	356/65-385
Σούββα(g.)	1	429
Σωσάννα, Σωσ[άν]ας(g.)	3	360/1-436
Τάβθα	2	412-446
Φασέλη, Φασέλης(g.), Φασήλης(g.), Φασέλες(g.)	6	406-473
Φοσειάθη	1	late 5th? c.
Φυάλου(g.)	1	475

### NAMES OF GREEK ORIGIN

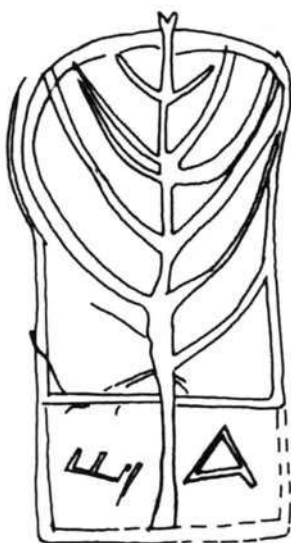
Name	Frequency	Date
Ἀγαθαφέρον(ν.), Ἀγαθαφέρων	1	359
Αἰανοῦ(g.)	2	474-484
{ Αἰνίας, Αἰνίου(g.)	7	358-482
Ἡνίου(g.)	1	425
Ἀλεξάνδρου(g.)	8	432-484
Ἀναστασία	1	475
Ἀνδρομάχου(g.)	1	last quarter of 4th c.
Ἄντυος(g.)	3	439-476
Ἀριάδνης(g.)	1	438
Ἀριάνθης(g.)	1	576
Ἀριστώνειν(a.)	1	late 4th - early 5th c.
Ἀσκληπιάδου(ς)(g.)	1	334?
Ἀττικοῦ(g.)	2	387-404
Αὐξιβίου(g.)	2	346/7
Γελάσιος	1	395
Γεώργιος	1	2nd half of 6th c.
Γοργονίου(g.)	1	436
Δημητρίου(g.)	1	329/30
Διονύσις, Διονυσίου(g.)	2	417-1st half of 6th c.
Δωροθέου(g.)	1	591
Ἑλλαδίου(g.)	1	495
Ἑλπιδίου(g.), Ἑλπειδίου(g.)	2	2nd half of 4th c.-441
Ἐπιφανίου(g.)	1	498
Ἐπιφονία	1	440
Ἐρασίνου(g.)	1	383
Εὐανθίου(g.)	1	391
Εὐδοξίας(g.)	1	506
Εὐδοξίου(g.)	1	441
Εὐουαγρίου(g.)	1	376
Εὐσέβιος, Εὐσεβίου(g.)	4	440-502
Εὐφρασίου(g.)	1	404
Ζηνόβις, Ζηνοβίου(g.), Ζηνοβίω(g.?)	6	355/6-465
Ζήνωνος(g.)	2	late 4th/early 5th c.-439
Ζωσειμᾶς, Ζώσειμε(ν.)	1	416
Ἦσυχιανή	1	445
Θαρσέ[ο]υ(g.)	1	early 5th c.
Θεοδοσίου(g.)	1	440

Θεοδούλου(g.)	2	439-455
Θεοδώρα, Θεοδώρας(g.)	3	403-1st half of 6th c.
{ Θεόδωρος, Θεόδορος, Θεοδώρου(g.)	9	416-576
{ Θουεδάρα(g.?)	1	489
Θεοφίλου(g.)	1	444
Θωνόνη	1	1st half of 5th? c.
Ἰσιδωρε(v.), Ἰσιδώρου(g.)	3	423/4-425
Καρπώνης, Καρπωνίου(g.)	3	413-462
{ Κοζμάς	1	last quarter of 4th c.
{ Κόσμος	1	385
Κύρα, Κύρας(g.)	10	363-476
Κυρείλλα	1	2nd half of 4th c.
Κυριακή	4	434-505/6
Κυρίλλου(g.), Κυρίλλου{ς}(g.)	2	409-474
Κῦρος	1	473
Λαμπάδωνος(g.)	1	404
Λάμπωνος(g.), Λαμπώνου(g.)	2	382-435
Λεοντίου(g.)	2	429/30-489
Μάρωνος(g.)	2	441-456
Μεγεθίου(g.)	1	370
Νίλου(g.)	2	405-451
Νόννα(g.)	1	485
Ὀλυμπία	1	late 5th-early 6th c.
Παλλαδίου(g.)	1	2nd half of 5th c.
Παρθενίου(g.)	4	392-late 5th? c.
Πέτρος, Πέτρου(g.)	20	382-503
Πιθολάου(g.)	1	345
Προσδοκίου(g.)	1	349
Ῥωμύλλου(g.)	1	465
{ Σιβύλης(g.)	1	334?
{ Σύβελλα	1	415
Σωφρονία	1	412
{ Τιμόθεος, Τιμοθέφ[υ](g.)	2	506-516
{ Τιμετήης(g.)	1	5th-6th? c.
Τροείλλα	1	346/7
Φαισφάη	1	417
Φίδωνος(g.)	1	454
Φιλήμωνος(g.)	1	470
Φιλωρώμης(g.)	1	391
Φιναθέου(g.)	1	349
Ῥωρίων, Ῥωρίωνος(g.)	2	2nd half of 4th c.-387

# *NAMES OF LATIN ORIGIN*

Name	Frequency	Date
Ἀμιανοῦ(g.), Ἀμμιανοῦ(g.)	2	393/4-1st half of 5th c.
{ Ἀννιανοῦ(g.)	1	435
{ Ἀννιονοῦ(g.)	1	454
Ἀρρενίου(g.)	2	415-439
Αὐρήλις	1	464/5?
Βάσσου(g.)	1	461
Βίκτωρ	1	576
Βόνου(g.)	1	362
Γαϊανοῦ(g.)	1	429
Γεμέλλου(g.)	1	323/4
Γερμανοῦ(g.)	1	419
Δαμιανός	1	591
Δομετίου(g.), Δομετίου(g.)	2	366-386
Εἰλιανός (Αἰλιανός)	1	372
{ Καλπούρνι(ν.)	1	early 4th? c.
{ Καλαπόρνου(g.)	1	407
Κασσιανοῦ(g.)	3	434-476
Κέλσου(g.)	1	411
{ Κλαυδίου(g.), Κλαυδίω(g.?)	8	362-571
{ Ἀκλαύδης	1	425
Μάγνου(g.)	1	443
Μακρίνος	1	309
Μαξίμου(g.)	1	386
Μαρκέλλα, Μαρκέλλας(g.)	3	424-474
Μαρρίνου(g.)	1	2nd half of 5th c.
Ματρώνης(g.)	3	383-485
Οὐαλεντῖνα	1	452
Οὐαλεντίνου(g.)	4	363-484
Οὐάλεντος(g.)	3	415-475
Οὐαλερίου(g.)	1	464/5?
Οὐϊκτωρίνου(g.)	1	371/2
Οὐλπιανός, Οὐλπιανοῦ(g.)	6	388-431
Οὐλπίου(g.)	1	473
Πατρικίου(g.)	1	456
Παυλονίου(g.)	1	359
Παῦλος, Παῦλον(a.), Παύλου(g.)	16	323/4-481
Ῥούφου(g.)	4	370-431
{ Ῥωμανοῦ(g.)	1	424
{ Ῥωμονός	1	end of 4th c.
Σαββιγιανοῦ(g.)	1	405
Σαββίνης(g.)	1	494
Σεουηριανοῦ(g.)	1	416
Σεονηρίνα	1	413
{ Σεονήρου(g.)	1	474
{ Σ[ε]ουερος	1	early 5th c.
Σεργίου(g.)	1	2nd half of 6th c.
Σιλανοῦ(g.)	3	375/6-456

{ Σιλουανοῦ(g.)	2	494-576
{ Σελουανός	1	417
Σοῦμμος	1	1st half of 4th c.
Φέρμου(g.)	1	2nd half of 4th c.
Χρήσκης, Χρήσκου(g.)	3	385-423





## OFFICES AND PROFESSIONS

An important piece of information provided by the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi is the reference principally to the office held and rarely to the profession exercised by the person during his lifetime. These mentions, usually placed after the name or the patronymic of the deceased, are confined to thirty and relate only to people of some social standing.

From the officials the most frequently attested in the inscriptions are the ecclesiastical ones, represented by one *bishop* (no. 27), one *presbyter* (no. 95), one *archpresbyter* (no. 55), two *deacons* (nos. 86, 136), four *deaconesses* (nos. 175, 181, 195, 200), two *archdeacons* (nos. 24, 104), seven *subdeacons* (nos. 96, 149, 150, 163, 184, 212, 240) and one *reader* (no. 180). The earliest reference belongs to the archdeacon Samakon (AD 363), while the latest is that of the subdeacon Valentinus (AD 484).

Of special importance is the epitaph of the bishop Apses, who died in AD 369, because it offers not only the first and hitherto earliest epigraphic mention of a bishop of Zoora (taking for granted that this was his actual bishopric), but also enriches the episcopal list of this city with an otherwise unknown name of a bishop (on this list, see commentary of inscr. no. 27).

One of the earliest known is also the attestation of the office of the archpresbyter, borne by Rufus, whose epitaph is dated to AD 387/8, while that of the presbyter is encountered twenty years later (AD 408).

The considerable number of lower ranking ecclesiastical officers, like archdeacons, deacons and especially subdeacons, recorded so far in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs (see above), probably served the growing needs of the local Christian community at least during the fifth century AD to which the relevant evidence is dated (exclusive of the fourth-century mention of the archdeacon Samakon). A case in point is that of the two subdeacons, Paulus aged 45 (no. 149) and Gorgonios 55 (no. 150), who must have been on active service at approximately the same period since they both died in the year 436.

Worthy of mention are also the almost contemporary attestations of the four deaconesses covering the decade 444-454. As expected these deaconesses, who bear the title *διάκονος* (and not *διακόνισσα*) as their male counterparts, were mature women (their age at the time of death ranged between fifty and seventy). The only exception is the twenty-five-year old Siltha (no. 195) whose age is quite below forty, the minimum age of admission to the office (Meimaris 1986, p. 175). A plausible reason for her appointment could have been the singular virtues and abilities of this woman.

Finally another officer of the lower clergy, the reader Kassiseos, is recorded in a mid-fifth century epitaph (AD 445).

The fact that almost all clerical orders, from the lower (*ἀναγνώστης*) to the higher (*ἐπίσκοπος*), are represented in the Ghor es-Safi burial epigraphy, combined with the remarkably early appearance of some ecclesiastical offices (*ἀρχιδιάκονος*, *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος*, *ἐπίσκοπος*), testify not only to an early Christianization of the indigenous population but also to an early organization of the local bishopric of Zoora.

The office of *archisynagogos*, borne by the deceased Saridas of inscr. no. 7, could be enumerated as well among the religious offices, if this term was used to designate the head of the local Jewish synagogue, something that needs further substantiation (for the discussion on the problematic identity of Saridas, see commentary of inscr. no. 7).

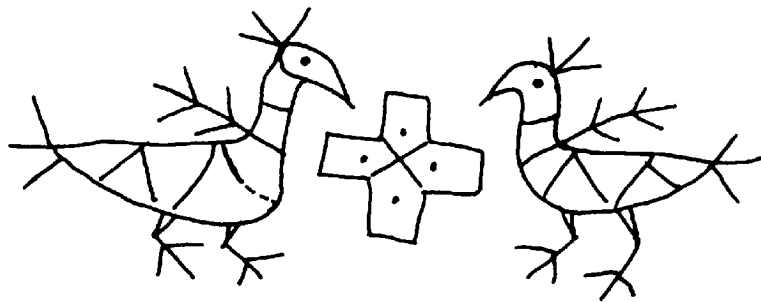
The mentions of military and civil officers in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs are less numerous than the religious ones (eight compared to twenty). Sometimes omission of a supplementary term, specifying the nature of the office, makes it hard to distinguish between military and civil titles, as it happens in the cases of the *ὀφ(φικι)άλιος* (*officialis*) Demetrios (no. 4, AD 330), the *τριβοῦνος* (*tribune*) Victorinus (no. 30, AD 371/2), the *λιβλάριος* (*libellarius or librarius*) Dusarios (no. 197, AD 454), the *πριμικ(ή)ριος* (*primicerius*) Antys (no. 231, AD 476), and the *πρεπόσιτος* (*praepositus*) Petros (no. 254, AD 503). However, the clearly military character of two other officers, the *δρακωνάρις* (*draconarius*, standard bearer) Kaiamos (no. 69, AD 393) and the *στρατιώτης* (*soldier*) Ainias (no. 237, AD 482), as well as the military presence at Zoora suggest that at least some of the above mentioned officials could have served in or even have been at the head of the military troops, known from the sources to have been stationed during the Roman and Byzantine periods at this city (on these military units, see commentary of inscr. nos. 30 and 237). Such an assumption cannot be proved, of course, until further evidence appears.

On the other hand, the office of *βουλα(ν)τής* (if the restoration of the abbreviation is correct), borne by a thirty-year-old man whose name is illegible (no. 286), denotes a municipal magistrate, i.e. a

councillor. It is likely that this person was a member of the local *boule* of the city of Zoora and that the office of βουλευτής was bestowed to him before the age of thirty (see commentary of inscr. no. 286).

Finally, it is to be noted that the Ghor es-Safi tombstones are as yet silent about the occupations or professions exercised by the local inhabitants. The only exception to this are the two διδάσκαλοι (teachers, tutors), Samirabbos (no. 156, AD 438) and Ogezou surnamed Ioannes (no. 196, AD 453), who, despite their young age (ca. twenty and twenty-two years old respectively) seem to have been respectable members of the local society as indicated by the exceptional mention of their profession and the careful execution and decoration of their epitaphs (for the possibility that these young men were brothers, see commentary of inscr. no. 196).

In conclusion, the picture obtained for the society of Zoora, after a survey of the offices and professions attested in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs, is a fragmentary one since the vast majority of the relevant material refers to people holding ecclesiastical, military and civil offices presenting a certain social prestige. The quasi total absence of occupations related to everyday life, like farmers, artisans, merchants etc., deprives us from significant information on the local economy which may have been a flourishing one according to the literary sources. The rare mention of these kinds of occupations, however, was not a practice followed only at Ghor es-Safi but it occurred frequently in the epigraphy of the East (on this subject see Sartre-Fauriat 2001, II, pp. 163-164).



## AGE AND CAUSES OF DEATH

A recurrent feature in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi is the mention of the age of the deceased, a phenomenon not uncommon in neighbouring areas, mainly in Moab (Canova 1954, especially p. xci) and to a lesser degree in the Negev (Alt 1921, nos. 15, 21, 25, 34, 39 [Beersheba]; 55, 69 [Elusa]; 97, 99 [Rehovot]; *Nessana* 1, nos. 80, 81, 112, 113, 118, 126, 127 [Nessana]). It is also occasionally encountered in the region of Hauran (Sartre-Fauriat 2001, II, pp. 143-149, with a detailed account on this practice in the area and also comparative material; cf. Patlagean 1977, p. 96 who points out that this practice was more frequent in Egypt than in the East).

The indication of the age at the time of death should have been considered important by the local people during the period examined, because in a corpus of 321 epitaphs it is certainly included in 285. This number is evidently to be augmented since in a few cases (nos. 203, 221, 283, 291, 292, 312, 316) the introductory phrase of the age is preserved, while in several others (nos. 64, 87, 202, 263, 269, 274, 289, 290, 309-311) it is likely that the age was found in the now mutilated part of the text. Eventually it comes out that only in 15 epitaphs the age is omitted (nos. 6, 30, 36, 62, 82, 83, 266, 268, 293, 296, 299-303).

The age reference is placed as a rule after the name and the patronymic of the deceased. Rarely enough it is encountered at the end of the inscription (nos. 86, 90, 125, 223, 285, 297) and exceptionally at the very beginning (no. 288). It usually consists of the genitive plural *ἐτῶν* followed by the age numeral (only in no. 43 the numeral precedes *ἐτῶν*) and preceded by the participle *ἀποθανών* or *ἀποθανούσα* in genitive (for the confusion in the gender and the case of the participle, see Syntax). The latter is occasionally replaced by the synonymous participles *παυσάμενος(-ένη)* or *ἀναπαυσάμενος(-ένη)*, *τελευτήσας(-σασα)*, *ἀπογενόμενος(-ένη)*, *κοιμηθείς(-εῖσα)*. In the later funerary texts (especially those of the sixth century) the age is sometimes denoted with the phrase "*ζήσας(-ασα) ἔτη + numeral*". All these participles appear either plain or as part of an expression qualifying the deceased (see Burial terms and phrases), while in four instances they are completely omitted (nos. 46, 118, 277, 288).

The words *ἐτῶν*, which is predominant, and *ἔτη* occur in a variety of spellings and abbreviations: *ἡτῶν*, *ἡτῶν*, *ὑτῶν*, *ἐτῶν*, *ἡτῶν*; *ἔτι*, *ἔτε*, *ἡτη*, *ἔτη*. The age numerals are mainly rendered in Greek numerical letters in descending sequence (tens-units: 251 cases; in no. 147 the tens figure is obliterated) and less frequently in cardinal numbers (27 instances) or in a combination of the two systems (nos. 44, 127, 130). In one case (no. 288) the numerical sign of the age is inadvertently engraved twice, while in two other examples the age numeral is repeated both in cardinal number and in numerical figure (nos. 98, 253). In no. 32 the double mention of the age numeral with a difference of one year is due to the correct rewriting of the original engraved text in red paint.

Noteworthy is the precise indication of the age observed mainly in epitaphs of children and expressed either in months (*μηνῶν ὀκτώ*, no. 33) or in years and months (nos. 41, 44, 88, 127; cf. a similar case from Beersheba: Alt 1921, no. 25). The age to a nicety (19 years, 4 ½ months) is given exceptionally in the case of the young teacher Samirabbos (no. 156). On the other hand, the age of the adolescent Mousis (18 years) in the Greek text of the bilingual epitaph no. 18 can be only indirectly obtained by subtracting the year of death from that of birth. The mention of these two dates is a unique feature in the funerary epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi which inevitably raises questions.

As to the age of the adults this is frequently indicated in approximate numbers which are multiples of 5 and 10. According to the evidence, the years 15, 20, 25, 30, 35 etc. present a higher proportion of deaths in comparison to the years preceding or following them. This practice becomes more common in advanced ages, a fact which confirms that it was used in the cases that the exact age at the time of death either was not known or not well remembered (for an analogous phenomenon in epitaphs from other parts of Third Palestine and Hauran, see Patlagean 1977, p. 95; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, II, p. 148). Although often employed, the approximate indication of the age of the deceased is explicitly expressed through the preposition *ὥς* (= about) only once at Ghor es-Safi in the epitaph of a 25-year-old man named Silas ("*ἀποθανόντος ὥς ἐτῶν κε'*", no. 275; for the same use of *ὥς*, see *Nessana* 1, no. 81).

Generally speaking, the funerary texts of Ghor es-Safi are a direct and valuable source of information for a study on the mortality of the local population during the fourth to sixth centuries as in their majority they are precisely and successively dated, present a social and ethnic homogeneity, and come from a specific geographical area where the practice of indicating the age of the deceased was usual.

On the other hand, certain factors like the lack of epitaphs for the period of AD 517-570, the parallel use of uninscribed tombstones probably by the poor people and the often approximate

estimation of the age at the time of death (on this issue see above), necessitate a cautious treatment of the statistical conclusions on the life span at Ghor es-Safi. Moreover, the data presented here may be revised with the discovery of new epigraphical material.

According to the evidence furnished by the epitaphs so far collected, out of a total of 285 individuals whose age is recorded, 171 are men and 109 women (the sex of 11 of them is ambiguous: nos. 32,50,70,73,79,91,118,123,124,252,276). The sex of the remaining 5 is not preserved (nos. 37, 127,255,284,295). Their ages cover a wide range with the youngest person being an eight-months old male baby (no. 33) and the oldest a man 108 years old (no. 223).

The table presented below aims at a survey of the mortality rates among the Ghor es-Safi inhabitants, using as parameters the age and the sex of the deceased.

AGE AT THE TIME OF DEATH		NUMBER OF DEATHS IN ABSOLUTE FIGURES		NUMBER OF DEATHS IN PERCENTAGES	
Years		Males	Females	Males	Females
0 - 7	infancy and childhood	19	7	11.1	6.4
8 - 14		6	10	3.5	9.2
15 - 24	adulthood	24	34	14	31.2
25 - 34		44	15	25.7	13.8
35 - 44		18	13	10.5	11.9
45 - 54		22	9	12.9	8.2
55 - 64		20	7	11.7	6.4
65 - 74	old age	11	9	6.4	8.2
75 - 84		2	3	1.2	2.8
85 - 108	extreme old age	5	2	2.9	1.8
TOTAL		171	109	± 100	± 100

From this table it is evident that the male deaths (171, 61%) exceed remarkably the female ones (109, 39%). Although this suggests a higher male mortality, it could better be attributed to the fact that tombstones were more frequently erected for men as a result of their privileged social position. Besides a closer examination of the above data shows that the percentages of mortality for men and women vary according to the age.

As regards the mortality during infancy and childhood (0-14 years) it should be noted that it reaches an average rate 15% for both sexes (i.e. 14.6 for the boys, 15.6 for the girls; for the exceptionally high infantile mortality observed in el-Kerak, Moab and its explanation, see Canova 1954, pp. xci-xcii; cf. Patlagean 1977, pp. 99-100). One notices, however, that it is higher for the boys of 0-7 years and the girls of 8-14 years, with the greatest number of deaths (6) occurring at the second and seventh year of age.

The main body of the sample, though, consists of adults, ranging from 15 years, an approximate social starting limit of the marriagable age (Patlagean 1977, p. 96; Kioussopoulou 1997, p. 117), until 64 years, end of the period of one's decline. In this section of the table is observed a higher mortality for women than men since by the age of 45, 56.9% of the women had perished in comparison with 50.2% of the men. It is noteworthy that the highest percentage of female deaths (31.2%) occurred between the ages of 15 and 24, the prime child-bearing years. This phenomenon, encountered also in other areas, may be associated according to some scholars (Patlagean 1977, p. 99 and n. 188; Talbot 1984, p. 268), with fatalities caused by abortion or miscarriage, death in childbirth or puerperal fever. The highest proportion of male deaths appeared between the ages of 25-34 and may principally be attributed to perils connected with outdoor activities.

Although a rather short life span was the norm for the Ghor es-Safi population, several adults (10.5% of the men and 12.8% of the women) attained old age. More specifically 25 persons (13 men, 12 women: 7.6% and 11% respectively) lived until 80 years, while another 7 (5 men, 2 women: 2.9% and 1.8% respectively) surpassed the allotted life span and entered extreme old age by surviving until the late 80s (nos. 75,141,145,278) and the early 90s (nos. 113,91); one of them reached even the extraordinary age of 108 (no. 223, see above). Such longevity can be compared to that of the Desert Fathers, like Kyriakos (107) and John Hesychast (105) which has been attributed to the wholesome climate, the tranquility and the diet of the monks (Talbot 1984, pp. 269-270; Hirschfeld 1992, p. 82).

Speaking of the mortality at Ghor es-Safi another aspect which could be examined is that related to the seasonal cycle. The rather constant indication in the epitaphs of the day of the local Macedonian month on which the death occurred (229 instances; in another 26 cases only the month is denoted) enables us to investigate the frequency of deaths in each specific month.

In the following table are given the Macedonian months with their Julian equivalents and the number of deaths recorded during each of them.

Months		Deaths
Xanthikos	(22 March - 20 April)	25
Artemisios	(21 April - 20 May)	28
Daisios	(21 May - 19 June)	15
Panemos	(20 June - 19 July)	20
Loos	(20 July - 18 Aug.)	15
Gorpiaios	(19 Aug. - 17 Sept.)	18
Hyperberetaios	(18 Sept. - 17 Oct.)	13
Dios	(18 Oct. - 16 Nov.)	16
Apellaios	(17 Nov. - 16 Dec.)	28
Audynaios	(17 Dec. - 15 Jan.)	26
Peritios	(16 Jan. - 14 Febr.)	25
Dystros	(15 Febr. - 16 March)	25
Epagomenai	(17 March - 21 March)	1
		255

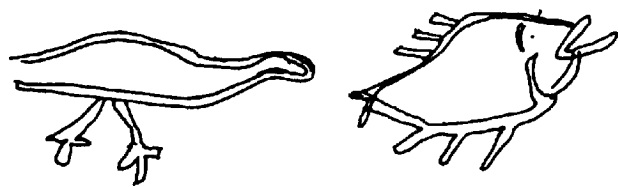
For the sake of convenience and better comprehension the data presented above have been adjusted to Julian months:

Months	Deaths	
December	32	} + 2*
January	31	
February	17	} + 3
March	16	
April	25	} + 3
May	24	
June	16	} + 6
July	17	
August	13	} + 3
September	16	
October	8	} + 1
November	14	
December	32	} + 5

\* The numbers added on the right between two Julian months indicate the deaths for which only the Macedonian month without its day is recorded. In these cases the Macedonian month, when converted, covers part of two Julian months (see previous table).

This table shows that there is an increased mortality during the winter months of December and January and the spring months of April and May. The lowest mortality is observed in autumn and especially in October.

Four of the deaths which occurred in the month of May are due to a natural disaster, an earthquake, as is explicitly mentioned in the epitaphs (nos. 22 [see commentary], 23,24). These references are of special importance because they comprise the only secure cause of death ever recorded at Ghor es-Safi.



## DATE OF DEATH

Another persistent element appearing in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi is undoubtedly the indication of the date of death. It is remarkable that out of a total of 321 funerary inscriptions included in this study the vast majority bears a more or less detailed chronological formula (293 instances: of these 264 are securely dated and in 29 the date is partially preserved or completely mutilated or consists of one or two elements which are insufficient for dating), while only a negligible quantity is deprived of any kind of date (28 epitaphs: nos. 265-271, 274-280, 288, 293, 294, 296, 297, 299, 301, 303, 313-316, 318). The percentage of the securely dated epitaphs at Ghor es-Safi is extremely high (82%), especially when compared to the rates of other regions (cf. for example Moab where out of a total of 415 inscriptions, 143 are dated [34.5%]: Canova 1954, p. xciii), and reveals the care taken by the inhabitants of Ghor es-Safi to denote the time of death on their tombstones.

The securely dated epitaphs cover a period of three centuries, from the early fourth (AD 309) to the late sixth (AD 591). It should be noted, however, that the first half of the fourth century is poorly represented by a number of only ten inscriptions (nos. 1, 3-11: of these the hundreds ordinal of the year numeral in no. 1 [AD 309] is quite doubtful). From the mid-fourth century onwards the dates follow an almost uninterrupted sequence until the end of the fifth century (nos. 12-252). According to the evidence, during this period of time more than one death is recorded in specific years (e.g. E.P.A. 258: 3 deaths [nos. 22-24], E.P.A. 290, 330, 339: 5 deaths [nos. 73-77, 144-148, 175-179 respectively]). The sixth century has yielded only sporadic examples (nos. 253-264: of these no. 255 could have also been dated in the fifth century since of the year numeral only the hundreds figure is preserved) which belong to the first two decades (AD 502-516, nos. 253-259) and to the eighth and tenth decades (AD 571-576, 591, nos. 260-264) of this century. The gaps observed in the chronological sequence of the fourth and sixth centuries epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi may be fortuitous and will probably be bridged by future discoveries in this area.

The date of death is placed at the end of the epigraphical text either comprising its final phrase or more frequently preceding the concluding common exhortation "θάρσει οὐδεις ἀθάνατος" or some other invocation. It usually follows the indication of the age of the deceased and only in one case (no. 90) is the age referred to after the date. A peculiar syntax appears in four epitaphs (nos. 108, 178, 212, 218) in which the age is inserted between the dating particles interrupting their sequence.

Unlike the laconic dates (usually composed of era year) encountered in the fourth century inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia (Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 154), the dating formula at Ghor es-Safi appears rather established already from the mid-fourth century having as basic component parts the year numeral, the month day and the weekday. Around the middle of the fifth century this pattern starts to be occasionally enlarged through the addition of the indiction year (first attestation AD 438, no. 156) which becomes an almost indispensable dating element in the inscriptions of the sixth century. The hour of death is exceptionally attested in an epitaph dated in AD 425 (no. 128).

Although a detailed chronological formula for the standards of the area and the period seems to be the rule in the funerary inscriptions of Ghor es-Safi, there are also cases in which the date is restricted to one or at the most two dating particles. These instances include either sole mention of the year (nos. 4, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 20, 26, 30, 34, 55, 62, 68, 83, 121, 133, 154, 213; the phenomenon disappears towards the mid-fifth century) and secondarily of the month (nos. 272, 273?, 285-287, 298, 300, 308) and the weekday (no. 317) or combination of year and month (65 examples) and less often of year and weekday (no. 12), month and weekday (no. 281), month and indiction (no. 302).

As to the order of the dating elements, which is probably indicative of their significance, this normally follows the scheme *year-month day-weekday*, but there are several cases where these elements are interchanged (month day-year-weekday: nos. 85, 165, 175-177, 201; month day-weekday-year: nos. 70, 86, 148, 250; weekday-month day-year: no. 217). Noteworthy are also six epitaphs (nos. 24, 28, 54, 82, 147, 211) in which the mention of year and month day is separated from that of the weekday by the insertion of the exhortation "θάρσει οὐδεις ἀθάνατος" between them (for an analogous separation of month day from year, see no. 35). For the indiction, wherever it appears, is reserved either the last or the penultimate position in the chronological formula, while the unique hour reference is placed at its end.

**Era year:** A careful calculation of the dates encountered in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi has confirmed beyond any doubt that the era in use is that of Provincia Arabia. This era, which was inaugurated immediately after the incorporation of the Nabataean kingdom into the Roman empire by Trajan and commemorated the creation of a new province, has as starting point the 22nd of March AD 106 (for the

historical outline of the era, its geographical expansion, its component parts, its conversion rule, and its epigraphical attestation, see Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 146-304). The area of Ghor es-Safi, which originally belonged to Provincia Arabia, continued to employ this era even after its transfer to the jurisdiction of Palaestina Salutaris (AD 389/392) and then to Palaestina Tertia (AD 409 onwards) as it happened with other regions of Southern Transjordan (*ibid.*, p. 147).

The era reference as a rule consists of a year numeral introduced by the word "ἔτος" in a plethora of variations. The most recurring are the genitive *ἔτους* (92 instances) and the iotacized clause *ἐν ἔτι* (81 examples), while their alternative or abbreviated spellings "ἡτους", "ἡτοις", "ἔτ(ους)", "τοῦ ἔτους", "τοῦ ἔτ(ους)", "ἔτι", "ἐν ἔτει", "ἐν ἔτη", "ἐν ἔτους", "ἐν ἡτους", "ἐν ἡτι", "ἐν ἔτ(ει)" appear with much less frequency. In two epitaphs (nos. 150, 257) is observed the superfluous use of both common expressions "ἐν ἔτι" and "τοῦ ἔτους". Of interest are the idiosyncratic forms "τοῦ ἐν ἔτι" (nos. 160, 188) and "τοῦ ἐν ἔτους" (no. 179) with inversion of the preposition *ἐν* and the usual confusion of cases (genitive instead of dative), while exceptional is the phrase "διὰ ἔτους" employed in inscr. no. 128. In a few instances the word "ἔτους" is omitted and the year is specified by the preposition "ἐν+the definite article" (e.g. "ἐν τ(ῷ)": nos. 70, 82, 189; "τοῦ ἐν": no. 133) or merely by "ἐν" (no. 172) or by "τοῦ" (nos. 146, 228, 250). In a very small number of epitaphs the year reference is restricted to a plain numeral (nos. 46, 142-144, 178, 196?, 253). Finally self-evident is the total absence of a more emphatical designation of the era year through "ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχίας" or other specific expressions (see *ibid.*, p. 150).

The majority of the year numerals are rendered in Greek numerical letters in descending order with the exception of a handful of numerals denoting the decade 311-319 E.P.A. (τῆς-τῆς) in which the tens and units of the year are arranged in ascending order (ταί-τῆς: nos. 111-113, 115, 119, 121, 122, 127). The rest of the numerals are either written out in ordinal numbers (nos. 12, 52, 83, 92, 117, 130, 131, 145, 152, 154, 156-158, 168, 169, 183, 206, 219) or are expressed through a combination of ordinals and numerical figures (nos. 1, 3, 67, 98, 128, 138, 181, 217). The ordinals are usually placed in genitive case even if the preceding phrase requires a dative.

**Month:** The month indication, as mentioned above, was an essential part of the dating formula from the very beginning. The months employed throughout the period covered by the epitaphs (fourth-sixth centuries) belong exclusively to the Graeco-Arabic calendar which was normally combined with the era of the Province of Arabia. This was a solar calendar based on the Egypto-Macedonian model. It was composed of twelve months of 30 days each, which bore Macedonian names, and five (or six in the leap years) intercalary days ("ἐπαγόμενα") added at the end of the year (for the system of intercalation in the era of the Province of Arabia, see recently Mercier 2001, pp. 101-108). Under Babylonian influence the year started on the spring equinox (22 March) with the month Xanthikos (for more information on the structure and function of this calendar, see Grumel 1958, p. 173 and Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 40, 148).

All twelve Macedonian month names are repeatedly attested in the Ghor es-Safi funerary inscriptions principally in vernacular spellings (fig. 16). The most characteristic among them are certainly the forms *Ξανθικός* (in two texts spelled *Ξαθικός*: nos. 225, 262) instead of the typical Macedonian *Ξανδικός* (the latter occurs only twice in nos. 2, 103), *Λῶος* for *Λώιος* and *Αὐδονέος* in place of the original *Αὐδναῖος* or *Αὐδυναῖος* (for the orthographic variations of each month name recorded at Ghor es-Safi, see index 5c) which are encountered as well in other parts of Palestine and in Arabia (see Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, index 8, pp. 411-416). Exceptional is the numerical month appellation "μηνὸς ἀγομένου τετάρτο{τ}υ", referring in all probability to the fourth month of the local calendar, i.e. Panemos (see inscr. no. 117 and its commentary). Apart from the Macedonian month nomenclature a decisive feature, which confirms the true nature of the Graeco-Arabic calendar employed at Ghor es-Safi, is the mention of an epagomenal day (see inscr. no. 148 and its commentary).

The month reference is a compound expression usually consisting of the words *μηνός*, *μηνί* or the phrase *ἐν μηνί* and their abbreviations or variations (*μην(ός)* [especially frequent], *μην(ός)*, *μηνός*, *μηνός*, *μηνός*, *μηνός*; *ἐν μηνί*, *ἐν μηνί*, *ἐν μηνός*, *ἐν μηνός*) followed by the Macedonian name of the month and its day. Only once is given a plain month name deprived both of an introductory term and a day (no. 63). With a few exceptions using the correct dative case, all the other month appellations are either rendered in genitive form regardless of an introductory clause in dative or are rarely abbreviated.

The days of the month are mostly denoted by the Greek numerical signs *α'-λ'* (1-30) placed usually in descending order (tens-units: 80 instances), but presenting also a high proportion of ascending numerals (units-tens: 63 cases). The numerals are less frequently expressed in ordinal numbers (12 examples) or in a combination of cardinals and ordinals (nos. 79, 180). Unique are the

cases of a month day designation with a plain numerical noun ("μηνὸς Δύστρου τριακάδι", no. 52) or with a numerical noun combined with an ordinal ("μηνὸς Ἀπελλήου δευτῆρα καὶ εἰκάδι", no. 130).

**Weekday:** The third in terms of frequency but most interesting constituent element of the date in the funerary epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi is the day of the week which deserves special attention. More than half of the epitaphs (171 cases) indicate, usually next to the year and the month, the specific weekday on which the death occurred. This number could be further augmented if we take into consideration six inscriptions in which is preserved only the introductory phrase for the weekday (nos. 135, 202, 204, 222, 284, 312; in two of these [nos. 135, 204] the weekday numeral has been restored on the basis of the other dating particles) and several others in which part of or the entire dating formula is mutilated. Such an amount is especially significant firstly because it is considerably high in view of the scanty weekday occurrences recorded so far in Greek texts of the Late Antiquity in Palestine and Arabia (for the relevant examples, see Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 48 and index 13, pp. 419-420; cf. also discussion below; for the limited number of weekday indications in Greek and Latin texts from other parts of the Roman Empire, see Worp 1991, pp. 222-225; cf. Sartre 1993, p. 135, no. 105), and secondly because in its majority it is earlier than the known examples from these provinces which date mainly to the sixth-seventh centuries.

Furthermore, the abundant dated epigraphical evidence of Ghor es-Safi, including all seven weekday appellations, helps in establishing a complete list of the local weekday designations in chronological sequence (for this list see fig. 15). According to the funerary texts, two main types of nomenclature are used in order to denote the weekday of death: a. the *planetary* names and b. the *numerical* names.

The *planetary* week is of astronomical origin. Each day of this week was named after one of the seven planets which governed its first hour: *dies Saturni* (ἡμέρα Κρόνου), *dies Solis* (ἡμέρα Ἡλίου), *dies Lunae* (ἡμέρα Σελήνης), *dies Martis* (ἡμέρα Ἄρεως), *dies Mercurii* (ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ), *dies Jovis* (ἡμέρα Διός), *dies Veneris* (ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης). The earliest attestation of planetary days in the West goes back to the time of Augustus (*Tibullus* I.3, 18). By the third century AD, mainly due to the impact of astrology on people, the planetary weekday system was widely spread, used occasionally by Christians (Church Fathers used it only in their apologies or when addressing the pagans) despite the efforts of the Church to extirpate such pagan practices. In the Greek East it became extinct after the sixth century, while in the West it continued to be used until the fifteenth century and it is still traced in the names of weekdays in Western Europe (for the planetary week, see Smith and Cheetham 1880, vol. 2, pp. 2031-2032, s.v. *week*; Grumel 1958, p. 165; Samuel 1972, p. 18; Bickerman 1980, p. 61; Sharf 1988, pp. 27-30).

In Ghor es-Safi the planetary weekday appellations precede chronologically the numerical ones and are fully represented by more than one example each (fig. 17). They are expressed through the word *ἡμέρα* in dative (and once through the phrase "ἐν ἡμέρᾳ", no. 63), given either in full or in abbreviated form, and the name of the planet in genitive. The hitherto earliest occurrence is recorded in AD 334 (ἡμέρα Διός, no. 5) and the latest is most likely dated in 412 (ἡμέρα Ἄρεως, no. 216). By the late fourth-early fifth centuries the planetary weekday names gradually start to be replaced by the numerical ones which appear sporadically in the second half of the fourth century (nos. 19, 37, 50, 73, 78, 79, 80), but become the rule from the early fifth century onwards.

The *numerical* designation draws its origin from the Old and New Testament in which the days of the week were simply numbered. The Christians adopted this numerical appellation which persisted with minor alterations in the Greek East where it is still in use (Grumel 1958, p. 165; Samuel 1972, p. 18; Bickerman 1980, p. 61). In Ghor es-Safi the first indication of a weekday with a numeral occurs in AD 359 (no. 19). This seems to be the hitherto earliest attestation, given the fact that in East and West the first well dated parallel of a numerical weekday appears only in a mid-fifth century inscription from Milan (AD 444: *ILCV*, no. 2735 = Worp 1991, p. 222, no. 10).

The numerical weekday denominations in the present epitaphs are expressed in three main formulae which are given below in order of chronological appearance:



WEEKDAY DESIGNATION IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
ήμέρα Ἡλίου AD 382-395 (nos. 41,45,52,71,72)	ήμέρα Σελήνης AD 345-395 (nos. 7,23,24,56,74)	ήμέρα Ἀρεως AD 345/5-412 (nos. 12,21,54,69, 82,211,216)	ήμέρα Ἐριού AD 349-391 (nos. 10,11,42,65,66)	ήμέρα Διός AD 334-392 (nos. 5,31,39,51,60,67)	ήμέρα Ἀφροδίτης AD 370-395 (nos. 28,38,63,64,70, 75,87,281)	ήμέρα Κρόνου AD 366-383 (nos. 25,44)
ήμέρα Κυρίου α΄ AD 398-576 (nos. 79,85,88,89,94, 95, 110,111,116,119, 164,175,204,233,262)	ήμέρα Κυρίου β΄ AD 402-484 (nos. 2,105,235,240)	ήμέρα Κυρίου γ΄ AD 378-476 (nos. 37,127,137, 138,151,163,220, 231)	ήμέρα Κυρίου δ΄ AD 411-455 (nos. 97,100,109,112, 113,124,147,158,162, 192,203,255,289)	ήμέρα Κυρίου ε΄ AD 385-461 (nos. 50,78,86,123,135, 156,166,167,173,190, 205,209)	ήμέρα Κυρίου ς΄ AD 400-461 (nos. 80,91,96,122, 149,169,195,200, 208)	ήμέρα Κυρίου Κρόνου AD 407 (no. 93)
ήμέρα Κυρίου πρώτη AD 439/1st half of 5th c. AD (nos.161,292)	AD 359-484 (nos. 19,99,103,128, 132, 136,150,177, 182,188,196,198, 224,239)	ήμέρα Κυρίου τρίτη AD 445-472 (nos. 120,221)	ήμέρα Κυρίου τετάρτη, δ AD 411 (no. 98)	ήμέρα Κυρίου πένητη AD 395 (no. 73)	ήμέρα Παρασκευή AD 452 (no. 193)	ήμέρα Κυρίου ζ΄ AD 406-499 (nos. 92,101,104, 107,108,115,140, 145,157,160,181, 197,242,249,252)
ήμέρα Κυριακή AD 441-516 (nos. 168,174,179, 215,227,230,232, 258,317)	ήμέρα β΄ AD 443-495 (nos. 170,178,212, 237, 250)	ήμέρα σαμβάτου γ΄ AD 427 (no. 131)	ήμέρα τε<τ>άρτη AD 475 (no. 229)	ήμέρα ε΄ AD 437-443 (nos. 153,171)	ήμέρα ς΄ AD 456-486 (nos. 206,244)	έμέρα Κυρίου έβδομή AD 481 (no. 236)
ήμέρα Κυρίου Κυριακή AD 473/2nd half of 5th c. AD (nos. 225,295)	ήμέρα δευτέρα του σαμβατος AD AD 456 (no. 207)	ήμέρα γ΄ AD 436 (no. 148)	ήμέρα δ΄ AD 485 (nos. 241,243)	ήμέρα πέμτη του σαβάτου AD 465-506 (nos. 217,257)	ήμέρα ζ΄ AD 440-498 (nos. 165,187,201, 210, 251)	ήμέρα Σάββατον (or Σάμβατον) AD 444-479 (nos. 176,214,234)

Fig. 15

- a. ἡμέρα (or ἐν ἡμέρα) Κυρίου + numeral
- b. ἡμέρα σαμβάτου + numerical sign or  
ἐν ἡμέρα + ordinal + τοῦ σάμβατος
- c. ἡμέρα (or ἐν ἡμέρα) + numeral

The introductory word ἡμέρα, always in dative, is found in every possible abbreviation or in the variant spellings "ἡμήρα" and "ἐμέρα". The numerals of the weekdays are denoted as a rule by the Greek numerical signs α'-ζ', while ordinals are used only in fourteen cases (nos. 2, 73, 105, 161, 180, 207, 217, 221, 229, 235, 236, 240, 257, 292). A double designation, both in ordinal number and numerical figure, occurs in inscr. no. 98 (ἡμέρα Κυρίου τετάρτη, δ').

The introductory phrase of the first numerical designation, ἡμέρα Κυρίου, is of special interest for the weekday nomenclature of the area for two reasons: a. its pure Christian connotation since the addition of the sacred name "Κυρίου" next to ἡμέρα stresses the idea that every single day of the week - including Κυριακή (the Lord's Day *par excellence*) as the pleonastic term "ἡμέρα Κυρίου Κυριακή" (nos. 225, 295) attests - belongs to and is under the suzerainty of the Lord, and b. its uniqueness, to our knowledge, in the Christian epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. It is the earliest of the three numerical weekday appellations and the most common throughout the period covered by the Ghor es-Safi funerary inscriptions (first instance: AD 359, no. 19; last instance: AD 576, no. 262).

Noteworthy is as well the word σάββατον (in Greek ἑβδομάς), which precedes or follows the weekday numeral in the second formula. It is attested both in the Old and New Testament where it was equally applied in singular or plural form, either to the "seventh day of the week" (for this use see below) or, when preceded by a number, to the "seven-day week" (for characteristic examples of both meanings, see Sharf 1988, p. 31, n. 28), as is the case with this Ghor es-Safi formula (for the common use of "σάββατον" for the designation of "week" by the Christians not merely as a continuation of the Jewish usage but as "an acknowledgement of the holiness and excellence of the sabbath through its place in the creation of the world", see *ibid.*, p. 32, n. 32). In Ghor es-Safi the term occurs in genitive as "σαμβάτου" (no. 131) and "σάμβατος" (no. 207) and also in the variant spellings "σάβοτος" (no. 217) and "σαβάτ(ου)" (no. 257). Although the attestations of the week in the present epitaphs are restricted to four (see nos. above), ranging from AD 427 to 506, they are significant because they are much earlier than the two so far known examples from Palestine and Arabia: the first from 'Avdat in the Negev dated in AD 581 ("τῇ τρίτῃ τοῦ σάμβατος": Negev 1981, no. 18) and the second from el-Kufr in Hauran dated in AD 652 ("τῇ δευτέρῃ τῆς ἑβδ(ομάδος)": PA III, p. 360; cf. also commentary of inscr. no. 131).

The third formula "ἡμέρα + numeral", being in fact a simpler form of the second one, appears for the first time in AD 436 (no. 148). From that point on it is used simultaneously with the other two numerical designations (last instance AD 498, no. 251). Worthy of mention is the compound appellation "ἡμέρα Κυρίου Κρόνου" applied to Saturday in the epitaph of the Christian young woman Amalathe who died in AD 407 (no. 93). Although this combination of a Christian weekday designation with the planetary one sounds rather peculiar, it might not have been considered as such by the Christians of this period who employed both systems alternatively (see below commentary on ἡμέρα Κυρίου Κυριακή). Similar mixed nomenclature is also attested in a few Christian burial inscriptions from Egypt (Sharf 1988, p. 30 and nn. 15, 16).

Finally, three of the days of the week, i.e. Friday, Saturday and Sunday, bear at Ghor es-Safi from the mid-fifth century onwards, apart from their planetary and numerical names, the alternative designations "Παρασκευή", "Σάββατον" and "Κυριακή" respectively.

The term *Παρασκευή*, having the meaning of the "day of preparation" for Saturday (σάββατον), is known already from the New Testament (e.g. *Mark* 15.42; *John* 19.14,42). In Ghor es-Safi the phrase "ἡμέρα Παρασκευή" occurs only once in an epitaph of AD 452 (no. 193).

As mentioned above the appellation σάββατον, apart from its meaning as "week", was also employed in the Old and New Testament in order to denote the "seventh day of the week" (e.g. *Leviticus* 23.32; *Luke* 6.1, 2, 5-7, 9; *Mark* 16.1; although the word is used in its numerical sense in the Bible, it seems that the term is a survival of a planetary name since Šabbetai was called the planet Saturn, cf. Stieglitz 1981, p. 136 and n. 4). The Ghor es-Safi attestations of the specific word for Saturday include twice the spelling "σάμβατον" (nos. 176, 214) and once that of "σάββατον" (no. 234), while their dates are placed in AD 444, 465 and 479 respectively. The term is so far epigraphically unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia since the two known sixth-century inscriptions from these provinces recording the day of Saturday use the numerical name (Maḥaiy in Moab, Canova 1954, no. 350: ἑβδ(ομά) ἡμήρ(α), AD 505; Beersheba in the Negev, Abel 1904, pp. 266-267, no. 1: ἡμέρ(α) ζ', AD 588).

The designation *Κυριακή* was applied by the Christians to the first day of the week (Sunday) already from the second century probably after the unique mention of this appellation in the New Testament (*Revelation* 1.10: "ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ"). In the *Didache* of the Twelve Apostles it is styled as "τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Κυρίου" (*Did.* 14). Its name and special meaning for the Christians lies in the fact that this is the day of Christ's resurrection (Tertull., *de Orat.* 23; Just., *Apolog.* 1.67; ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσιμος; *Const. App.* II.59). Because of its importance Sunday was very early (2nd century) established by the Christians as a day of rest and worship (Grumel 1958, p. 165; Sharf 1988, p. 28). In our epitaphs there are several instances of the phrase "ἡμέρᾳ (or ἐν ἡμέρᾳ) Κυριακῇ" dated in their majority in the second half of the fifth century (for examples see fig. 15 and index 5f). The epigraphic use of this term survives in Palestine in the last quarter of the sixth century according to the evidence provided by two well dated epitaphs of 'Avdat (Negev 1981, no. 19, AD 576; no. 18, AD 581). Of interest is the denomination "ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου Κυριακῇ", used in two cases at Ghor es-Safi (nos. 225, 295), which, although it could be considered as pleonastic or emphatical, it seems to follow the wording of the first formula of the numerical designation with the exception that here the numeral has been replaced by the term "Κυριακῇ" (cf. above commentary on "ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου Κρόνου").

The numerous weekday references in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, combined with the other chronological elements (era year, month day and/or indiction), can contribute to a more precise date of death on condition that all the dating particles of the epigraphic text are completely preserved. In this study 151 epitaphs fulfil this requirement: of these 104 show a perfect accordance between the various dating components (this number could increase to 107 since in inscr. nos. 135, 204 the weekday and in no. 221 the month day could be securely restored to offer an agreement, provided of course that the original numerals were accurate), while in 47 the weekday indicated on the tombstone differs from that obtained after conversion of the provincial date into modern one and use of the perpetual calendar (for tables cf. Grumel 1958, p. 316; Bickerman 1980, p. 60). In the latter case the discrepancy observed between the actually indicated and the calculated date could be of one to three weekdays. More specifically:

- 1 day earlier: 12 cases (nos. 28, 52, 54, 72, 80, 112, 137, 203, 206, 230, 239, 251)
- 2 days earlier: 5 cases (nos. 21, 70, 193, 197, 216)
- 3 days earlier: 1 case (no. 51)
- 1 day later: 22 cases (nos. 23, 24, 66, 69, 79, 82, 86, 98, 99, 111, 128, 131, 132, 145, 150, 153, 177, 192, 220, 242, 250, 252)
- 2 days later: 5 cases (nos. 37, 50, 73, 88, 166)
- 3 days later: 2 cases (nos. 100, 236).

This evaluation of the evidence demonstrates that in more than half of the safely dated funerary texts the weekday indications are in compliance with those resulting from modern calculation, but that at the same time there is a high percentage of conflicting indications. These incongruities, which are more frequent from the early fourth until the early fifth centuries, are not a local phenomenon, but occur as well in other documentary sources of the Late Antiquity in East (more often) and West as K. Worp has showed (Worp 1991, pp. 221-227). In our opinion, the discord noticed in the Ghor es-Safi weekdays could be attributed to the following reasons: a. to a mistake made by the commissioner of the funerary inscription who sometimes did not remember the exact day on which a death or burial had occurred due to the span of time (from a few days to several weeks) intervened between the death or burial and the engraving and laying of the tombstone, and b. to a stonecutter's blunder which is evident for example in the confusion of the day numerals, as this of  $\Delta = 4$  with  $A = 1$  (cf. inscr. no. 100 with three days difference in which the actual and converted weekday would coincide on a Sunday, if the weekday had been engraved as A instead of  $\Delta$ ) or that of round E = 5 with  $\Theta = 9$  (cf. inscr. no. 51 with three days difference which would have been eliminated, if the month day numeral had been carved as  $\Theta I$  in the place of EI). Worp arrived at similar conclusions having studied a smaller number of relevant material in East and West (Worp 1991, pp. 223-226).

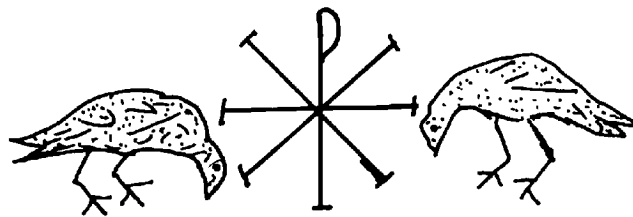
**Hour:** The time of death is fixed even more accurately in an epitaph of AD 425 (no. 128) with the addition of the hour of death. The mention of the hour, which is so far unique at Ghor es-Safi, consists of the introductory word *ὥρᾳ* and the cardinal numeral *πέντε* and is placed at the end of the dating formula (after era year, month day and weekday). For the rare instances of hour indication in the epitaphs of Palestine, see commentary of inscr. no. 128.

**Indiction:** Finally, around the mid-fifth century the indiction, another important reckoning element, made its appearance in the local dating formula. This was originally a taxation system based on a cycle of fifteen years. The type of indiction employed in the provinces of Palestine and Arabia was the Constantinopolitan or Constantinian one introduced by Constantine the Great and starting on 1 September (on the indiction in general and its examples in Palestine and Arabia, see Meimaris in collab.

with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 32-34). The indiction occurrences at Ghor es-Safi amount to 17 (nos. 156, 162, 196, 221, 246-248, 254, 257-264, 302) with the earliest example dated in AD 438, the hitherto earliest attestation in Palestine (ibid., pp. 33-34; for a late fourth-century instance from Arabia, see ibid. and commentary of inscr. no. 156), and the latest in AD 591. Most of these indiction years (14 cases of which no. 221 is restored) correlate with the corresponding chronological data, offering in this way a more secure date (cf. for example inscr. no. 248 which confirms the indiction year's start on 1 September). The discordance between the indiction and the other dating particles, observed in two cases (nos. 260, 262), is not an unusual phenomenon for the sixth century inscriptions dated by the era of Provincia Arabia (ibid., pp. 157-158) and at Ghor es-Safi could be ascribed to the compiler's or letter-cutter's failure to update the chronological elements since both texts are dated a few days after the beginning of a new era year.

The indiction reference occupies the last or penultimate place of the dating formula. It is comprised of the word *ἰνδικτιῶνος* in the abbreviated forms *INΔ* and *INΔIK* (in no. 260 *INΔIKT*) followed by Greek numerical signs (the tens and units in descending order) and once by an ordinal number (no. 258). In three epitaphs (nos. 162, 196, 221) the indiction phrase is further augmented as follows: *ἐν χρόνοις* or *ἐν χρό(νοις)* + numerical sign + *ἰνδικ(τιῶνος)* (for examples of this phrase in Palestine and Arabia see ibid., p. 34). In one of these (no. 221) the word for indiction is given in full in the phonetic spelling *[ἰν]δικτιῶνος*.

In conclusion, the rich securely dated epigraphical evidence from Ghor es-Safi (264 epitaphs) increases by 50% the number of the known inscriptions dated according to the era of Provincia Arabia (531 in the corpus published by Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 162-304; since then of course several new dated inscriptions have come to light from other regions of Palestine and Arabia but the Ghor es-Safi ones still remain the most numerous) and offer plenty of comparative material. The sequence of dates observed in the epitaphs (especially those of the mid-fourth to the late fifth centuries) not only allows one to detect the successive stages of the dating formula but also to elucidate some obscure issues concerning individual dating elements. In addition, it provides the appropriate chronological frame for the study of the onomastics, the prosopography and the demography of the area as well as of the development of various titles, offices, burial terms etc., helping us to form a more complete picture of the early Christian community of Zoora which turns to be one of the earliest in the area so far.

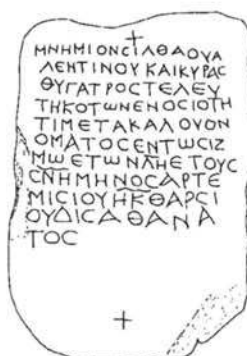


Inscr. 71

*Xandikos*

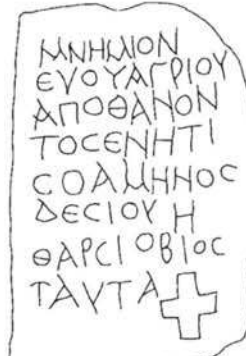
(22 March - 20 April)

Inscr. 22

*Artemisios*

(21 April - 20 May)

Inscr. 36

*Daisios*

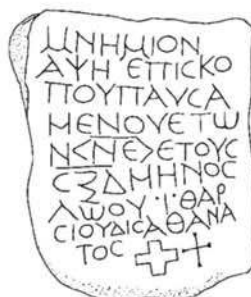
(21 May - 19 June)

Inscr. 172

*Panemos*

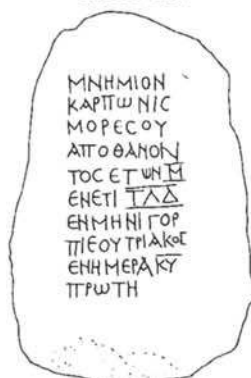
(20 June - 19 July)

Inscr. 27

*Loos*

(20 July - 18 August)

Inscr. 161

*Gorpaios*

(19 August - 17 September)

Inscr. 146

*Hyperberetaios*

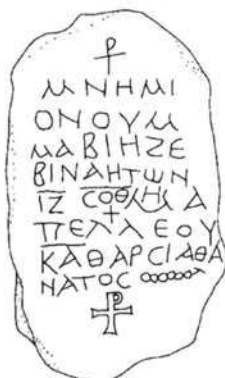
(18 September - 17 October)

Inscr. 49

*Dios*

(18 October - 16 November)

Inscr. 46

*Apellaios*

(17 November - 16 December)

Inscr. 287

*Audnaios*

(17 December - 15 January)

Inscr. 132

*Peritios*

(16 January - 14 February)

Inscr. 70

*Dystros*

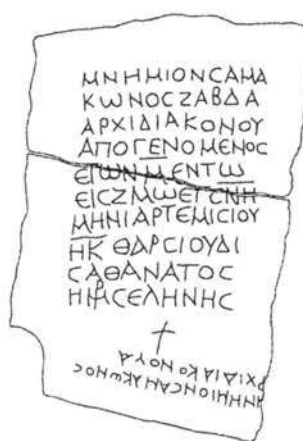
(15 February - 16 March)

**Fig. 16.** Representative inscriptions in which are attested all twelve Macedonian month names of the Graeco-Arabic calendar.

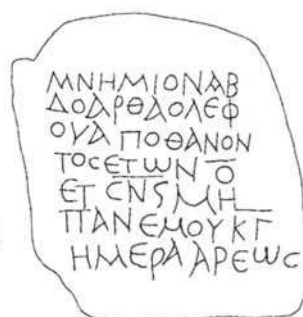
Inscr. 71  
SUNDAY  
*dies Solis*  
ἡμέρα Ἡλίου



Inscr. 24  
MONDAY  
*dies Lunae*  
ἡμέρα Σελήνης



Inscr. 21  
TUESDAY  
*dies Martis*  
ἡμέρα Ἀρεως



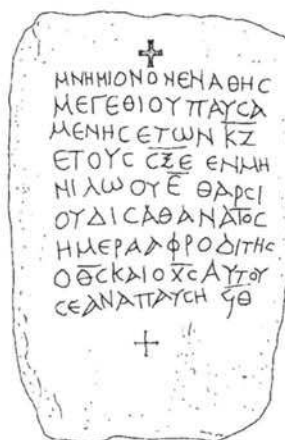
Inscr. 66  
WEDNESDAY  
*dies Mercurii*  
ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ



Inscr. 51  
THURSDAY  
*dies Jovis*  
ἡμέρα Διός



Inscr. 28  
FRIDAY  
*dies Veneris*  
ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης



Inscr. 52  
SATURDAY  
*dies Saturni*  
ἡμέρα Κρόνου

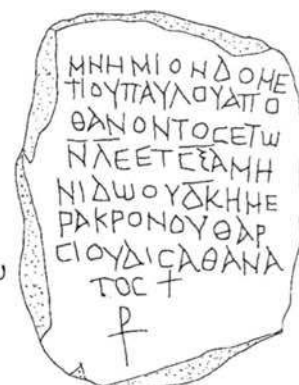


Fig. 17. Representative inscriptions in which are attested all seven planetary weekday designations

## LANGUAGE

Due to their unofficial character, the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi handed down to us the Greek language as it was employed by the native inhabitants of this area. This language seems to contain many of the characteristics of the Hellenistic *Koine* diffused in the Graeco-Roman world of the Near East (on the Greek *Koine* in this area and a detailed presentation of its features consult the studies of Blass and Debrunner 1961 and of Gignac 1976, 1981) with the addition of certain idiosyncracies due to the influence of the local dialect (for the linguistic situation in the Hellenistic and Roman Arabia, see Schmitt 1980, pp. 205-209; idem, 1983, pp. 576-578; cf. also Bubenik 1989, pp. 264-275 and Millar 1993, pp. 400-408). More specifically it presents close affinities to the language preserved in Greek texts from towns or cities formerly belonging to the Nabataean kingdom (e.g. Bostra: Sartre 1982, pp. 35-38; Kh. Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 366; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, pp. 132-133) and especially to that encountered in the epitaphs of the region of Moab which has been meticulously studied by Canova (1954, pp. civ-cx).

The linguistic features, which appear in the inscriptions of Ghor es-Safi, are to be classified as phonetical, morphological and syntactical.

### PHONETICS

A considerable number of the mistaken and unconventional spellings observed at Ghor es-Safi reflect phonetic changes of vowels and consonants, some of which had been sanctioned by the long use of the Hellenistic *Koine* and were common everywhere during this period, while others reveal local usage.

#### a. Vowels

*The leveling of the quantity of vowels*, a process completed by the end of the Hellenistic period, may account for the frequent confusion between the vowels ε and η, ο and ω which were interchangeable not only among the inhabitants of Ghor es-Safi but also among the Semitic-speaking populations of Palestine and Arabia. In particular the usual pronunciation of η as ε, detected in the spelling of the present epitaphs, provides evidence for a delayed process towards the iotacism of η (for this phenomenon see below) which in neighbouring Egypt had started already in the second century BC.

**ε for η** : It is observed in 50 inscriptions (with high frequency in nos. 61, 128, 225, 296), especially in the word μηνός (-i), the month name Πάνημος and the various forms of the verb τελευτῶ:

- μηνός (-i) for μηνός (-i) (nos. 56, 87, 91, 100, 128, 131, 163, 165, 172, 178, 205, 209, 210, 212, 218, 225, 232, 238, 240, 241, 244, 259, 263, 273, 300)
- Πανέμου for Πανήμου (nos. 10, 21, 33, 35, 61, 90, 93, 126, 134, 139, 172, 196, 209, 229, 230, 311)
- ἐτελεύτεσεν for ἐτελεύτησεν (no. 53); τελευτεσάσης for τελευτησάσης (no. 66); τελετεύσαντος for τελευτήσαντος (no. 139); τελευτέσοντος for τελευτήσαντος (no. 180); τελευτέσας for τελευτήσας (no. 261)
- Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης (nos. 236, 239-241, 244, 245)
- μνεμίον for μνημεῖον (nos. 128, 225)
- ἐμέρα for ἡμέρα (nos. 128, 236)
- καλῆς for καλῆς (nos. 98, 245)
- ἐκυμέθε for ἐκοιμήθη (no. 84)
- ἔτε for ἔτη (no. 61)
- πεντέκοντα for πενήκοντα (no. 98)
- ὁσιότετι for ὁσιότητι (no. 61)
- ἀμέν for ἀμήν (no. 225)
- γῆ for γῆ (no. 296)
- οἰκουμένε for οἰκουμένη (no. 296)
- πλέρομα for πλήρωμα (no. 296)
- αὐτῆ for αὐτῇ (no. 296)
- Σ[ε]ουῆρος for Σ[ε]ουῆρος (no. 304)
- Φασέλες for Φασέλης (no. 296)

**η for ε :** It occurs in 40 epitaphs (especially nos. 1, 98, 130) mainly in relation to the terms *ἔτους*, *ἔτων* and *ἡμέρα*:

- *ἡτους* (or *ἡτι*) for *ἔτους* (or *ἔτει*) (nos. 1, 36, 56, 98, 111, 130, 131, 171, 217)
- *ἡτῶν* for *ἔτων* (nos. 1, 46, 53, 70, 187, 236, 245, 277, 281); *ἡτον* for *ἔτων* (nos. 67, 98, 130, 131)
- *ἡτη* for *ἔτη* (no. 286)
- *ἡμήρα* for *ἡμέρα* (nos. 37, 69, 101, 103, 123, 150, 177, 192, 225, 252, 258)
- *μητά* for *μετά* (nos. 98, 171, 185, 224, 276); *μητό* for *μετά* (no. 190)
- *Ἀρτημησίου* for *Ἀρτεμίου* (no. 1); *Ἀρτημεσίου* for *Ἀρτεμίου* (nos. 140, 251)
- *δευτήρα* for *δευτέρα* (nos. 130, 207)
- *ἡκυ<μ>ήθη* for *ἐκοι<μ>ήθη* (no. 106)
- *τεληυτήσαντι(ος)* for *τελευτήσαντι(ος)* (no. 223)
- *Δησπότης* for *Δεσπότης* (no. 232); *Δησπάτης* for *Δεσπότης* (no. 225)
- *Ἀμήρου* for *Ἀμέρου* (no. 1)
- *Σηάλλου* for *Σεάλλου* (no. 31)

**ο for ω :** It is found in 12 inscriptions (especially nos. 19, 130)

- *Τροείλλα* for *Τρωῖλα* (no. 8)
- *Ἀγαθαφέρον* for *Ἀγαθοφέρων* (no. 19)
- *Παυλονίου* for *Παυλωνίου* (no. 19)
- *Θεόδωρος* for *Θεόδωρος* (no. 128)
- *ἡτῶν* for *ἔτων* (nos. 67, 98, 130, 131)
- *ἀποθανόν* for *ἀποθανών* (no. 130)
- *θανόν* for *θανών* (no. 260)
- *Ἄρεος* for *Ἄρεως* (no. 216)
- *[ἰν]δικτιδνος* for *[ἰν]δικτιῶνος* (no. 221)
- *Λόου* for *Λώου* (no. 247)
- *πλέρομα* for *πλήρωμα* (no. 296)

**ω for ο :** It appears in 14 epitaphs (especially nos. 41, 98, 252, 276) mainly in the spelling of the word *ὀνόματος*:

- *Ἀγαθαφέρων* for *Ἀγαθόφερων* (no. 19)
- *ἀποθανόντος* for *ἀποθανόντος* (nos. 128, 252)
- *ἀποθανεῖν* for *ἀποθανεῖν* (no. 276)
- *ὀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος* (nos. 242, 257); *ἀνώματος* for *ὀνόματος* (nos. 252, 312); *ὠνόματος* for *ὀνόματος* (no. 276)
- *ὠκτώ* for *ὀκτώ* (no. 33)
- *δοίω* for *δύο* (no. 41); *δίω* for *δύο* (no. 65)
- *τριακοσσιωστοῦ* for *τριακοσιοστοῦ* (no. 98)
- *δρακωνάρις* for *δρακονάριος* (no. 69)
- *μνημῶν* for *μνημεῖον* (no. 57)
- *Θεῶς* for *Θεός* (no. 98)

The most frequent phonetic phenomenon within the boundaries of the Greek *Koine*, to which a plethora of spelling errors can be attributed, is *iotacism*, i.e. the assimilation of the sound of the vowels η, υ and of the diphthongs ει, οι, ηι, υι, η to the sound of ι. Consequently, due to their identical pronunciation, ι, η, υ, ει, οι were usually confused in the Ghor es-Safi funerary epigraphy. We note the following substitutions:

**ι for ει :** This is the most common interchange, numbering hundreds of examples especially among the following words:

- *μνημῶν* for *μνημεῖον* (ca. 260 instances, while only once [no. 312] the term is spelled with ει *μνημεῖαν*); *μνημῖαν* for *μνημεῖον* (nos. 29, 32, 77, 88, 113, 138, 151, 187, 218, 229, 238, 252, 283, 307); *μνημῶν* for *μνημεῖον* (no. 57); *μνημῖον* for *μνημεῖον* (nos. 170, 265); *μνημῖον* for *μνημεῖον* (nos. 98, 130); *μνημῖον* for *μνημῖον* (no. 128).
- *θάροι* for *θάρσει* (198 instances compared to 12 correct spellings: nos. 33, 39, 83-85, 97, 146, 180, 219, 228, 253, 258)



- οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς (183 cases compared to 15 correct spellings: nos. 16, 34, 63, 64, 83, 85, 97, 146, 180, 215, 216, 228, 242, 253, 258)
  - ἔτι for ἔτει (86 occurrences)
- This interchange occurs with less frequency in:
- κῖτε for κείται (nos. 76, 254, 261-264, 314, 316); κῖται for κείται (nos. 89, 258-260, 318)
  - Αἰνίου for Αἰνείου (nos. 17, 59, 96, 130, 237, 278); Αἰνίας for Αἰνείας (no. 285)
  - Νίλου for Νείλου (nos. 89, 190)
  - Πιθολάου for Πειθολάου (no. 7)
  - πίστι for πίστει (nos. 254, 264)
  - εὐμύρι for εὐμοίρει (no. 16); εὐμοιρίτω for εὐμοιρείτω (no. 18)
  - εὐψύχι for εὐψύχει (no. 30)
  - ἴκοσι for εἴκοσι (no. 265)
  - ἴς for εἷς (no. 312)
  - τρῖς for τρεῖς (no. 45)
  - σιζμῶ for σεισμῶ (nos. 22, 23)
  - χιρί for χειρί (no. 145)

**ει for ι :** The opposite phenomenon is confined to six instances, mainly names and numbers:

- Τροείλλα for Τρωῖλα (no. 8)
- Ζωσειμᾶς for Ζωσιμᾶς (no. 111)
- Κυρεῖλλα for Κυρίλλα (no. 266)
- Ἐλπειδῖος for Ἐλπίδιος (no. 266)
- τριακοσσειοστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ (no. 156)
- εἵκασει for εἴκοσι (no. 217)

**ι for η :**

- Πονίμου for Πανήμου (no. 14)
- Μουσῖ for Μουσῇ (no. 18)
- ἑξίκοντα for ἑξήκοντα (no. 253)
- ἔτι for ἔτη (no. 318)
- ἀναπούσι for ἀναπαύση (no. 225)
- δοξάσι for δοξάση (no. 246; for the use of the correct suffix for the aorist subjunctive, see nos. 28, 125).

**η for ι :** It occurs in 11 inscriptions especially in the spelling of the month name Ἄρτεμῖσιος.

- Ἄρτεμησίου for Ἄρτεμισίου (nos. 118, 199, 206, 207, 215, 249, 260); Ἄρτημησίου for Ἄρτεμισίου (no. 1)
- Γορπεῖου for Γορπιαίου (no. 131)
- ἀρχηδι(ακόνου) for ἀρχιδι(ακόνου) (no. 104)
- κτήσοντι for κτίσαντι (no. 166)

**ι for υ :**

- δῖω for δύο (no. 65)
- Δῖστρου for Δύστρου (no. 100)

**υ for ι :**

- Σύβελλα for Σίβυλλα (no. 107)
- τριακοσσυοστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ (no. 128)

**η for ει :** - ἔτη for ἔτει (no. 168)

**η for υ :** - Ξαθικη for Ξανθικοῦ (no. 225). This unparalleled substitution of the second letter of the diphthong ου would rather be attributed to an engraver's mistake because of the many oversights observed in this epitaph.

**οι for η :** - οἶ for ἡ (no. 296). This does not seem to be a confusion in the gender and number of the article as a result of iotacism but probably a blunder of the letter-cutter who was misled by the initial diphthong οι of the following word οἰκουμένη.

**υ for οι :**

- εὐμύρι for εὐμοίρει (no. 16)
- ἔκυμέθε for ἐκοιμήθη (no. 84)

- ἡκυ<μ>ήθη for ἔκοι<μ>ήθη (no. 106)
- κυμαθέντος for κοιμηθέντος (no. 153)

**οι for υ :** The opposite change occurs only once:

- δοίω for δύο (no. 41)

As a consequence of *iotacism*, connected with the *lost sense of the quantity of vowels* according to which ε is confused with η (see above), could be considered the occasional interchange of ε and ι, ε and οι, ε and υ attested in the epitaphs.

**ε for ι :** It is encountered in 11 inscriptions mainly in the spelling of the month Ἀρτεμίσιος as well as in the Greek transcription of the Latin names *Domitius* and *Silvanus*:

- Ἀρτεμείου for Ἀρτεμίου (nos. 92, 159, 195, 220, 232); Ἀρτεμείω for Ἀρτεμίσω (no. 183); Ἀρτημείου for Ἀρτεμίου (nos. 140, 251)
- Δομετίου for Δομιτίου (no. 52)
- Σελουανός for Σιλουανός (no. 115)

**ι for ε :** The opposite substitution is restricted to two instances:

- ἐνινηκοστοῦ for ἐνενηκοστοῦ (no. 83)
- Πιριτίου for Περιτίου (no. 191)

**ε for οι :** - κατεκόντε<ς> for κατοικοῦντε<ς> (no. 296)

**ε for υ :** - Σύβελλα for Σίβυλλα (no. 107)

**υ for ε :** - ὑτῶν for ἐτῶν (no. 276): unique occurrence, usually ἐτῶν or ἡτῶν.

The *conversion of the diphthongs into monophthongs* (single vowel sounds), a common phonetic feature of the *Koine*, is frequently reflected in the written language of Ghor es-Safi. Thus in addition to the *iotacism* of diphthongs, which is discussed above, the following cases of monophthogized diphthongs are recorded:

**α for αυ :** It is always found in connection with the spelling of the month Αὔδυναϊος.

- Ἀδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 54, 120)
- Ἀδ<α>νέου for Αὔδ<υ>ναίου (no. 106)

**υ for αυ :** - Κλυδίου for Κλαυδίου (no. 54). It is to be noted that in this name the diphthong αυ is rendered with its second letter, although in the word Ἀδωνέου (see above) of the same inscription with its first letter. A possible clue to this would be the inadvertent omission of α in Κλαυδίου.

**ε for ευ :** - τελ<ε>τᾶμεν for τελ<ευ>τῶμεν (no. 106)

**ε for αι :** The assimilation of the diphthong αι with the sound of ε, established already from the second century BC, may serve as an explanation of the numerous occurrences of this spelling error. It is encountered in 87 inscriptions, principally in the rendering of Macedonian month names which include the diphthong αι and in the term κεῖται:

- Γορπιέου for Γορπιαίου (nos. 6, 44, 108, 127, 160, 161, 244, 248, 273, 309); Γορπείου for Γορπιαίου (no. 131); Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίου (nos. 85, 145, 150, 200, 239, 243)
- Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίου (nos. 45, 46, 50, 65, 77, 80, 81, 87, 94, 105, 142, 158, 181, 189, 222, 227, 228, 240, 257, 286); Ἀπελέου for Ἀπελλαίου (nos. 203, 236)
- Αὔδονέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 59, 109, 123, 135, 151, 201, 212); Αὔδονέω for Αὔδυναίω (no. 287); Αὔδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 96, 112); Αὔδανέου for Αὔδυναίου (no. 218); Αὔδανέ(ω) for Αὔδυναί(ω) (no. 170); Ἀδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 54, 120); Ἀδ<α>νέου for Αὔδ<υ>ναίου (no. 106)
- Δεσίου for Δαισίου (nos. 36, 71, 79, 84, 89, 122, 163, 188, 211, 242, 255, 302)
- Ὑπερβερετέου for Ὑπερβερεταίου (nos. 19, 29, 32b, 56, 91, 146, 176, 177)
- κῖτε for κεῖται (nos. 76, 254, 261-264, 314-316)
- κέ for καί (no. 180)

- δικέων for δικαίων (no. 225)
- Θαδδέου for Θαδδαίου (no. 99)
- Πετρέος for Πετραῖος (no. 279)

**αι for ε :** The opposite change is represented by a single example:

- δεκαπένται for δεκαπέντε (no. 229)

**η for αι :** This and the following two changes are a secondary phenomenon of the process ε>ι described above:

- Αὔδονήου for Αὔδυναίου (no. 66)
- Ἀπελλήου for Ἀπελλαίου (nos. 130, 217)
- Δησίου for Δαισίου (no. 234)
- Ἡνίου for Αἰνείου (no. 130)

- ι for αι :**
- Δισίου for Δαισίου (no. 115)
  - Αὔδονί(ω) for Αὔδυναί(ω) (no. 254)

**ει for αι :** - Εἰλιανός for Αἰλιανός (no. 31)

It should be noted here that the rendering of the diphthong αι either with ε or occasionally with η, ι, ει may suggest according to Canova (1954, pp. cvi-cvii) that its pronunciation ranged between the sounds *e* and *i*.

More complicated are the changes concerning the diphthong ου. The fact that in the native language of the inhabitants of Ghor es-Safi the sound *u* turned into *o* without spelling distinction had as consequence the confusion of the diphthong ου and the vowel υ with the vowel o and sometimes with ω (for an analogous phenomenon at Moab, see Canova 1954, p. cvii). Thus we note the following interchanges:

**ου for ο :** It is found in 12 epitaphs mostly in the participle ἀποθανόντος which appears as:

- ἀποθανούντος (nos. 224, 294); ἀπαθανούντος (nos. 205, 237, 251, 307);
- ἀπαθανούντας (no. 212); ἀπα<θα>νούντα (no. 286); ἀποθανούτας (no. 171);
- ὀποθονούντος (no. 70) and in the names
- Οὐβοδοῦς for Ὀβοδοῦς (no. 10)

- ο for ου :**
- κατεκόντε<ς> for κατοικοῦντε<ς> (no. 296)
  - Σαλμάλλο for Σαλμάλλου (no. 147)
  - το for τοῦ (no. 183). The possibility of the inadvertent omission of υ in the two last cases cannot be excluded.

**ω for ου :** This error occurs as a rule in the genitive ending of personal names:

- Εὐανθίω for Εὐανθίου (no. 65)
- Μαλέχω for Μαλέχου (no. 65)
- Κλαυδίω for Κλαυδίου (no. 207)
- Ζηνοβίω for Ζηνοβίου (no. 274)

**ου for ω :** For the high frequency of this phenomenon, which bears upon the confusion of genitive with dative, see below Syntax.

A characteristic example of the interchange of ο, ω and ου is the local name Ommabie which is found spelled as Ὠμμαβίη (nos. 34, 89) or Ὠμμάβι (no. 129), Ὠμμαβίη (nos. 46, 242) and Ὠμμάβι (no. 35).

**ο for υ :** This and the following change are always applied to the spelling of the month Αὔδυναῖος:

- Αὔδονέου(-ω) for Αὔδυναίου(-ω) (nos. 59, 99, 109, 123, 135, 151, 201, 212, 223, 287, 300, 307)
- Αὔδοναίου for Αὔδυναίου (no. 152)
- Αὔδονί(ω) for Αὔδυναί(ω) (no. 254)

- ω for υ :**
- Αὔδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 96, 112)
  - Ἀδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου (nos. 54, 120)

Probably related to the confusion in rendering *υ* and *ου* by the natives is the expansion of the diphthong *ευ* through the diphthong *ου* which is encountered once in a personal name: *Ευοὔαγρίου* for *Εὐαγρίου* (no. 36; for a similar expansion, see *JECM* V, p. 27 and n. 182).

In the diphthongs *α*, *η*, *ω*, appearing in the epitaphs, the *iota* subscript is always omitted (although it is indicated by us in the small lettered transcription of the inscriptions). This is natural since from the end of the Hellenistic period this *iota* was no longer pronounced and for this reason gradually omitted in writing. The most characteristic example of this phenomenon is the word *ἡμέρα*, the dative form of which never occurs with an *iota* subscript but it is confirmed by the preposition *ἐν* usually preceding it and by the dative case of the weekday appellation following it.

An idiosyncratic phenomenon, which can be safely ascribed to the Aramaic influence on the Greek language employed by the indigenous people, is the frequent *interchange of the vowels α and ο*. This is attested also in the epigraphy of neighbouring areas, like Moab (Canova 1954, pp. cvii-cviii), the Negev (*Nessana* 1, p. 132), Hauran (e.g. at Bostra: Sartre 1982, pp. 36, 37) and especially in Syria where Aramaic dialects were in use (Canova 1954, p. cvii, n. 1; *IGLS*, passim).

**α for ο** : It is very common since it is encountered in ca. 100 inscriptions (especially nos. 145, 171, 187, 218, 225, 229, 238, 252, 286, 307, 308). The most numerous examples are provided by the words *ἀποθανόντος(-ούσης)*, *ὀνόματος* and - to a lesser degree - *μνημεῖον* in which this change can be detected in more than one syllable, a sign of debasement of the Greek used in this area. Thus the genitive participle *ἀποθανόντος* appears in the following spellings:

- *ἀπαθανόντος* (nos. 60, 65, 68, 134, 149, 172, 205, 220, 280)
- *ἀπαθονόντος* (nos. 17, 79, 255)
- *ἀπαθανούντος* (nos. 237, 251, 307)
- *ἀποθανάντος* (nos. 52, 63, 69, 86, 108, 310)
- *ἀποθονάντος* (no. 106)
- *ἀπαθανάντος* (no. 304)
- *ἀποθανόντας* (nos. 12, 13, 32, 142, 213, 258, 266)
- *ἀποθανώντα<ς>* (no. 252)
- *ἀποθανούτας* (no. 171)
- *ἀπαθανόντας* (no. 41)
- *ἀπαθανώντας* (no. 218)
- *ἀπαθανούντας* (no. 212)
- *ἀπαθανάντας* (nos. 35, 308)

This change is also met in other forms of the participle:

- *ἀπαθανών* for *ἀποθανών* (no. 187)
- *ἀπα<θα>νούντα* for *ἀπο<θα>νόντα* (no. 286)
- *ἀπαθανούσα* for *ἀποθανούσα* (nos. 126, 229)
- *ἀπαθονούσα* for *ἀποθανούσα* (no. 178)
- *ἀπαθανούσης* for *ἀποθανούσης* (nos. 39, 225, 230, 234, 243)

The genitive *ὀνόματος* appears in the following variants:

- *άνόματος* (nos. 19, 74, 94-96, 98, 99, 104-107, 109-112, 114, 115, 119, 122, 135, 139, 145, 149, 157, 171, 185, 189, 238, 255, 283)
- *άνόμοτος* (no. 221)
- *άνώματος* (nos. 252, 312)
- *ὀνάματος* (nos. 54, 165, 187)
- *άνάματος* (nos. 120, 153, 172, 178, 192, 218, 256)
- *άνάματος* (nos. 286, 308)

This phenomenon is also observed in the following words:

- *μνημίαν* for *μνημεῖον* (nos. 29, 32, 77, 88, 113, 138, 151, 187, 218, 229, 238, 252, 283, 307, 312)
- *μηνάς* for *μηνός* (nos. 7, 229)
- *Γαρπιέου* for *Γορπιαίου* (nos. 85, 145, 150, 165, 200, 239, 243)
- *εἵκασει* for *εἴκοσι* (no. 217)
- *τριάκαντα* for *τριάκοντα* (no. 286)
- *διακοσσιαστοῦ* for *διακοσιοστοῦ* (no. 52)
- *τριακοσσιαστοῦ* (nos. 92, 117, 145, 152), *τριακασσιαστοῦ* (no. 154) for *τρια κοσιοστοῦ*
- *τριακασ(τοῦ)* for *τριακοσ(τοῦ)* (no. 145)

- όσιάτητι for όσιότητι (no. 95)
- όλάγραφος for όλόγραφος (no. 145)
- μάνος for μόνος (no. 171)
- ά for ό (nos. 214, 218, 225, 229, 237, 238, 251, 307, 308)
- τά for τό (no. 296)
- Δεσπάτης (nos. 218, 229) or Δησπάτης (no. 225) for Δεσπότης
- Θεάς for Θεός (no. 252)
- άθάνατας for άθάνατος (nos. 252, 308)
- Άγαθαφέρων for Άγαθοφέρων (no. 19)

*o for α* : The opposite substitution is also frequent. It is met in 65 epitaphs (especially nos. 103, 106, 281) and concerns mainly the participles άποθανών and παυσάμενος in both genders and cases (nom., gen.), the term άθάνατος as well as some Greek and Latin proper names:

- άποθανών (no. 48), όποθονούς (no. 49) for άποθανών
- άπαθονούσα for άποθανούσα (no. 178)

For the genitive άποθανόντος we note the following variants:

- άπαθονόντος (nos. 17, 79, 255)
- άποθονόντος (nos. 71, 83, 117, 151, 163, 191, 206, 237, 278, 305)
- άποθονάντος (no. 106)
- άποθονώντος (no. 128)
- όποθανόντος (nos. 103, 279)
- όποθονόντος (nos. 100, 281)
- όποθονούντος (no. 70)

- παυσόμενος for παυσάμενος (nos. 96, 104, 111, 112, 122)
- παυσομένου for παυσαμένου (no. 155)
- παυσομένη for παυσαμένη (nos. 93, 107, 110, 114, 141, 142, 179)
- άναπαυσομένη for άναπαυσαμένη (no. 135)

Άθάνατος is found as:

- άθόνατος (nos. 35, 100)
- άθάνοτος (nos. 103, 106, 137, 189, 234)
- άθόνοτος (nos. 221, 281)
- όθάνατος (nos. 87, 144, 209, 239, 241)

- Πονίμου (no. 14), Πονέμου (nos. 33, 61) for Πανήμου
- Άραβιονού for Άραβιανού (no. 103)
- Έπιφονία for Έπιφάνια (no. 165)
- Όφροδίτης for Άφροδίτης (no. 281)
- Άννιονού for Άννιανού (no. 199)
- Ρωμονός for Ρωμανός (no. 281)
- άρχισυνόγωγος for άρχισυνάγωγος (no. 7)
- μετό for μετά (nos. 106, 141, 190, 257)
- κολου for καλου (nos. 172, 189)
- όνόμοτος for όνόματος (nos. 240, 244)
- τελευτήσοντος (no. 217), τελευτέσοντος (no. 180) for τελευτήσαντος
- δεκότου for δεκάτου (no. 128)
- σάβοτος for σαββάτου (no. 217)
- κτήσοντι for κτίσαντι (no. 166)
- θόρσι for θάρσει (no. 106)
- πόντες for πάντες (no. 296); πόντων for πάντων (nos. 219, 229)
- άναπούσι for άναπαύση (no. 225)

It is likely that the local interchange of α and ο in connection with that of ο and υ (see above) accounts for the confusion between α and υ in the month name Αύδυναϊος:

- α for υ* : - Αύδανέ(ω) for Αύδυναί(ω) (no. 170)
- Αύδ<α>νέου for Αύδυναίου (no. 218)

The following infrequent phonetic phenomena concerning confusion of vowels are also to be noted in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi:

**α for η** : - Πανά(μου) for Πανή(μου) (no. 63)  
 - κυμαθέντος for κοιμηθέντος (no. 153)

**α for ε** : - βουλα(υτοῦ) for βουλε(υτοῦ)

**αι for ου** : - ἤτοις for ἔτους (no. 98)  
 - Φαινοισί<ου> for Φαινουσί<ου> (no. 268)

This phenomenon could be explained by the iotacism of the second letter of the diphthong.

**ω for η** : - καλῶς πίστεως for καλῆς πίστεως (nos. 192, 255). This mistake could be rather attributed to an erroneous genitive suffix of the adjective καλή (-ῶς for -ῆς) attracted by that of the following noun πίστεως, than to a phonetic confusion.

In a few cases a vowel is added in the beginning or it is inserted between the two consonants of a word (*anaptyctic* vowel) plausibly for the facilitation of their pronunciation by the local people:

- Ἀκλαύδης for Κλαυδίου (no. 128)  
 - Καλαπόρνου for Καλπουρνίου (no. 94)  
 - μνημεῖον for μνημεῖον (nos. 98, 130)  
 - τριακοσσιοστοῦ for τριακοσσιοστοῦ (no. 206)

Finally, the peculiar spelling of certain personal names, Καλαπόρνου (Καλπουρνίου, no. 94), Ὀφρότου (Εὐφρατᾶ?, no. 183), Θουεδάρα (Θεοδώρου?, no. 245), Τιμετῆος (Τιμοθέου?, no. 296), demonstrating a number of solecisms, may represent purely vernacular forms not being subject to any grammatical rules.

## b. Consonants

One of the most common phenomena is *dittography*, i.e. the duplication of certain consonants (β, λ, ν, ρ, σ, τ) which usually form part of specific ordinal numerals or of a few personal names:

**ββ for β** : - Σαββίννης for Σαβίνης (no. 247)

**λλ for λ** : - Τροείλλα for Τρωῖλα (no. 8)  
 - Ῥωμύλλου for Ῥωμύλου (no. 215)  
 - καλλοῦ for καλοῦ (no. 104)  
 - καλλῆς for καλῆς (nos. 135, 308)

**νν for ν** : - Σαββίννης for Σαβίνης (no. 247)

**ρρ for ρ** : - Μαρρίνου for Μαρίνου (no. 308)

**σσ for σ** : - εἴκοσι for εἴκοσι (nos. 67, 168)  
 - διακοσσιοστοῦ (nos. 12, 67), διακοσσιαστοῦ (no. 52) for διακοσσιοστοῦ  
 Τριακοσσιοστοῦ occurs as:  
 - τριακοσσιοστοῦ (nos. 130, 131, 138, 157, 168, 181, 183, 206, 217, 219)  
 - τριακοσσιωστοῦ (no. 98)  
 - τριακοσσειοστοῦ (no. 156)  
 - τριακοσσυοστοῦ (no. 128)  
 - τριακοσσιαστοῦ (nos. 92, 117, 145, 152)  
 - τριακασσιαστοῦ (no. 154)  
 - Δεσσίου for Δαισίου (no. 242)

**ττ for τ** : - Δομεττίου for Δομτίου (no. 25)  
 - Ὀβόττου for Ὀβότου which stands for Ὀβόδου (for this change see below)

On the other hand, there are several examples of *haplography* of doubled consonants which may be ascribed to the simplification in the pronunciation of two similar consonants - a feature of the *Koine* - and also to the Semitic practice of not indicating in spelling the double consonants (Canova 1954, p. cviii). Haplography is usually encountered in personal names especially of native origin, while the simplified consonants are almost identical to the duplicated ones: β, λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ.

**β for ββ** : - σάβοτος for σαββάτου (no. 217)  
- σαβάτ(ου) for σαββάτου (no. 257)

**λ for λλ** : - Σιβύλης for Σιβύλλης (no. 5)  
- 'Αλφάλου for 'Αλφάλλου (no. 130)  
- 'Απελέου for 'Απελλαίου (nos. 203, 236)

**μ for μμ** : - 'Αμανοῦ for 'Αμμανοῦ (no. 68)  
- Σαμασέου for Σαμμασέου (nos. 254, 290)  
- Σούμου for Σούμμου (no. 265)  
- 'Ομαβίη for 'Ομμαβίη (no. 311)

**ν for νν** : - γενηθέντος for γεννηθέντος (no. 18)  
- Σωσ[άν]ας for Σωσ[άνν]ας (no. 283)

**ρ for ρρ** : - θάρος for θάρρος (no. 20; unless θάρσος was meant here: for this case see below)

**σ for σσ** : - τεσσαρακοστοῦ for τεσσαρακοστοῦ (nos. 12, 183)

A different kind of haplography, concerning the last and the initial consonant (usually a *sigma*; see also IGA V, p. xxxix) of two successive words, occurs as well at Ghor es-Safi. It is mainly observed at the term ἔτους and the following era year numerical sign, namely when the latter starts with the hundreds figure C (= 200), then the final *sigma* of the previous word ἔτους is omitted since the two letters are identical:

- ἔτου(ς) σν' (nos. 13, 14)  
- ἔτου(ς) σο' (no. 35)

An analogous phenomenon could be recognized between the *sigma* of the genitive ending of the personal name and the initial letter of the patronymic in inscr. no. 228: Μαρκέλλα(ς) Σεουήρου (unless a nominative is used in the place of genitive), as well as in inscr. no. 32b in which the identical letter of both names is *alpha*: 'Ολέφθ(α) 'Αβδάλγου (unless α was inadvertently omitted by the engraver).

The Ghor es-Safi epitaphs provide evidence also for the *confusion of mute consonants* of the same order resulting often in the change of smooth or middle mutes into rough ones (for a tendency to aspiration due to the Aramaic influence in the area, see Canova 1954, p. cviii). The following substitutions are encountered:

**φ for π** : - Φαισφάη for Παισφάη (no. 113)

**χ for κ** : - Χρήσκης for Κρήσκης (no. 49)  
- Χρήσκου for Κρήσκεντος (nos. 82, 122)

**θ for δ** : - Ξανθικός for Ξανδικός (in all mentions of the month except for two which preserve the Macedonian spelling Ξανδικός: nos. 2, 103)

In one case a middle mute (δ) is replaced by a double smooth (ττ): 'Οβόττου for 'Οβόδου (no. 178), while the use of τ in the place of κ in the word Ξανδικοῦ (no. 103) should be attributed to a blunder.

Other consonant changes, which reflect phonetic influence, are:

**ξ for σ** : - σιζμῶ (nos. 22, 23), <σει>ζμῶ (no. 24) for σεισμῶ. This is clearly phonetic spelling of *sigma* before *mu*.

**ν for γ** : - ἐνκρατ(οῦς) for ἐγκρατ(οῦς) (no. 141). The non-conversion of ν into γ before κ is also an indication of purely phonetic spelling.

**μβ for ββ** : - σαμβάτου (nos. 131, 214), σάμβατος (no. 207) for σαββάτου  
- <σ>αμβάτω for <σ>αββάτω (no. 176)

This spelling is used to express the sound of a stressed Semitic B because the Greek *beta* at that period was normally pronounced as fricative *veta* (Di Segni 1990, p. 272, n. 23).

**μ for μπ** : - πέμτη for πέμπτη (nos. 217, 257; cf. also πέντη [no. 73] which may be a wrong spelling for πέμπτη). The consonant π after μ in this word is not pronounced and for this reason is omitted.

Although a common feature of the *Koine*, the replacement of the Attic -ρρ by the Ionic -ρσ seems to have prevailed in this area - as evidenced by the numerous occurrences of the verbal form θάρσει-, the spelling of the noun θάρος (no. 20) hints at an Attic form unless σ is inadvertently omitted.

A frequent phenomenon in Byzantine Greek, regarding the *dissimilation* of γ in the verb ἀναγιγνώσκω, also makes its appearance at Ghor es-Safi: ἀναγιγνώσκων for ἀναγιγνώσκων (nos. 89, 246).

Finally, a number of irregularities regarding vowels and consonants in certain words may be due to clerical errors of the engravers who occasionally confused various letters, omitted others or even carved superfluous letters.

Confusions usually occurred between letters of similar shape. We note the following mistakes:

- Ο for C: nos. 66, 181, 252
  - Ο for Θ: nos. 103, 170, 230, 242, 267
  - Θ for Η: no. 236
  - С for E: nos. 106, 196
  - E for C: nos. 115, 176, 310
  - I for C: no. 223
  - Г for I: no. 212
  - Г for P: no. 189
  - Г for T: no. 229
  - Λ for A: nos. 106, 198, 218, 256, 258, 293
  - A for Λ: nos. 235, 256
  - Δ for Λ: no. 306
  - X for Λ: no. 307
  - N for M: nos. 106, 187, 198, 229, 231
  - M for N: no. 297
  - H for M: nos. 201, 256
  - H for N: nos. 252, 256
  - Z for ζ: no. 256
- Only in two cases the confused letters are quite dissimilar:
- M for O: no. 205
  - N for C: no. 225

Another frequently attested irregularity is the inadvertent omission of a single letter or of a syllable (for this omission and the respective examples, see Abbreviations). In the case of hackneyed phrases the omission can be expanded to a whole word (οὐδῖς: no. 46; τῷ: no. 162; πίστεως: no. 219; μετά: no. 246; Δεσπότης: no. 308) or more than that (οὐ<δεῖς ἁθάνατος>: nos. 185, 273) without causing problems of comprehension. In one inscription (no. 101), however, the engraver neglected to cut an essential word, that is the name of the Macedonian month on the 28th day of which the death occurred.

The opposite phenomenon of carving superfluous letters is also observed at Ghor es-Safi. It appears either as repetition of single letters (Κυρίου{υ}: no. 164; θά{α}ροι: no. 206; καλῆ{η}ς: no. 230; πί{ι}στεως: no. 245; μ{μ}ετά: no. 256), syllables (ἁθάν{αν}ατος: no. 173; Ἀρτεμεσίου{ου}: no. 232; κατε{κατε}κόντε{τε}<ς>: no. 296; ζήσας{ας}: no. 297) or words (ἐν ἔτι, τοῦ ἔτους: no. 150; ἐτῶν [twice]: no. 158; ἔτως, ἐτῶν/ἔτους [twice]/ τξῆ', {τξθ'}: no. 225; ἐν ἔτι, τοῦ ἔτους: no.



257; ἑτῶν [twice]: no. 282), or as addition of unnecessary letters (τετάρτο{τ}υ: no. 117; μν{ι}ημίον: nos. 170, 265; δέκα δ{ι}ύο: no. 236; θάρσι{ς}: no. 308).

Oversights are as well the inversion of some letters (εισζμῶ for σειζμῶ: no. 24; νεθάδε for ἐνθάδε: no. 314) or of the diphthong ει (θάρσει for θάρσαι: no. 33; ἱες for εἶς: no. 219; ἐν ἔτιε for ἐν ἔτει: no. 233) within a word and the mutual transference of the vowels of two successive syllables (e.g. Γορπεήου for Γορπιαίου: no. 131; τελετεύσαντος for τελευτήσαντος: no. 139; Ἀρτημεσίου for Ἀρτεμεισίου: nos. 140, 251).

## MORPHOLOGY

The funerary language of the Ghor es-Safi inscriptions with its restricted and mostly standardized phraseology does not leave space for more general grammatical observations but it seems to present some morphological characteristics rather common in the Greek language of the Late Antiquity.

Regarding the first declension of the nouns there is a tendency to put the ending -ας in the Hellenized names of Semitic origin (e.g. Σαρίδας: no. 7, Ὀβέδας: no. 20, Ζεβίνας: no. 145; Σάβας: nos. 151, 238; Σαμμάσας: nos. 192, 267 and names having as second component the divine name "Allah": e.g. Θεμάλλας: the latter names appear usually in genitive) or to use this ending for Greek masculine names which normally have the second declension ending -ος (e.g. Ζωσειμᾶς for Ζώσιμος: no. 111; Κοσμᾶς for Κόσμος: no. 279). It is to be noted that some of these names present the normal genitive ending -ου (Ὀβόδου: nos. 178, 202, 208, 223, 245; Θεμάλλου: nos. 108, 146; Σαδάλλου: nos. 126, 196, 216; Σεάλλου: nos. 31, 140, 256; Ἀλφάλου: no. 130; Σαλμάλλο(υ): no. 147; Ὀφρότου: no. 183; Νετίρου: no. 198; Σίλου: no. 225), while others that of -α which since the appearance of the *Koine* had started to supersede gradually the ending -ου (Βουέσθα: no. 6; Ἀβδοάρθα: nos. 21, 75; Ζάβδα: nos. 24, 117; Ἐνζεβίνα: no. 41; Ζεβίνα: nos. 45, 46, 68, 93; Βαργουννᾶ: no. 42; Ἀλούφα: no. 60; Ὀβόδα: no. 63; Σίλα: nos. 77, 80, 106, 275; Σάβα: nos. 134, 142, 182, 250; Σούββα: no. 134; Νατίρα: no. 299). In the case of the Semitic names Ὀβόδας, Σίλας, Νατίρας is observed parallel use of both genitive endings (see examples above), while in inscr. no. 111 the Greek name Ζωσειμᾶς is combined with the second declension vocative Ζώσειμε.

An inflectional irregularity is also encountered in the first declension names Ἀψης and Ἀσκληπιάδης: the former name, although it appears once in the genitive Ἀψη (no. 27, a later form of Ἀψου), is mainly found in the third declension genitive Ἀψητος (nos. 40, 74, 124, 200) and the latter occurs as well in the third declension genitive Ἀσκληπιάδου (unless the *sigma* at the end is an engraver's mistake; cf. the regular inflection Ἀβδάλης [no. 82], Ἀβδάλγου [nos. 90, 212, 270]). This kind of irregularity, which is also met in names and nouns of other declensions as we shall see below, could be rather a consequence of the poor knowledge of Greek possessed by the indigenous people than a conscious transition from one declension to the other.

An important morphological phenomenon of the *Koine* related to the second declension, which is attested at Ghor es-Safi, is the development of the nominative ending -ιος into -ις with a subsequent adaptation of the other cases to the inflection of the nouns in -ης (gen. -ι, dat. -ι, acc. ιν, voc. -ι). This development is particularly traceable in personal names (Ζηνόβις: no. 13; Ἀλκάνις: no. 14; Μίλχι [gen., voc.]: no. 51; Ἀκλαύδις: no. 128; Ἀμ<ρ>ίλις: no. 189; Αὐρήλις: no. 213; Μαργάνι [gen.]: no. 239; Καλπούρνι [voc., twice]: no. 297; Ἀριστώνειν [acc.]: no. 285; Διονύσις: no. 317) and once in a noun (δρακωνάρις: no. 69). It is noteworthy that the genitive in -ιου is sometimes preserved in names which for the rest follow the declension in -ις (Καλαπορν<ι>ου but Καλαπόρνι [voc.]: no. 94; Καρπωνίου: no. 104 but Καρπώνις: no. 161; Δουσαρίου: nos. 197, 215 but Δουσάρις: no. 315, Δουσάρι [voc.]: no. 215). Also the month name Πάνημος occurs once in the third declension genitive Πονέμους (no. 61), while the heteroclitic genitive σάμβατος (no. 207), σάβοτος (no. 217), is employed for the second declension neuter Hellenized Semitic word σάββατον, for which is also used the correct genitive form σαμβάτου (nos. 131, 214; cf. as well the dative σαμβάτω: no. 176 and σαββάτω: no. 234).

Inflectional incongruities are occasionally encountered also in personal names of the third declension. The name Χρήσκης (correct form Κρήσκης), for example, appears always in the heteroclitic genitive Χρήσκου (nos. 82, 122, plausibly an indication that the name had already changed over to the first declension) instead of the normal one Χρήσκεντος. The names Λάμπων and Ζήνων occur respectively in the genitive Λαμπώνου (no. 41) and the vocative Ζήνωε (no. 159; cf. though the genitive Ζήνωνος in the same inscription) following the declension in -ος which will supplant that in -ων in later (medieval) Greek.

Worthy of mention are finally a few feminine Hellenized Semitic names in -οῦς, which are mostly used undeclined (Οὐαρδοῦς ... ἀπογενομένης; no. 9; Οὐβοδοῦς ... ἀποθανούσης; no. 10; φιλάτη Μαρθοῦς; no. 16; ... Ἀβδοῦς ζήσασα; no. 194) except for one instance lacking the final *sigma*, plausibly an indication of genitive ending (Ζεβινθοῦ; no. 146).

The vernacular version of the second aorist masculine participle ἀποθανών, ὀποθονούς (no. 49), employs the suffix -ους in the place of the correct -ών (cf. also the genitive ὀποθονούντος; nos. 70, 251), while ἀναπαών stands for ἀναπαείς (no. 98). Regarding the verbal morphology, two frequent phenomena in the Greek of this period, the omission of the temporal augment in the past tenses and the omission of the regular reduplication of the present perfect, are represented at Ghor es-Safi with one example respectively: ἀποιχέτο for ἀπώχέτο (no. 89); τελευτηκότων for τετελευτηκότων (no. 22).

Finally, discordances are observed in the numerals employed for the indication of age and date of death. Sometimes a cardinal is used in the place of an ordinal (ὥρα πέντε for πέμπτη; no. 128; τρίς καὶ δεκάτου for τρίτου καὶ δεκάτου; no. 117; τρίς καὶ δεκάτη for τρίτη καὶ δεκάτη; no. 180; ἕξ καὶ δεκάτη for ἕκτη καὶ δεκάτη; no. 79), while in two cases a numerical noun replaces an ordinal numeral (μηνὸς Δύστρου τριακάδι for τριακοστῇ; no. 52; μηνὸς Ἀπελλίου δευτήρα καὶ εἰκάδι for εἰκοστῇ; no. 130). Of interest is the rendering of numbers 15-19 as δεκαπένται (no. 229), δεκαἕξ (no. 79), δεκαεπτὰ (no. 207), δεκαοκτώ (no. 3), δεκαεννέα (no. 156) instead of the earlier forms πεντεκαίδεκα, ἑκκαίδεκα etc. This practice, however, is erroneously extended in the cardinal number δώδεκα, given as δέκα δ(ι)ύο (no. 236; cf. though δωδεκάτη; no. 157), and in the ordinal ἑνδεκάτη, expressed as δεκάτη πρώτη (no. 152). Also the genitive of the numerical masculine epithet ἡμισυς, ἡμίσους instead of ἡμίσεος (no. 156), shows a mistaken inflection according to the third declension adjectives in -ής, -οῦς (e.g. ἀληθής, ἀληθοῦς) and not according to those in -ύς, -έος (e.g. γλυκύς, γλυκέρος) as expected.

## SYNTAX

The syntactical features demonstrated by the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi are like the morphological ones of late character and present similarities to those of texts from neighbouring areas. A frequent mistake is the discordance in gender, in particular between the gender of deceased women and that of the accompanying participles which sometimes appear in masculine form. In most of these cases the genitive participle ἀποθανόντος stands for ἀποθανούσης (nos. 2, 13, 17, 20, 35, 70?, 73, 123, 124, 172, 218, 228, 266, 294, 308), while twice the nominative ζήσας takes the place of ζησάσης (nos. 144, 28). In one inscription the plural masculine participle τελευτηκότων (for the correct form see above Morphology), instead of τετελευτηκυῶν, is applied to two women, mother and daughter killed in the earthquake of AD 363 (no. 22). Also the accordance in number is occasionally neglected, especially in the phrase ἔτων α' (nos. 88, 100, 127) or ἔτη α' (no. 26; for the use of wrong case, see just below), where plural is employed in the place of the singular ἔτους, while the opposite phenomenon occurs in the expression "ὁ Θ(εὸς) καὶ ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) αὐτοῦ σὲ ἀναπαύσῃ" (no. 28), in which the verb should be in the plural form ἀναπαύσωσιν, since the subject refers to two persons.

The great uncertainty in the use of case forms resulting in their frequent confusion is, however, the prevalent syntactic phenomenon in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi. Nominative is quite often employed in the place of genitive after the introductory term μνημεῖον. This substitution concerns mainly the name of the deceased, the patronymic as well as some words qualifying the dead. Almost one third of the personal names following μνημεῖον (ca. 105 instances, in six of which the case is doubtful due to the ambiguity concerning the gender of the name) are placed in nominative as if they were indeclinable, while only a limited number of patronyms present this feature (nos. 13, 20, 49, 76, 128?, 192, 280?). Nominative for genitive is also used for words being in apposition to the name of the deceased, like offices, ethnics, etc., which at times are attracted by the incorrect nominative of the name (μνημεῖον Σαρίδας ... ἀρχισυνάγωγος; no. 7; μνημεῖον Κύριλλο(υ)ς ... ὑποδιάκονος; no. 96; μνημεῖον Ἀλφίος ... Ἀγουστοπολίτης; no. 278; μνημεῖον Κοζμάς ... Πετρέος; no. 279) or at times are in disagreement with the correct genitive case of the name (μνημεῖον Καϊάμου, δρακωνάρις; no. 69; μνημεῖον Σάβα ὁ καὶ Κλαυδίου; no. 142; μνημεῖον Ὁγέζωνος ὁ καὶ Ἰωάννου; no. 196; μνημεῖον Μαρθόνης ... διάκονος; no. 200; cf. though μνημεῖον Τάβθα (nom.), διακόνου ...; no. 181). In addition, the participles referring to the deceased especially παυσόμενος, παυσάμενη, ἀποθανοῦσα and to a lesser degree ἀποθανών (nos. 48, 49, 90, 130, 187, 270; this participle is as a rule placed in the genitive ἀποθανόντος even if the name is wrongly given in nominative) are frequently met in nominative irrespective of the case in which the name is found. A few sporadic examples using nominative instead of genitive are also encountered in the age references: ἔτη α' for ἔτους α' (no. 26);

ἔτε κ' for ἐτῶν κ' (no. 61); ἐτῶν τριῖς for τριῶν (no. 45), and once in the phrase [ἀ]πὸ πόλεως Πέτρα for Πέτρας (no. 131).

The opposite phenomenon, i.e. the employment of genitive in the place of nominative, is confined to four instances: in the first two a genitive participle modifies a name in nominative (ἐνθάδε κῖτε Γελάσιος ... θανόντος for θανών: no. 76; ἐνθάδε κῖται Τιμόθεος ... ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανών: no. 259), the third uses the genitive ἐτῶν instead of ἔτη after ζήσας (no. 261), while in the fourth the genitive name Ἀριάνθης accompanies the nominative adjective ἡ μακαρ(ία) (no. 262).

On the contrary, genitive replaces dative extensively in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi. Such a confusion was common in the Late Antiquity especially in the vernacular versions of the Greek *Koine*. In our texts it is observed mainly in the expressions denoting the date of death. Thus in the month reference the dative μηνί is often (27 instances) followed by the month name in genitive (e.g. μηνί Γορπιέου: no. 6) and accordingly Sunday is encountered once as ἡμέρα Κυριακῆς (no. 174). Frequently enough (57 examples) the phrase ἐν μηνί is accompanied too by the month appellation in genitive (e.g. ἐν μηνί Λώου: no. 28) but this feature is applied in the weekday reference only twice: ἐν ἡμέρα σαμβάτου (no. 214); ἐν ἡμέρ(α) Κυριακῆς (no. 258). Also the ordinal numeral of the year of death is in a few cases placed in genitive, although it is preceded by the phrase ἐν ἔτι (e.g. ἐν ἔτι τριακοσσιαστοῦ πρώτου: no. 92; also nos. 156-158, 168, 169, 181, 206). Occasionally the preposition ἐν itself takes a genitive instead of the correct dative form: e.g. ἐν μηνός (nos. 54, 225), ἐν ἔτους (17 instances), τοῦ ἐν ἔτους (no. 179; for the wrong word order see below), τοῦ ἐν (no. 133). In inscriptions 160, 188 the vulgar form τοῦ ἐν ἔτι stands for ἐν τῷ ἔτει. A plausible explanation for the frequency of such inconsistencies would be the confusion of the two cases used for the rendering of the chronological elements at Ghor es-Safi, that is genitive and dative. Apart from the dating expressions, ἐν appears with a genitive in the religious phrase "ἐν Χ(ριστο)ῦ" (no. 223; cf. though the correct ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ: nos. 121, 258).

Genitive substitutes also for vocative in two personal names (θάρος<ει> Ἀσλόμου for Ἀσλομε: no. 33; θάρσι Ἀθίλης for Ἀθίλη: no. 174), but it is evident that in both cases the error is to be ascribed to the letter-cutter who simply copied the name of the deceased in genitive mentioned a few lines above.

Accusative takes once the place of nominative (θάρσι σέ for σύ: no. 286) and of dative (μενός Ὑπερβερεταίου δεκάτην for δεκάτη: no. 56), while once a relative pronoun (ὄν for οὗ: no. 20) and occasionally the name of the dead (nos. 12, 103, 190), the patronymic (no. 285) or the accompanying participles ἀποθανόντος (nos. 6, 286) and ἀποθανούσης (nos. 140, 293) are given in accusative instead of genitive.

Referring to these participles we should point out the erroneous use of the aorist infinitive in the place of the aorist participle ἀποθανόντος(or -ούσης) (μνημῖον Μάρθον ... ἀπωθανεῖν: no. 276), as well as the employment of a present perfect participle in the place of a first aorist one (τελευτηκότων for τελευτησασῶν: no. 22, for the gender confusion, see above) since the two tenses had coincided in meaning by that time. Other syntactical features related to verbal forms, which seemingly could be taken as mistakes in the tenses and/or the moods of certain verbs, as for example the use of παυσόμενος (future participle) for παυσάμενος (aorist participle), of ἀναπαύσι (no. 225) or δοξάσι (no. 246: plausibly iotacized forms of future indicative) for ἀναπαύση and δοξάση (aorist subjunctive) are in fact simple phonetic errors (see above Phonetics, ο for α; ι for η).

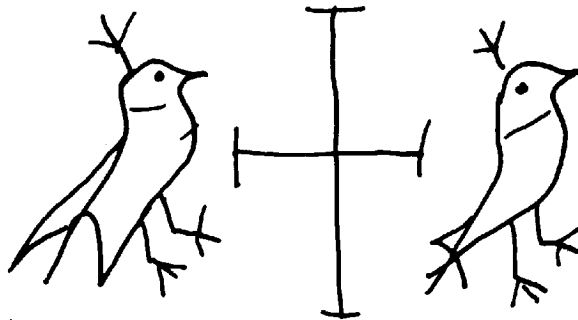
The latter phenomenon, that is confusion between vowels of the same sound, and not confusion in the cases should be recognized as well in the case of the name Ἀγαθαφέρων (no. 19) which is spelled with ο in the nominative and with ω in the vocative (see above Phonetics, ο for ω and ω for ο).

With respect to prepositions, apart from the mistaken employment of genitive with ἐν which is commented on above, we also notice once the wrong use of the preposition διά+gen. in the place of ἐν+dat.: διὰ ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει (no. 128). Omission of preposition is observed in the phrase "εἰς Θεός, ὃν θάρος ἔγραψα" (no. 20) which should read "εἰς Θεός, οὗ μετὰ θάρσους ἔγραψα". Although διά+acc. or σύν+dat. could also fit, μετὰ+gen. seems to be preferable in view of its prevalence in the Greek of this period (cf. the common at Ghor es-Safi phrase "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως").

In a few cases the definitive article is neglected: τοῦτο <τὸ> μνημῖον (no. 62); ἔτη οὖν ὅ... ἐν <τῷ> βίῳ πλήσασα (no. 89); οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος ἐν <τῷ> κόσμῳ (no. 162). Occasionally the copulative conjunction καί, connecting two nouns, is also omitted (a kind of *asyndeton*). This omission is usually recorded in the expression "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος <καί> καλῆς πίστεως" (nos. 104, 179, 218, 220), once in the similar phrase "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος <καί> καλῆς συνειδήσεως" (no. 162) and twice in the indication of the age of the deceased: ἐτῶν α' <καί> μηνῶν ζ' (no. 88); μηνῶν

τεσσάρων <καὶ> ἡμίους (no. 156). On the other hand, the phenomenon of pleonasm, that is of the use of more words than are needed to express a certain meaning, is attested once in the phrase "ἀποθανὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου" (no. 130).

Finally, some of the epitaphs present an unusual word order which can range from an inverted preposition (e.g. τοῦ ἐν ἔτους, see above) or word (e.g. μνήμα σκηνώματος ἀποθέσεως for ἀποθέσεως σκηνώματος: no. 89) to a severe loss of the text's continuity (e.g. nos. 273, 286).



## PALAEOGRAPHY

### THE SCRIPTS

The lengthy time-span of three centuries, from fourth to sixth (with sparse evidence in the first half of the fourth and a gap in the sixth century between AD 517 and 570), covered by the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs, seems to be marked by a palaeographic variety. The fact that the bulk of this epigraphic material is accurately dated, prompted us to compile the accompanying tables (fig. 18) in which are presented the letter-forms of each dated inscription in strict chronological sequence (except for a few poorly preserved texts). The palaeographical indications provided by these alphabets have been helpful in placing the undated epitaphs from this site within a narrow chronological context (ranging from a quarter to half-century) which in certain cases is further narrowed on the basis of supporting evidence, like the phraseology and/or the decoration. It should be stressed, however, that, although the Ghor es-Safi information comes from a well documented area, it cannot uncritically applied to material from other areas since the lettering employed in different periods in a given region is not necessarily contemporaneous to that of another region (Sironen 1997, p. 381; Russell 1999, pp. 130-131; *JECM* V, p. 31).

Since the variations and the development of each letter-form as well as the use of some idiosyncratic letter types are illustrated as clearly as possible in the accompanying tables containing the series of alphabets, we will confine ourselves here to some general comments concerning the scripts employed in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs. As is evident from the tables, despite their apparent variety the alphabets used reflect the two main variants of the Early Byzantine capital script: the *rounded* and the *angular* one. At this point it should be remembered that, as it happens with funerary inscriptions in general, the kind of scripts used in these epitaphs is determined by a number of factors, such as the quality of the material on which the text is incised, the literacy and skill of the letter-cutter as well as the financial state and the taste of the client. Thus, as revealed by the photo plates, some epitaphs were incised carefully and symmetrically, while others exhibit letters irregular in size, shape, spacing and alignment. Often in the same inscription there is a mixture of scripts and also different forms of a particular letter.

The rounded alphabet is used throughout the period studied and is characterized by the lunate shape of the letters *epsilon*, *sigma* and the round form of letters like *theta*, *omicron*, *omega*. The size, shape and quality of the execution of this alphabet's characters vary considerably in the course of the fourth to sixth centuries. However, in most of the cases this does not seem to be a sign of evolution but rather a matter of taste or of skilfulness of the letter-cutter as mentioned above. The only noticeable transformation of the round alphabet takes place towards the end of the sixth century, when the letters become more elongated with the rounded ones taking an oval form and the monogrammed OY makes its appearance. This oval alphabet also features a *theta* with a projecting cross bar and in some cases an *alpha* with an extremely long broken bar (a typical example of this script is found in iscr. no. 264).

A more elegant version of the rounded alphabet at Ghor es-Safi is the one featuring small, symmetrical, carefully cut letters sometimes terminating in tiny serifs. It first appears in the mid-fourth century (no. 19) and remains in use until the mid-fifth century reaching a peak in the first quarter of this century (especially nos. 80, 89, 94, 96, 99, 105, 107, 109-113, 145).

The angular alphabet makes its appearance around the mid-fourth century but it becomes more common in the second half of the fifth century with a prevalence in the last quarter of this century. It is marked by a preference for squared capitals, especially the letters *epsilon*, *theta*, *omicron*, *sigma* and *omega*. In a number of inscriptions these letters tend to be longer, presenting a rectangular form (e.g. nos. 223, 248). Worthy of mention is an elegant variant of this script, appearing in four inscriptions of the late fourth century (nos. 57, 58, 67, 70), which features rhomboid *omicron* and *theta* as well as a triangular *phi* (no. 70) and a *xi* with a lozenge in its centre (no. 58). Characteristic of this alphabet is also an *upsilon* with a crossbar through its vertical hasta (nos. 57, 70).

As referred to above not infrequently the rounded and angular alphabets coexist in one and the same inscription, while in some instances only a few square letters interrupt a round alphabet and the opposite.

Similarity concerning the style of writing but also the vocabulary and the symbolic decoration on a number of tombstones could probably lead to their attribution to certain workshops or letter-cutters, as is for example the case with nos. 80, 89, 96, 110, 112, 113 which demonstrate the same small, round calligraphic script and a similar red painted decoration, and with nos. 57, 70 presenting the idiosyncratic elegant angular script and bearing almost identical Christian symbols.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations, as a means of "expressing a maximum of meaning with a minimum expense of space and labour, and hence time" (Avi-Yonah 1940, p. 9) are frequently and constantly employed throughout the period represented by the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (early fourth-late sixth centuries). In their majority the abbreviations used form part of stereotyped words (or phrases) which can be classified into two major groups: a. ordinary words and b. words of a sacred character, i.e. *nomina sacra*. The first group could be further subdivided into the following categories:

- 1a. Personal names: 'Αδδάλγης (no. 32a) and 'Αλούλαφος (no. 137).
- b. Ethnic: this category is restricted to the ethnic Φαινούσιος which occurs twice (nos. 80, 268).
2. Civil and military offices: βουλευτής (no. 286), ὀφφικιάλιος (no. 4), πριμικήριος (no. 231), στρατιώτης (no. 237).
3. Ecclesiastical offices and titles of lower rank, like that of the subdeacon, ὑποδιάκονος (nos. 150, 184, 240), the archdeacon, ἀρχιδιάκονος (no. 104), and the reader, ἀναγνώστης (no. 180).
4. Burial terms and expressions referring to the tomb (μνημεῖον, no. 225) or to the deceased, the fact of his decease, the quality and length of his life and the exhortations addressed to him (κεῖται: nos. 260, 318; μακάριος: nos. 260, 264, μακαρία: no. 262; δούλης: no. 129; ἀποθανόντος: nos. 43, 67, 294, ἀποθανούσης: no. 47; τεληυτήσαντος: no. 223, τελευτήσασα: no. 133; ἐτελεύτησεν: no. 86; παυσάμενης: no. 44; ζήσασα: no. 316; ἐτῶν [or ἡτῶν]: 17 instances; ἐγκρατής: no. 141; καλοῦ ὀνόματος: no. 199 or simply ὀνόματος [or -ι]: nos. 183, 260; θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος: no. 184, θάρσει alone: no. 251 or ἀθάνατος alone: nos. 217, 270).
5. Terms relating to the date of death. Among them numerous are the words denoting time units, like ἔτους(-ει), μηνός(-ι) and ἡμέρα. Less frequently appear abbreviated the names of the following Macedonian months: Ξανθικός (nos. 40, 102, 167, 261), Ἀρτεμῖσιος (nos. 114, 144, 253), Πάνεμος (nos. 63, 90, 230), Γορπιαῖος (no. 165), Ὑπερβερεταῖος (nos. 41, 42, 57, 86, 219), Αὐδωναῖος (nos. 112, 170, 223, 254, 300) and Δύστηρος (nos. 47, 184), while once is used the abbreviation of the intercalary day ἐπαγομένης (no. 148) and of the week denomination σαββάτου (no. 257). On the contrary, another time computing word, that of ἰνδικτιῶνος, occurs almost always abbreviated (nos. 156, 162, 196, 246-248, 254, 257-264, 302).
6. Ordinal numerals connected with the year (nos. 1, 154, 168) or the day of the month of death (no. 161) as well as the conjunction καί (nos. 239, 245, 260, 262, 264).

The second group, that of *nomina sacra*, consists of abbreviations referring to the first two Persons of the Holy Trinity, God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son, such as Θεός, Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός as well as to epithets attributed to them, such as Δεσπότης and Θεοῦ.

The two main methods of abbreviation employed at Ghor es-Safi are those described by Avi-Yonah for this period, that is a. the *suspension* and b. the *contraction*.

A. **Suspension**, used as a rule for ordinary words, appears in the present epitaphs in the following variations:

1. *Simple suspension*, i.e. the suppression of one or more letters from the end of the word. The number of letters omitted could vary according to the length of the word from the suffix (e.g. HT(ῶν) no. 1; AYΔΩNE(ου) no. 112) to more than one syllable (e.g. YΠIEPBΕ(ρεταίου) no. 57; TEAEY(τήσασα) no. 133). Frequently enough the abbreviated word is concluded with an emphatic letter especially a consonant (e.g. YΠIOΔIAK(όνου) no. 150; CTP(ατιώτου) no. 237). The one-letter abbreviation is rarely used only in the cases that the word is well known or easily completed from the context (e.g. H(μέρα) nos. 162, 231, 250; K(αί) no. 262). The simple suspension as a common method of abbreviation for almost all kinds of terms in the local funerary epigraphy, is met in 47 epitaphs and recorded continuously from the earliest (AD 309, no. 1) to the latest dated inscription (AD 591, no. 264).
2. *Suspension with (or combined with) superscription* of the last letter over the preceding one. This is an especially frequent method of abbreviation, attested throughout in more than 100 inscriptions and reserved almost exclusively for the terms μηνός(-ι)  $\overline{\text{M}}$  and ἡμέρα  $\overline{\text{H}}$ . The only exceptions to this rule are the words ἡτῶν ( $\overline{\text{H}}$  no. 70) and μακάριος ( $\overline{\text{M}}$  no. 260). Rarer variants of the standardized form for ἡμέρα are those of  $\overline{\text{H}}$  (no. 89) and  $\overline{\text{H}}$  (nos. 177, 258). There is also one case in which not the last but the penultimate letter is written over the previous one ( $\overline{\text{H}}$  no. 167, see also below no. 5).

3. *Suspension with ligature*. It is encountered in the word ἡμέρα (ΗΜ) of inscr. no. 165 dated in AD 440.
4. *Suspension accompanied by an abbreviation mark*
- a. The *§ sign*: This sign occurs in three types: a. upright §, b. horizontal ~ and c. twisted §.  
The upright form is the most frequent. It usually appears after the last letter of the abbreviated word: e.g. ΕΤ§, ΠΑΝΕΜ§ (for the relevant examples see nos. 4, 32a, 37, 38, 40, 41, 51, 70, 82, 90, 102, 114, 144, 156, 159, 165, 167, 170, 182, 183, 189, 219, 253, 257, 258, 259, 261-264, 270, 318) and in one case is ligated to it: ΑΘ§ (ἀνάτος) no. 217.  
A variant of the upright § is a small lifted sign placed after the last letter: e.g. ΞΑΝ<sup>s</sup> (no. 40; cf. also nos. 42, 86, 104, 126, 147, 156, 196, 199, 226, 245, 263) or connected with it: ΕΝΚΡΑΤ<sup>s</sup> (no. 141), ΕΤ<sup>s</sup> (no. 212). It can also be found either above the last letter: Ε† (ὦν) no. 40, Η† (ακάριος) no. 260 or below it: Κ(αί) no. 264. The small § sign is finally encountered joined to the lower stroke of Κ in the conjunction καί: Κ (nos. 239, 260).  
The horizontal ~ sign occurs twice in an inscription of AD 383 (no. 44), used either over the last letter (ΠΑΥCΑΜΕΝΗ) or over the whole abbreviation (ΕΤ).  
A twisted version of this sign is also recorded twice: ΕΤ<sup>s</sup> (no. 55, AD 387/8), ΟΝΟΜΑ<sup>T</sup> (no. 199, AD 454).  
The § sign, especially in its upright position, was the most common mark associated with the abbreviation of the various funerary terms. It made its appearance in AD 329/30 (no. 4) but from 372 (no. 32a) onwards it was regularly employed, reaching a peak in the sixth century as deduced by its frequency in the few epitaphs of this century included in the study.
- b. The *diagonal stroke, /*: This sign presents a full-length and a short form.  
The full-length diagonal stroke slanting to the left is found once after the last letter: ΕΠΑΓΟ / (no. 148, AD 436). More frequently it is encountered across the lower stroke of Κ, mainly in the word ΙΝΔΙΚ (nos. 162, 246-248, 302) and once in the offices ΠΙΝΙΚ (no. 231) and ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ (no. 240). Interesting is the use of the diagonal stroke across the whole abbreviation of the term ὀφφικιαλίον: ΟΦ (no. 4, AD 329/30).  
The short diagonal stroke slanting to the left appears sometimes lifted after the last letter, usually with terms of division of time: ΕΤ' (no. 18; cf. also nos. 23, 24, 42) and once with the participle ἀποθανόντος: ΑΠΟΘΑΝ' (no. 43, AD 383) or joined to the lower part of it: ΜΑΚΑΡ (no. 262, AD 576) or inside it: ΕΠ (no. 62, AD 390/1). A variant of this stroke slanting to the right occurs once lifted: ΕΤ' (no. 90, AD 405). The relevant evidence shows that the use of the short diagonal stroke is limited to the second half of the fourth century, while that of the full-length one, although it starts earlier (AD 329/30), becomes more common during the fifth century.
- c. The *horizontal stroke, -*: The earliest form (second half of fourth century) of this stroke extends over the whole abbreviation: ΕΤ(ους): no. 25 (AD 366), ΕΤ(ὦν): no. 73 (AD 395). In a mid-fifth century instance (AD 449) this stroke is restricted over the last letter of the abbreviated word: ΕΤΩ(ν): no. 185. Another position of the horizontal stroke, uniquely recorded in a late fifth-century epitaph (AD 489), is lifted after the last letter: ΠΑ' (ντων): no. 245. Despite its sporadic appearance in suspensions, this abbreviation mark is commonly connected with the method of contraction (see below).
- d. The *curvilinear sign facing left, ' (apostrophe)*. This uncommon at Ghor es-Safi sign is found after the last letter in two fifth-century inscriptions. In the first case it abbreviates the last letter of the name Ἀλουλάφου (ΑΛΟΥΛΑΦΟ': no. 137, AD 431), while in the second the genitive ending of a participle: ΤΕΛΗΥΘCΑΝΤ' (no. 223, AD 473).
- e. The *ξ sign, ξ*: This is a rare so-called *mixed* sign which is attested in a fifth-century epitaph (AD 434, no. 142) after the one-letter abbreviation of the word μηνός, Μξ, and joined to the last letter Τξ in five different words (χιτ(αι), ὀνόματ(ος), ἔτ(η), ἰνδικτ(ῶνος), ἔτ(ους)) of a sixth-century inscription (AD 571, no. 260).
5. *Suspension with (or combined with) superscription and abbreviation sign*. This is a variant of the abbreviation method no. 2 and is exclusively applied in the words μηνός(-ι) and ἡμέρα. The abbreviation signs associated with the superscription can be either the *upright § sign* (regular or lifted): Ηξ (nos. 90, AD 405; 196, AD 453), Ηξ, Ηξ (no. 167, AD 441), or the *horizontal stroke*: Η (nos. 106, AD 414; 170, AD 443; 245, AD 489); Η (no. 225, AD 473).
6. *Suspension with ligature and abbreviation sign §*. This method, like no. 3 above of which this is a variant, is employed only in the term ἡμέρα: Ηξ (no. 170, AD 443).
7. *Suspension with combination of two abbreviation marks*. This phenomenon occurs twice in a late fourth-century epitaph (AD 383, no. 43). There the word ἐτων is abbreviated both by the *upright sign* § and the *horizontal stroke* over the whole abbreviation: ΕΤ§, while the term ἔτους by the *§ sign*

combined with a *double dot* on both sides of the last letter T: ΕΤ̣̣. It is noteworthy that the latter abbreviation sign is unparalleled at Ghor es-Safi.

B. **Contraction**, the second method of abbreviation, is the omission of one or more letters from the middle of the word. This practice is commonly applied to the category of sacred names and at Ghor es-Safi is attested from the mid-fourth (AD 349, no. 11) until the late sixth centuries.

1. *Simple contraction*. It usually consists of the first and last letter of the sacred word, a system which allows the inflexions to be indicated. The *nomina sacra* abbreviated in this manner are: *Κύριος* appearing in nominative KC (no. 152), in genitive KY (nos. 79, 88, 91-96, 99, 100, 103-105, 107, 108-113, 115, 119, 122, 127, 135, 137, 149, 177, 190, 203, 208, 209, 220, 236, 262, 289) and in vocative: KE (nos. 106, 129); *Ἰησοῦς* in vocative IY (no. 150); *Χριστός* in dative XΩ (no. 121) and vocative XE (no. 116); as well as *Θεός* in nominative ΘC (no. 262).
2. *Contraction denoted with an abbreviation mark*. As a rule the contractions of sacred names, like those mentioned above, are indicated by a *horizontal stroke* over them. The relevant examples are for *Κύριος*:  $\overline{KC}$  (no. 125),  $\overline{KY}$  (nos. 2, 37, 80, 86, 89, 116, 124, 132, 140, 145, 156, 158, 160-162, 167, 181, 182, 195-197, 239, 284, 292, 295),  $\overline{KN}$  (no. 89); for *Ἰησοῦς*:  $\overline{IHC}$  (no. 125, nominative contracted with the first two and the last letters),  $\overline{IOY}$  (no. 106, vocative contracted with the first and the last two letters); for *Χριστός*:  $\overline{XC}$  (no. 27),  $\overline{XY}$  (nos. 223, 254),  $\overline{XΩ}$  (no. 258); for *Θεός*:  $\overline{ΘC}$  (nos. 11, 28, 197, 225, 241, 246, 250, 261, 263, 264),  $\overline{ΘN}$  (no. 246); for *ἐσθθός*:  $\overline{BC}$  (no. 192). In two other cases the contraction of *Κυρίου* is covered by the *horizontal S sign having scroll-like endings*:  $\overline{KY}$  (no. 19, AD 359; no. 50, AD 383). Finally, a rare *mixed sign*, consisting of a horizontal and a vertical stroke joined together, marks in the left and upper side the contracted genitive *Κυρίου*:  $\overline{KY}$  (no. 252, AD 499).

Although contraction is preponderantly related with sacred names, these can be occasionally abbreviated by suspension, either simple: KY(ρίω), no. 150; ΔΕCΠ(ότης), no. 263 or accompanied by an abbreviation mark: K<sup>s</sup>(υρίω), no. 147; ΔΕCΠ<sup>s</sup>(ότης), nos. 261, 262.

On the other hand, for the abbreviation of ordinary words, and particularly those denoting time, the usual method of contraction is that combined with the suspension in its various forms. Thus contraction is found associated with simple suspension: INΔK (no. 196), MN (no. 223); with suspension using superscription:  $\overline{E}$  (no. 224); with suspension expressed in ligature:  $\overline{H}$  (nos. 163?, 230, 234, 237, 251, 262);  $\overline{N}$  (nos. 24, 212); with suspension combining superscription and ligature:  $\overline{P}$  (no. 107),  $\overline{P}$  (no. 149); with suspension accompanied by abbreviation signs: HMP' (no. 42), ΥΠΕΡBP<sup>s</sup> (no. 86).

Finally, the omission of one or two letters (in one case three: no. 163) especially from the middle or rarely from the end (nos. 138, 206, 225, 242, 296) of certain words can hardly be considered true contraction or suspension since it does not follow any specific rule. This phenomenon, which is usually observed with frequently occurring terms, like ἀποθανόντος (nos. 15, 33, 82, 163, 171, 206, 242, 256, 286), ἀθάνατος (nos. 84, 145, 172, 218, 225, 241, 253, 257), ὀνόματος (nos. 155, 256), μνημίων (nos. 35, 90, 138, 208), ἔτους(-ει) (nos. 69, 163, 185), and occasionally with a few numerals (nos. 52, 217) or proper names (nos. 32b, 53, 54, 67, 150, 219, 225, 256, 262, 278), could be rather attributed to blunders committed either by the compiler of the funerary text or by the letter-cutter who executed it as evidenced by the plethora of mistakes encountered in some of these epitaphs.

## LIGATURES

Ligatures, that is two or more letters joined, are recorded in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi from the mid-fourth to the late sixth centuries but they are a rather occasional phenomenon with the exception of three epitaphs which contain a considerable number of ligatures (nos. 57, 241, 264). The most frequent are the *two-letter ligatures* formed by the horizontal joining of two contiguous, mostly square letters, such as:  $\overline{ET}$  (no. 241: in the words *μετά, ἐτών*),  $\overline{EW}$  (ibid.: word *πίστεως*),  $\overline{MH}$  (no. 214: name *Καϊάμη*); no. 264: *μηνί*),  $\overline{MN}$  (no. 152: *μνημίων*),  $\overline{NH}$  (no. 219: *μνημίων*),  $\overline{N}$  (no. 41: name *Λαμπώνου*),  $\overline{C}$  (no. 241: *θάροι*),  $\overline{CT}$  (ibid.:  $\overline{C}$  = last letter of *καλῆς* and  $\overline{T}$  = initial letter of *πίστεως*),  $\overline{CT}$  (ibid.: *πίστεως*),  $\overline{Y}$  (no. 61: *Πονέμου*; no. 96: *Κύριλλου*),  $\overline{WN}$  (no. 57: *μνημίων, ἐτών*; no. 236: *πάντων*). In the abbreviated word ἀθάνατος Θ is ligated through the prolongation of its middle stroke to the abbreviation sign S: AΘS (no. 43; cf. also above Abbreviations).

A *three-letter ligature* is encountered in the letters  $\overline{MNM}$  of the word *μνήος*, while a *four-letter ligature*,  $\overline{MNM}$ , is formed by the first four letters of the term *μνημίων* both recorded in the same inscription (no. 57).



Sometimes the second letter of a two-letter ligature is embodied either in the lower part of the first letter, like  $\mathcal{N}$  in the word ἀθάνατος (no. 216), or in the upper part of the first letter, like  $\mathcal{L}$ , genitive ending of the name Φιλορώμης (no. 66).

The common ligature of the diphthong OY, rendered with *upsilon* over and connected with *omicron*,  $\mathcal{X}$ , occurs at Ghor es-Safi only in three inscriptions dated in the last quarter of the sixth century (nos. 261, 263, 264; for the frequent use of this ligature in the sixth-seventh centuries epitaphs of Moab, see Canova 1954, p. cxv). In these it is mainly employed in the genitive ending -ou and once in the word οὐδείς (no. 264) and in the second syllable of the name Σιλοῦανοῦ (no. 261).

Of interest are the various ligatures used for the abbreviation of the word ἡμέρα. The simplest is the *eta-mu* ligature with the two letters joined either horizontally,  $\mathcal{HM}$  (no. 165) or vertically,  $\mathcal{M}$  (no. 170, the ligature is followed by the abbreviation sign  $\mathcal{S}$ ). The most frequent is the *eta-rho* ligature with *rho* inserted in the middle of *eta*,  $\mathcal{H}$  (nos. 230, 237, 242 [*rho* unfinished], 251, 262). In a variant of this ligature *rho* is attached either to the right vertical stroke of *eta*,  $\mathcal{HP}$  (no. 107) or to its left one,  $\mathcal{PH}$  (no. 149), while in both cases the second letter *mu* is placed over and within *eta*, the upper part of *eta* not being connected with it (for the simple superscription, see Abbreviations). In two instances *eta* is followed by a *mu-rho* ligature with *rho* inserted in the middle of *mu*,  $\mathcal{HR}$  (nos. 24, 212). The most elaborate, however, is an *eta-mu-rho* ligature with *rho* intersecting the middle of an elongated *eta* and *mu* resting on the horizontal stroke of *eta*,  $\mathcal{HPR}$  (no. 234).

## NUMERICAL LETTERS

The usual practice among the Ghor es-Safi inhabitants of indicating in the epitaphs not only the age of the deceased but also the date of death often expressed in year, month day and weekday (from mid-fifth century occasionally in indiction) resulted in a large number of numerals rendered as a rule with Greek numerical letters. In their majority these letters are distinguished from the others by a variety of diacritical marks placed above, below, above and below, before, after or on either side of them. The most common mark is the *small horizontal bar*, —, usually engraved (or sometimes painted or both) above the whole numeral and encountered more than once in about 165 inscriptions (in no. 235 the bar is carved despite the inadvertent omission of the month day numerical letter). It is to be noted here that in case a numeral is combined of an ordinal number and a numerical sign, then only the sign bears the bar (nos. 128, 138, 181). Rarely enough the word specifying the numeral, like that of ἔτων, is covered by a bar (nos. 25, 132).

The horizontal bar is less frequently found under the numeral (nos. 56, 69, 118, 148, 188, 238, 259; note also no. 200 in which the numerical word εἰς in the expression "Εἰς Θεός" is exceptionally underlined probably for emphasis) or even above and below it (nos. 100, 118, 150, 151, 161, 184, 188, 194, 210, 214, 216, 238, 252, 257, 258, 260, 281). In a few cases, in which the number consists of two or three letters, the bar is divided in smaller sections equal in number to the numerical letters (nos. 31, 137, 180, 214, 244). Sometimes, however, only the first sign bears the bar (nos. 74, 97, 139, 220, 257), or the second (nos. 170, 229, 240, 253), or the third (no. 212) or finally the last two signs (nos. 133, 197).

Noteworthy is the year numeral of no. 86 which presents a different diacritical mark above each of its three letters: a *small oblique stroke*, /, at the upper right part of the hundreds, a *small horizontal bar*, —, over the tens and a *double oblique stroke*, //, at the upper right part of the units (the latter is so far unique at Ghor es-Safi).

In addition to the small horizontal bar, which is predominant, other types of horizontal lines are occasionally used above the numerals in order to indicate them. These are: the *horizontal line with scroll-like endings*,  $\mathcal{S}$ , (nos. 5, 60) which in no. 72 is exceptionally placed between the word ἔτους and the year numeral, while in nos. 5 and 60 it is encountered not only above the numerals but also above the words ἔτους and ἔτων specifying them; the *wavy line*,  $\mathcal{W}$ , (nos. 22, 40, 51, 61, 199, 213, 260, 282); the *curved line*,  $\mathcal{C}$  (nos. 15, 48, 123, 144, 263; in no. 144 only the tens figure of the age numeral is equipped with a curved line, above which stands a horizontal bar covering also the units figure). In one case (no. 41) this line takes the form of a bucket handle,  $\mathcal{J}$ ; the *semi-circular line*,  $\mathcal{O}$ , covering the upper (no. 48) or the lower half of the numerical letter (no. 277).

Numerical letters are also stressed through marks preceding, following or flanking them and serving at the same time as punctuation (or decorative) marks. Among them are to be classified: the *vertical bars* flanking the numeral,  $\mathcal{I}$ , which appear in two instances (nos. 200, 259), the latter presenting as well a horizontal bar below; the *square*,  $\mathcal{Q}$  (nos. 12, 252) or *rectangular frame*,  $\mathcal{R}$ , (no. 275) enclosing the numerical signs and thus laying a special emphasis on them; the *tabula ansata*,

☐, following the numerals in three successive inscriptions (nos. 111, 112, 113) and flanking it in another one (no. 122); the *oblique stroke*, /, recorded once before a year number (no. 53); the *dotted oblique stroke*, /', which comes after every numerical letter mentioned in nos. 92 and 116; the common *double dot on either side of (or over) iota*, 'ι'ι' (trema or diaeresis, nos. 27, 35, 76, 116, 121, 169, 264).

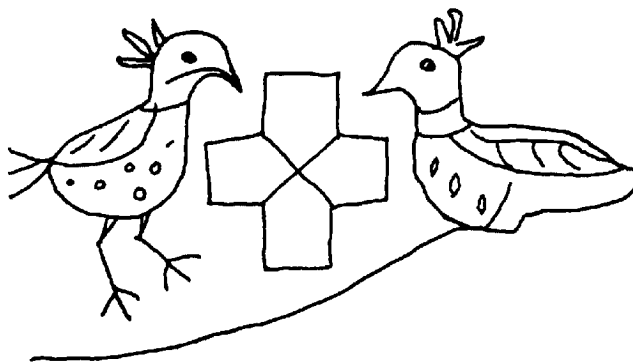
However, the most characteristic and numerous marks of this category are the *angular brackets* (<>, ><) and the *serpentine motifs* (↿). The former are preceding, following or flanking the numerals in 35 epitaphs. They appear either single, in pairs or in series of three up to seven and, when placed on both sides of the numeral, can be unequal in number and face to the same or opposite direction (in nos. 137, 198 their size is much smaller). The latter are also found before, after and on either side of the numerals in 28 inscriptions. They are arranged as the angular brackets except that they all face right.

Both above mentioned kinds of marks can be employed alternately in the various numerals of the same inscription (nos. 2, 50, 71, 80, 135, 195), while in one epitaph (no. 91) they are combined in one and the same numeral (serpentine motif precedes, angular bracket follows).

Certain Christian symbols, such as the cross, the *cross-rho* monogram and the palm branch, apart from their clearly symbolic function on the tombstones, may also serve at times as diacritical marks of the numerals. The *cross*, which is the most frequent symbol, usually follows (nos. 54, 129, 155, 157, 215, 223), twice precedes (nos. 82, 307) or flanks the numerals (nos. 52, 129). The *cross-rho monogram* introduces in one case a month day number (no. 54) and in another a planetary weekday (no. 82). The *palm branch*, which occurs in upright, horizontal or oblique position, appears on either side (nos. 70, 285), after (nos. 108, 205) or before (no. 54) the numerical signs. These symbols can be found combined with each other or with other marks (e.g. no. 54).

Another, not infrequent manner to differentiate the numerals from the rest of the text was to leave one or more *uninscribed spaces* on both or on one of their sides (examples in about 35 inscriptions). In several cases, however, this practice did not exclude the simultaneous use of other diacritical marks, such as the horizontal bar (nos. 80, 100, 126, 128, 138, 145, 289, 297, 313), the *tabula ansata* (nos. 111-113) or the angular bracket (no. 115). Noteworthy is the case of an age numeral whose tens and units figures are widely spaced (no. 276). An attempt to mark out the numerals is also evident in two cases in which the numerical figures are engraved in a larger scale than the rest of the letters.

Finally, a considerable number of epitaphs (ca. 130) contains numerals that are deprived of any diacritical mark although several of them coexist with numerals discriminated with some kind of mark and especially with the horizontal bar.



No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
1	309	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ		Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	ΚΚ	Λ	ΜΜ	Η		Ο	ΠΠ	Ρ	ΤΤ	ΥΥ					
2	402 (after no. 80)	ΑΑ		Γ	ΔΔ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	ΚΚ	Λ	ΜΜ	ΗΚ	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
3	324	ΔΑ				ΕΕ					Κ	Λ									Υ				Ω
4	329-330	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ		Μ		Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ			Φ			Ω
5	334?	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ζ	Ξ		Π		Σ	ΥΥ					
6	345	Δ	Β			Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Ζ		Ο	Π				Υ	Φ			
7	345	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε		Η	Θ			Λ		Ζ		Ο	Π		Σ	Υ					Ω
8	346-347	ΑΑΒ				Ε			Θ			Λ	ΜΜ	ΗΖ	Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ	Υ					Ω
9	346-347	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Η	Ζ	Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ	Υ					Ω
10	349	Α																		Υ					Ω
11	349	Α			Δ	ΕΕ			ΘΘ		Κ		Μ	Ζ		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Υ					Ω
12	354-355	ΑΑΒΒ	Γ	Δ		Ε		Η	Θ			Λ	Μ	Ζ					Σ						Ω
13	355-356	Α	Β			Ε	Ζ						Μ	Ν		Ο	Π		Σ	Υ					Ω
14	355	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	ΜΜ	Ζ		Ο	Π		Σ	ΤΥΥ					Ω
15	356-365	ΑΑΒ				ΕΕ	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο			Σ	Υ					Ω
16	356	ΑΑΑ				Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	Σ	Υ	Φ				
17	358	Α	Β			Ε			Θ				Μ	Η			Π	Ρ	Σ	Υ					
18	358-359	ΑΑ		Γ		ΕΕ			Θ			Λ	ΜΜ	Η		Ο		Ρ	Σ	Υ					Ω
19	359	ΑΑ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	ΜΜ	Ζ			Π	Ρ	Σ	Υ	Φ				Ω
20	360-361	Α	Β			ΕΕ							Μ	Η	Ζ	Ο	Π		Σ	Υ					
21	361	ΑΑ		Γ		Ε			Θ		Κ		ΜΜ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ						Ω
22	363	ΑΑΑ				Ε		Η	Θ		ΚΚ		Μ			Ο			Σ	Υ					Ω
23	363	ΑΑΒΒ			Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω

Fig. 18. Table showing the series of letter-forms in chronological sequence

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
24	363	AAA		Γ	Δ	Ε	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	MM	NN		Ο	Π			C	T		X		ω
25	366	AA			Δ	E		H			K	Λ	MM	N	Σ	Ο	Π			Ε	Υ				ω
26	367-368	AAAB							Θ			Λ	MM	N	Ξ	Ο	Π			C	Υ	Φ			
27	369	A			Δ	E				·I	K	Λ	MM	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	P			Υ		Ψ		ω
28	370	AAA			Δ	E	Z		Θ		K	Λ	MM	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	P	C	T	Υ	Φ			ω
29	370	AAAB				EE		H				M			Ξ	Ο		P	C			Φ			ω
30	371-372	A	B			EE			Θ			MM			Ξ	Ο	Π	PP			ΥΥ		X	Υ	ω
31	372	AA			Δ	EE	Z	HH			K	Λ	MM	N	Ξ	Ο		P	C	T	Υ				ω
32	372	AAAB		Γ		EE							M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε	Ε	ΥΥ				ω
33	373	A	B	Γ		E			Θ			Λ	MM		Ξ	Ο		P	Ε	Ε	Υ				ω
34	375-376	A	B		Δ	E							MM			Ο		P	C		Υ				ω
35	375	AA	B			E			Θ	·II			M	NN		Ο					Υ				ω
36	376	AA	B		Δ	E		H					M		Ο				C		Υ				
37	378		B	Γ		EE			ΘΘ		KK					□	Π	P	Ε						
38	378	AA	B			E					K	Λ				Ο	Π	P	C		ΥΥ	Φ			ω
39	379	AA			Δ	EE							MM			□		P							ω
40	382	AA	B			EE	Z						MM	N	Ξ	Ο	Π				Υ		Υ		
41	382	A	B		Δ	EE	Z						MM	N		□	Π			Ε	Υ				ω
42	382	AA	B			E	Z				KK	Λ	MM	N		Ο			C						ω
43	383	AA			Δ	E			Θ		K	Λ	MM	N		Ο	Π		Ε	Ε	Υ				ω
44	383	A		Γ	Δ	E					K	Λ			Σ	Ο	Π				ΥΥ				ω
45	383	A				E			Θ			MM							Ε	ΤΥ	Υ				ω
46	384	AA	BB		Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	MM	N		Ο	Π		Ε						ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
47	385	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π		С	Τ	Υ				ω
48	385	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ			Η	Ξ	Ο	Π		С	Τ	Υ				ω
49	385				Δ	Ε			Θ	ΚΚ	ΚΚ		Μ	ΗΗ		Ο	Π	Ρ	С	Τ	Υ		Χ		ω
50	385	Α			Δ	Ε						ΛΛ	Μ			Ο	Π		С		Υ	Φ			
51	386	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ			Υ		Χ		ω
52	386	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		ΚΚ		Η		Ο	Ο	Π	Ρ	С	Ε	ΥΥ				ω
53	386-387	ΑΑΒ		Γ	Δ	Ε						Λ				Ο			С	Ε	ΥΥ				ω
54	387	Α			Δ	Ε		Η			Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	С	Τ	ΥΥ				ω
55	387-388	Α	Β			Ε						Μ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ			Υ	Φ	Χ		ω
56	387	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ			Υ	Φ			
57	387	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ				Η	Η		Ο	Π		С	Τ	Υ				ω
58	388	ΑΑ		Γ		Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Η	Ξ	Ο			С		Υ				ω
59	388	ΑΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε		Η	Θ	Θ			Μ	Η		Ο	Π		С	Τ	ΥΥ				ω
60	389	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ				Ο		Ρ	С		Υ	Φ			ω
61	389	ΑΑΒ			Δ	Ε			Θ							Ο	Π		С		Υ				
62	390-391	Α				Ε						Λ	Μ	Ι		Ο	Π				Υ				
63	391	ΑΑΒ			Δ	Ε			Θ				Η	Η		Ο		Ρ			Υ	Φ			ω
64	391	Α				Ε					Κ	Λ	Μ	Ι		Ο		Ρ			Υ	Φ			ω
65	391	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε		Η	Θ			Λ	Η	Ι			Π	Ρ			ΥΥ		Χ		ω
66	391	Δ			Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η		Ι		Λ	Μ	Ι		Ο		Ρ	С	Τ	Υ	Φ			ω
67	392	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ		Μ			Ο			С		Υ				
68	393-394	ΑΑΒ					Ζ	Η				Η	Η			Ο	Π		С		ΥΥ				ω
69	393	Α			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ				Μ	Ι		Ο	Π	Ρ	С	Τ					ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	P	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
70	394	Α			Δ	E		Η	Θ				Μ			◇		Ρ	Γ		Υ	Φ	Χ		
71	394	ΑΑ			Δ	EE			Θ		K	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Γ						ω
72	395	Α	B		Δ	E			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ	Τ	Υ				ω
73	395	ΑΑ	B		Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Η		◻	Π	Ρ	Γ		Υ		Υ		ω
74	395	Α		Γ	Δ				ΘΘ		K	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ	Τ	Υ		Υ		
75	395	ΑΑ	B	Γ	ΔΔ	Ε			ΘΘ			Λ	Μ			◻		Ρ	Γ		Υ	Φ			ω
76	395	Α		Γ	Δ	EE	Z		Θ	Γ	K	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο			Γ			Χ			ω
77	395	Α				Ε	Z	H	Θ		K	Λ	Μ	Η	Σ	Ο	Π	Ρ			Υ				ω
78	397	Α	B			EE	Z		ΘΘ		K	Λ	Μ	Η	Σ	◻				ΥΥ					
79	398	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	EE			ΘΘ		KK		Μ	Η	Σ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ		Υ				ω
80	400	Α	B		Δ	Ε			Θ		K	Λ	Μ	Η		◻			Γ	Υ	Υ	Φ			ω
81	403	ΑΑ	B		Δ	Ε	Z		Θ		K	Λ	Μ	Η		◻	Π	Ρ	Γ		Υ				ω
82	404	ΑΑΑ	B	Γ	Δ	Ε					K		Μ					Ρ	Γ		Υ	Υ	Χ		ω
83	404-405	ΑΑ											Μ	Η		◻	Π	Ρ			Υ				
84	404	ΑΑ			ΔΔ	Ε			Θ				Μ	Η		◻		Ρ	Γ	Υ	Υ	Φ			ω
85	404	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		K	Λ				Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ			Φ			ω
86	404	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε			Θ		K		Μ			Ο		Ρ	Γ		Υ				
87	316-404 late 4 <sup>th</sup> -early 5 <sup>th</sup>	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ							Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ		Υ				
88	405	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε		H	Θ	Γ	K		Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ	Υ	Υ				ω
89	405	ΑΑ	B	Γ	Δ	EE	H	Θ	Θ		KK	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π				Υ	Υ	Χ	Υ	ω
90	405	Α	B	Γ	Δ	EE			Θ		K		Μ								Υ				ω
92	406	Α	B			Ε	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	Μ	Η	Σ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Γ		Υ	Φ			ω
93	407	Α	B		Δ	EE	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	Μ	Η		◻	Π		Γ	Υ	Υ				ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
94	407	<del>Α</del> Α				Ε			Θ	I		Χ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
95	408	<del>Α</del> Β	Β		Δ	Ε							Μ	Η	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
96	409	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Χ	Μ	Ν		Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
97	411	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε		Η	Θ						Ξ			Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
98	411	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ		Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ		Υ		Χ		Ω
99	411	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε					Κ	Χ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
100	412	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε			Θ	I		Χ	Λ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
101	412	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ		Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ						Ω
102	413	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Χ	Μ	Η	Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
103	413	<del>Α</del>	<del>Β</del> Β		Δ	Ε			Θ				Λ	Η	Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
104	413	<del>Α</del> Α	<del>Β</del> Β			Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Χ	Λ		<del>Ξ</del>	Ο			Σ		Υ		Χ		Ω
105	413	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Χ	Λ		<del>Ξ</del>	Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
106	414	<del>Α</del> Α				Ε			Θ			Χ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
107	415	<del>Α</del> Β	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ			Χ	Μ	Η	Ο	Π	Ρ		Σ		Υ				Ω
108	415	<del>Α</del> Α					Ζ		Θ			Χ	Μ		Ο	Π			Σ		Υ				Ω
109	415	<del>Α</del> Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Χ	Μ		Ο	Π	Ρ		Σ		Υ				Ω
110	416	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Χ	Μ	Η	Ο	Π			Σ		Υ				Ω
111	416	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ	I	Κ	Χ	Μ	Η	Ο	Π	Ρ		Σ		Υ				Ω
112	416	<del>Α</del>			Δ	Ε			Θ			Χ	Μ		Ο	Π			Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω
113	417	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Χ			Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
114	417	<del>Α</del> Α	<del>Β</del> Γ			Ε	Ζ		Θ	I		Χ	Μ	Η	Ο	Π			Σ		Υ				Ω
115	417	<del>Α</del> Α	<del>Β</del> Γ		Δ	Ε	Ζ		.		Κ	Χ		Η	Ο				Σ		Υ				Ω
116	418	<del>Α</del> Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ	I	Κ	Χ	Μ	Η	Ο	Π	Ρ		Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
117	418	ΑΑ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ	Ι	Κ		Μ	Ν		Ο			Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
118	419	Α				Ε	Ζ	Η			Κ		Μ	Ν		Ο		Ρ	ΣΣ		ΥΥ				Ω
119	421	ΑΑΑ	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ	Π		Σ		ΥΥ	Φ			Ω
120	422	ΑΑ		Γ	ΔΕΕ	Ε	Ζ				ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π		ΣΣ		ΥΥ				Ω
121	423-424	ΑΑ			ΔΕΕ				Θ	Ι		Λ		Ν		Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ	ΦΧ			Ω
122	423	ΑΑ				ΕΕ			Θ		ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ		Ρ	Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
123	424	ΑΑΒΒ			ΔΕ	Ε			ΘΘ		ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ	ΤΥΥ					Ω
124	424	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	ΠΡ				Υ	Φ	Ψ		Ω
125	424	ΑΑΑ				Ε	Ζ	ΗΘΘ			Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ	ΤΥΥ					Ω
126	424	ΑΑΒΒ			Δ	Ε	Η	ΘΘ			Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ			Σ		ΥΥ	Χ			
127	424	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε					Κ		Μ	Ν					Σ		Υ				Ω
128	425	ΑΑ			ΔΕ	Ε			ΘΘ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
129	425	ΑΑ	Β		ΔΕΕ	Ε					Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ	Χ	Ψ		Ω
130	425	ΑΑΑ	Β		ΔΕ	Ε	Η	Θ			ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ		Ρ			Υ	Φ			
131	427	ΑΑ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ				Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
132	429	ΑΑΑ	Β	Γ		Ε		Η	Θ		ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ			ΣΣ		ΥΥ				
133	429-430				Δ	Ε		Η			Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο					Υ				Ω
134	429	ΑΑ	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ		Μ	Ν		Ο	Π		Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
135	430	ΑΑ		Γ	ΔΕΕ						ΚΚ	Λ	Μ	Ν		ΟΟ	Π	Ρ	Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
136	431	ΑΑ	Β		ΔΔ	Ε			ΘΘ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π		Σ		ΥΥ	Φ			Ω
137	431	Α		Γ	ΔΕΕ				Θ			Λ		Ν		Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
138	431	ΑΑ		Γ	ΔΕΕ				ΘΘ		Κ			Ν		Ο		Ρ	Σ		ΥΥ				Ω
139	432	ΑΑ			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ		ΥΥ				Ω



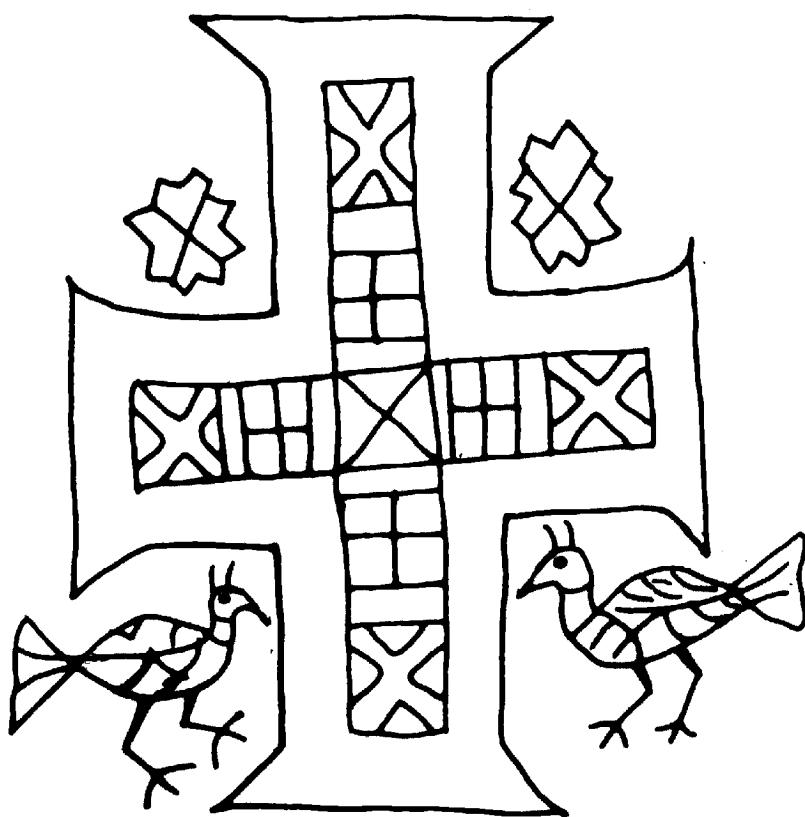
No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
140	434	ΔΔ			Δ	ΕΕ	ZHH		Θ		KK	Λ	M	H		O	Π	P	C	T	Υ				Ω
141	434	ΔΔΔ				Ε	H		Θ		KK	Λ	M	N		O□		P	C		Υ				Ω
142	434	Δ	B		ΔΔ	Ε			ΘΘ		K	Λ	M	N		O□	Π		C		ΥV				Ω
143	435	ΔΔΔ	B		Δ	Ε					KK		M			O	Π		C		ΥΥ				
144	435	ΔΔ	B		Δ	Ε	ZHH		Θ		KK	Λ	M	H		O□	Π		CC		Υ				
145	435	ΔΔΔ	B	Γ		Ε	Z				Κ	Λ	M	H		O□			C		Υ				Ω
146	435	Δ	BB		ΔΕΕ				Θ		K	Λ	M	H	Ξ	O		P	C		Υ				Ω
147	435	Δ			Δ	Ε			Θ		K	Λ	M	N					CC		ΥΥ	Φ			Ω
148	436	ΔΔB	B		Δ	Ε						Λ	M	N		O	Π	P	CC		ΥΥ	Φ			Ω
149	436	ΔΔB	B		Δ	Ε			Θ		KK	Λ				O	Π		CC		ΥΥ				Ω
150	436	ΔΔ		Γ	ΔΕΕ						Κ	Λ	M	N	Ξ			P	C		ΥV				Ω
151	436	ΔΔB	B	Γ	ΔΕΕ						K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	□□		P	C		ΥΥ				
152	436	ΔB	B	Γ	ΔΕΕ		H				K	Λ	M		Ξ	O	Π	P	CC		ΥΥ	X			Ω
153	437	Δ			Δ	Ε			Θ		K	Λ	M			O			C		Υ	Φ			Ω
154	437-438	ΔBB	B			Ε	H				K	Λ				O□	Π		CC		Υ				Ω
155	437	ΔΔBB	B		Δ	Ε			ΘΘ		K	Λ	M	H	Ξ	O	Π		C		ΥΥ				Ω
156	438	ΔB	Γ	Δ	ΔΕ				Θ		K	Λ	M			O□		P	C		Υ				Ω
157	438	Δ	B		ΔΕΕ		ZHH		Θ	I	K	Λ	M	H		□O		P	C	T	Υ				Ω
158	438	ΔΔBB	B		ΔΔΕΕ				ΘΘ		K	Λ	M	N		O	Π	PP	CC		Υ				Ω
159	439	Δ	B	Γ	ΔΕΕ		Z		Θ		KK	Λ	M	H	Ξ	O□			CC		Υ				Ω
160	439	Δ		Γ		Ε	Z		Θ		K	Λ			Ξ	□	Π	P			ΥV				Ω
161	439	Δ		Γ	ΔΕΕ				Θ		K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O□	Π	PP	CC		Υ				Ω
162	439	ΔB	B		ΔΕΕ				Θ		KK	Λ	M	N		O□		P	C		ΥΥ				Ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
163	440	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε						Λ		Η		Ο		Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
164	440	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο			Σ		Υ	Φ			
165	440	Α	Β			ΕΕ	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π			Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
166	441	Α			Δ	ΕΕ			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Υ	Υ				Ω
167	441	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ζ	Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
168	441	Α	Β			Ε			Θ			Λ				Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω
169	442	Α	Β		Δ	Ε		Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω
170	443	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο				Τ	Υ	Φ			
171	443	Α			Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
172	443	Α			Δ	ΕΕ	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο			Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
173	443	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
174	443	Α			Δ	Ε		Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
175	444	Α			Δ	ΕΕ			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ	Υ	Υ				Ω
176	444	Α	Β	Γ		ΕΕ			Θ			Λ				Ο	Π		Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
177	444	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	ΕΕ	Ζ		Θ	Κ	Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Υ	Υ				Ω
178	445	Α	Β			Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο			Σ	Τ	Υ		Χ		
179	445	Α			Δ	Ε		Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο		Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ		Χ		Ω
180	445	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ			Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
181	446	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ				Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ						Ω
182	448	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ	Υ	Υ				Ω
183	448	Α				Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
184	449	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
185	449	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω

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186	449-450	ΑΑΒΒ	ΒΒ		Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Η	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε						Ω
187	449	Α			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π		Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
188	450	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο	Π		Ε		ΥΥ				
189	450	ΑΑΒ	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π		Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
190	451	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
191	452	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε	Υ					Ω
192	452	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε	Τ	Υ				Ω
193	452	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε		Υ				Ω
195	453	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε		Υ				Ω
196	453	Α	ΒΒ	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε		ΥΥ	Χ			Ω
197	454	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο		ΡΡ	Ε		Υ				Ω
198	454		ΒΒ		Δ	Ε		Η	Θ		Κ		ΗΜ	Κ		Ο		ΡΡ	Ε	Τ	ΥΥ				Ω
199	454	ΑΑΑ				Ε			Θ				Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο			Ε		Υ	Φ			Ω
200	454	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	ΡΡ	Ε		ΥΥ		Υ		Ω
201	455	ΑΑ		Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ	Η		Ο			Ε		Υ				Ω
205	456	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε		Υ				Ω
206	456	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ		Η			Ο	Π	Ρ	Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
207	456	ΑΑΒ	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
208	461	ΑΑΒ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		ΚΚ	Λ			Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Ε		ΥΥ				
211	362 (after no. 21)	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ				Μ			Ο			Ε		Υ				Ω
212	463	Α	Β	Γ	Δ				Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Η		Ο			Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
213	464-465	Α			Ε			Η				Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο			Ε		ΥΥ				Ω
214	465	ΑΑΒ	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ			Λ		Η		Ο	Π		Ε		Υ				Ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
215	465	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
216	412 (after no. 101)	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ			Ω
217	465	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Η	Θ				Λ			Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
218	466	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ		Υ				Ω
219	468	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Η	Θ			Κ		Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
220	470	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε	Η	Θ		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π		Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
221	472	Α			Δ	Ε	Η	Θ			Κ					Ο		Ρ	Σ				Χ		Ω
223	473	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ				Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ		Χ		Ω
224	473	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ			Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
225	473 {474}	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ			Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
226	474	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
227	474	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
228	474	Α			Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
229	475	Α		Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ				Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ	Φ			Ω
230	475	Α			Δ	Ε	Η	Θ		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π		Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω
231	476	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε			Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
232	476	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο			Σ		Υ				Ω
233	477	Α	Β		Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
234	479	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Η	Θ		Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν		Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
235	481	Α			Δ	Ε			Θ			Λ	Μ			Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
236	481	Α		Γ		Ε	Η	Θ			Κ	Λ	Μ			Ο		Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
237	482	Α	Β		Δ	Ε	Ζ		Θ		Κ	Λ	Μ		Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ		Υ				Ω
238	484	Α	Β		Δ	Ε		Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο		Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ				Ω

No	DATE	A	B	Г	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
239	484	Α			Δ	E		H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε						Ω
240	484	Α				E			Θ		KK	ΛΛ			Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε	ΥΥ					Ω
241	485	Α			Δ	EE			Θ		K		M			Ο	Π	P	Ε	Υ					Ω
242	485	Α	B	Γ	ΔΔ	EZ	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	M		Ξ	Ο	Π	P	Ε	ΥΥ					Ω
243	485	Α			Δ				Θ			Λ	M			Ο	Π		Ε	Υ					
244	486	Α		Γ	Δ	E	Z		Θ		K					Ο	Π	P	Ε						Ω
245	489	ΑΑ	B		Δ	E			Θ		K	Λ	M			Ο	Π		Ε	Υ					Ω
246	489	Α	R		Δ	E		H	Θ		K			NN	Ξ	Ο	Π		Ε	Υ					Ω
248	494	Α	B	Γ	Δ	E			Θ					N		Ο	Π	P	Ε	Υ	Φ				Ω
250	495	Α	BB		ΔΔ	E			Θ		KK	Λ	M	H		Ο	Π		Ε						Ω
251	498	ΑΑ			Δ	E	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	M	H		Ο	Π	P	Ε	Υ	Φ				Ω
252	499	ΑΑ	B		Δ	E	Z		Θ			Λ	M			Ο	Π		Ε	Υ					Ω
254	503	Α	B		Δ	EE		H	Θ	I	K		M	H		Ο	Π	P	Ε	Υ		X			
255	416-504	ΑΔ			Δ	EE			Θ		K	Λ	M			Ο			Ε	Υ					Ω
256	505-506	ΑΑ				E			Θ		K		M	N				P	Κ	Υ					Ω
257	506	ΑΔ	B		Δ	Ε			Θ		K	Λ	M			Ο	Π		Ε	ΥΥ					Ω
258	516	Α			ΔΔ	E	Z		Θ		K					Ο		P	Ε	ΥΥ	Φ	X			Ω
259	516	Α			ΔΔ	EE			Θ		K	Λ	M	H		Ο		P	Ε	Υ					
260	571	ΑΑΑ		Γ	Δ	E	Z		Θ		KK	Λ	M	H	Ξ	Ο		P	Ε	ΥΥ		X	Υ		Ω
261	576	ΑΑ	B		Δ	Ε		H	Θ		K	Λ	M	H	Ξ	Ο	Π	P	Ε	ΥΥ					Ω
262	576	Α				Ε			Θ		KK	Λ	M		Ξ	Ο		P	Ε	Υ					Ω
263	591	Α			Δ	E		H	Θ		K	Λ		N		Ο	Π		Ε	Υ					Ω
264	591	Α	B		ΔΔ	Ε			Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N		Ο	Π	P	Ε	ΥΥ		X	Υ		Ω



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**PART II**

**THE INSCRIPTIONS**

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## EDITORIAL METHOD

The Ghor es-Safi epitaphs have been classified into four categories: a. dated b. non-dated c. illegible d. those bearing only Christian symbols. As it is evident from the first two categories, the main criterion used for their arrangement is chronology since the vast majority of the inscriptions bears a full dating formula, usually consisting of era year, month, month day, and weekday. The dated epigraphical material (nos. 1-264) follows a strict chronological order except for three texts, nos. 2, 211, 216, whose date has been emendated after a most recent revision of these tombstones necessitated by the observation that some of their phrases were not compatible with their date. In order to avoid great inconvenience, caused by the fact that the serial numbers of the epitaphs had already been established, we were forced to leave these texts in their original place. However, their correct date and position are appropriately denoted.

The non-dated evidence (nos. 265-318) comprises epitaphs bearing no date or epitaphs in which the preserved dating elements are insufficient for producing a fully converted date. However, although these inscriptions have been subdivided into seven categories according to their introductory phrase, they have also been arranged within each category in approximate chronological sequence based on characteristic elements, such as palaeography, phraseology, decoration etc.

The third category is confined to three epitaphs (nos. 319-321) which are for the most part or totally effaced and consequently illegible, while the fourth group (nos. 322-341) is deprived of any funerary text but decorated only with Christian symbols.

Each entry is introduced with the inscription's unique serial number which appears in bold throughout the collection. Then follows a description of the tombstone and of the text which includes comments on the material and form of the stone, state of preservation, inventory number (catalogue no. given by K.D. Politis), dimensions (height-width-thickness), elaboration of the inscribed surface, use of frame and/or guide-lines, incised and/or painted symbolic or decorative motifs, quality of carving, type of script and height of letters. The tombstones' provenance and present location are discussed by K.D. Politis in his introduction so they are omitted here. Their actual location is indicated before the inv. no. only if they are kept in a place other than the Department of Antiquities of Jordan.

The description is followed by the bibliography and the date of the epitaph. Since the great bulk of the material was previously unknown, the bibliography bears as a rule the indication "unpublished", while the pertinent literature is cited only in three already published epitaphs (nos. 18, 56, 59). At the right end of the bibliographical item is inserted in italics the Latin number of the plate in which the respective photograph of the tombstone or rarely of its squeeze (nos. 56, 75, 215, 329, 331, 339, 341) is illustrated.

The chronological formula in the securely dated texts is first given in its local version (usually Macedonian month name and era year of *Provincia Arabia*, abbreviated as E.P.A., and occasionally indiction year) and then in its equivalent in Christian chronology. The weekday of death, although a common element of the epitaphs, is not mentioned in the date since often a discrepancy of one to three weekdays is observed between the date indicated in the text and the calculated date. This inconsistency as well as the nomenclature of weekdays recorded at Ghor es-Safi are discussed at length in the chapter on the date of death.

After the date comes the text itself which is transliterated in small letters with the use of editorial conventions compatible with those displayed and explained in *SEG* 50 (2000), p. xxv. In capitals are denoted only the letters whose meaning cannot be clearly reconstructed or understood. The original orthography of the text's compiler has been generally retained. One of the difficulties met during the transcription was the accentuation of the numerous Semitic names for which there is no as yet unanimity. The fact that the exact pronunciation and accentuation of this kind of names still escapes our knowledge, has made some scholars leave them unaccented. All the Semitic names encountered at Ghor es-Safi are morphologically Hellenized, therefore we decided to adopt the Greek way of accentuation (as e.g. Waddington and Canova 1954 also do) but to adjust it occasionally to the modern local pronunciation, as for example in the case of the common name Qaiyyam which we accent as Καΐάμος instead of Καΐαμος (Waddington, index 1, p. 5, s.v.). One must admit, however, that this accentuation remains still conventional and that only the spelling of Hellenized Semitic names known from the biblical tradition can be taken for granted. It must be noted also that from the Christian symbols placed above, below and/or at the sides of the inscription the cross and the *cross-rho*, *chi-rho* and other monograms are given as symbols, while the remainder are written out. The cross-shaped configuration of a number of epitaphs has been kept in the transcription of the text.

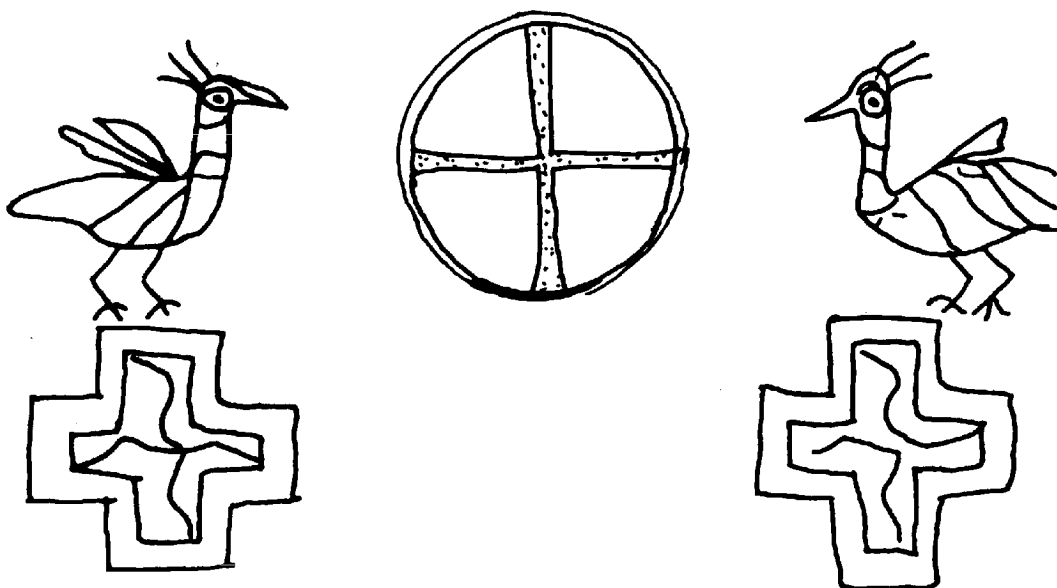
An English translation is provided in the blank area to the right of each inscription. Words not existing in the original but considered essential for its better comprehension are enclosed within parenthesis.

The next item is the critical apparatus aiming mainly at correcting the numerous orthographical, grammatical and syntactical errors and at commenting on dubious or effaced letters, uninscribed letter spaces and, when possible, restoration of mutilated areas. Ligatures, various modes of abbreviations, diacritical marks over numerals, various decorative motifs used frequently as word or numeral dividers and even Christian symbols opening, closing or embodied within the text are also remarked upon in the critical apparatus. Emendations and variant readings are noted only in the case of the few published inscriptions.

Each entry concludes with a commentary which discusses the various burial formulae, comparing them particularly to those of neighbouring areas, military and religious offices, ethnics, matters of chronology etc. Special emphasis is placed, however, on the commentary of the large number of Hellenized Semitic names which are one of the most valuable sources of information on the local population. Since we are not specialists on Semitic languages we are confined to a rudimentary etymology including the plausible trilateral Semitic root and/or the Arabic equivalent of each name in order to give just an idea of the original Semitic meaning concealed behind the Hellenized form of the name. This etymology is in no way final and it is hoped that it will be the starting point for a better treatment of these names on behalf of the specialists. On the other hand, our interest is focused on the parallels as well as the variant Hellenized spellings of these names especially those encountered in the provinces of Palestine and Arabia.

In the commentary the transliteration into Latin characters of local toponyms is based mainly on the English editions on Palestine and Arabia. The notes are embodied in the commentary within parenthesis and the bibliography appears either in the form of abbreviations, whose list is given at the beginning of the book, or in short form consisting of the name of the author and the year of his publication. This bibliography is given analytically at the end of the book.

After this book had been completed, newly recorded and catalogued Greek inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi were handed to us by K.D. Politis. Among these was an invocatory inscription from Khirbet Sheikh 'Isa which disappeared the day following its discovery. The fact that a number of inscriptions are getting lost prompted us to include this newly catalogued epigraphic material in an appendix. This material is divided, as the main corpus, in dated and non-dated inscriptions. Each entry, apart from a short description including inventory number, material and dimensions of the tombstone, contains the text transliteration, the English translation, a photograph as well as the absolute or relative date of the inscription. It should be noted that the personal names and the terms, encountered in the inscriptions of the appendix have not been included in the indices.



## A. DATED EPITAPHS

1. Tombstone of purple and white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and nicely curved, especially at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-224. Dimensions: 0.56x0.34x0.55 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off especially in the upper and lower part. Above and below the inscription fork-like decorative farm signs (with three prongs) pointing to it have been carved which preserve traces of red paint. The text is engraved and painted red, while traces of engraved guide-lines are visible here and there. The script is a mixture of the square and round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.015-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. I

Date: 27 Artemisios 204 E.P.A. = 17 May AD 309.

Μνημῖ-	Monument of
ον Μα{κ}-	Makrinos (Macrinus),
κρίνος	(son) of Ameros,
4 Ἀμήρου,	who died (at the age)
ἀποθαν-	of 33 years, in
όντος ἡτ(ων) λγ',	(the) two hundred and 4th year,
ἡτους δι' αὐκοσ-	on (the) 27th (day)
8 σι(οστοῦ) δ', μηνό-	of (the) month
ς ν Ἀρτημι-	Artemisios.
ησίου νζκ'.	

## Critical apparatus

II. 1-2: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει.

II. 2-3: Μακρίνος for Μακρίνου: nominative for genitive case; the vertical line at the end of I. 2 probably belonged to the vertical bar of *kappa*, which the letter-cutter repeated at the beginning of I. 3.

I. 6: ἡτ(ων) for ἔτ(ων): *eta* for *epsilon*; the word is abbreviated by its two first letters compressed in the space before the age numeral; the latter is denoted by a horizontal bar above it.

I. 7: ἡτους for ἔτους: *eta* for *epsilon*.

II. 7-8: the hundreds numeral of the era year is given in ordinal number in abbreviated form, while the units in numerical sign.

II. 9-10: Ἀρτημισίου for Ἀρτεμισίου: *eta* in the place of *epsilon* and of *iota* in the second and third syllables.

I. 10: the month day numeral is inverted (units-tens).

## Commentary

II. 1-2: The use of the word "μνημεῖον" for the indication of the tomb is preponderant in the epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (for discussion on its high frequency and its variant spellings, see chapter on Burial terms and phrases).

The term μνημεῖον connected with the burial originally applied to a certain structure (monument, stele, etc.) erected on the grave and intended to perpetuate the memory of the deceased (*LSJ*, p. 1139, s.v. *μνημεῖον*). Gradually the word has come to indicate also the actual burial place, i.e. the tomb itself (*ibid.*; Lampe, p. 874, s.v.). This twofold sense of μνημεῖον, as a memorial and a grave, is perfectly expressed in a Christian epitaph from Djôrên in Hauran, where it is clearly stated that the μνημεῖον was built for the "rest" and "commemoration" of the deceased: Αὐρηλία Αὐδὴ λέγει· θάρο(ε)ι Ἀρένι(ο)ς Ἀρενίου, οὐδ(ε)ῖς ἀθάνατος· ἐ[τ]ελίσο[α]ς τὸν βίον σου καλῶς καὶ εὐ(σ)χημόνως· εὐχαρίστου αἰὲν οὖν τῷ παντοκράτορι Θε[ῷ] τ[ῷ] βοηθήσαντι ἡμῖν... Ἐποιήσαμέν σοι μνημ(ε)ῖον ἐς ἀνάπαυσιν καὶ μνή[μην] (Waddington, no. 2459).

In Palestine and Arabia the epigraphic attestations of the word μνημεῖον are numerous and refer to various kinds of pagan and Christian funerary monuments. In the neighbouring to Ghor es-Safi area of Moab, μνημεῖον occurs six times and in all cases is related to Christian stelae [Canova 1954, nos. 51, 221, 306, 312, 319; Piccirillo 1989, p. 118, no. 19 (seen in Kerak)]. In Hauran, where μνημεῖον is a common burial term, all the relevant examples are inscribed on lintels and blocks which should have originally formed part of a funerary construction (Waddington, index s.v.; Dussaud and Macler 1902, nos. 7, 46, 62, 80, 110, 121; *PAES* IIIA, index V, p. 474, s.v. *μνημεῖον* [29 cases]; and possibly Sartre 1982, no. 9209). Limestone blocks (*Nessana* 1, nos. 80, 114) and a slab (*ibid.*, no. 112) bear the term μνημεῖον at Nessana in the Negev. In the Jewish cemetery at

Beth She'arim  $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  applies both to an arcosolium (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 51) and to a burial chamber (ibid., no. 106), while in Pella of the Decapolis  $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$  refers to a chamber with graves cut on the floor (Pella I, pp. 188-192). Such a common and general use of the term  $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ , covering a wide range of burial monuments, is also encountered in Asia Minor (Kubinska 1968, p. 18).

II. 2-3: *Μακρίνος* is the Greek transliteration of the Latin cognomen *Macrinus* derived from *Macer*, "thin" (Kajanto 1965, p. 244, s.v.; Chastagnol 1977, p. 331). The occurrence of *Μακρίνος* in Ghor es-Safi seems to be unique in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. The closest parallel comes from a Roman honorary inscription found in Palmyra (Waddington, no. 2584). However, the cognomen *Μάκερ*, from which *Μακρίνος* derives, appears once in a Roman dedicatory inscription from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 392, no. 38). *Μακρίνος* (spelled sometimes *Μακρεῖνος*), as well as the feminine *Μακρίνα* were attested mainly in Asia Minor (CIG IV, index IX, p. 106, s.vv.) and Egypt (CIG, ibid; Preisigke 1922, col. 203, s.vv.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 186, s.v. *Μακρεῖνος*). *Μακρίνα* was also the name of the sister of St. Basileios (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 846, s.v.).

I. 4: The frequent use of *etacisms* (see below) observed in this epitaph, indicates that the patronymic *Ἀμηρος* is rather the etacised form of the name *Ἀμερος* (see also inscr. no. 63) than one of its variants. *Ἀμερος* seems to be the transliteration of the Arabic names 'Amir or 'Amir which derive from the Semitic roots 'mr, "to live for a long time" or 'mr, "order" (PAES IVA, no. 26; Alt 1921, p. 40). A more specific correspondence cannot be established due to the difficulties arising when a Semitic name is vocalized (for this ambiguity in the transcription of this name as well as its rendering in other Semitic languages, see Sartre 1985, p. 175).

The name *Ἀμερος* is especially frequent in the Greek epigraphy of Hauran. It is recorded in Umm el-Jimâl (PAES IIIA, nos. 407, 410), Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9224), Melah eş-Şarrâr (PAES IIIA, no. 709), Nimreh (Waddington, nos. 2172, 2185; PAES IIIA, no. 761), Rîmet el-Luḥf (Waddington, no. 2420; PAES IIIA, no. 784), Nedjrân (PAES IIIA, nos. 785, 785<sup>4</sup>), Djrên (Waddington, no. 2457b; PAES IIIA, nos. 792, 792<sup>1</sup>), Lubbên (PAES IIIA, no. 793<sup>4</sup>), Harrân (Waddington, no. 2462; PAES IIIA, no. 794<sup>1</sup>), Dâmit el-'Alya (PAES IIIA, no. 800); el-'Ayîn (Waddington, no. 1968a), Shakka (ibid., nos. 2148, 2160a), Busân (ibid., no. 2239a), Medjdel (ibid., no. 2403), eş-Şanamein (ibid., no. 2413k), Mebna el-Beit (ibid., no. 2426a), 'Ubta (Dunand 1950, p. 152, no. 336), Murduk (Dunand 1932, p. 561, no. 65), Tarba (ibid., pp. 573-574, no. 115), Rushaide (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 667, no. 74), Karak (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 201, no. 86), el-Ghâriyeh el-Sharkiyeh (ibid., p. 205, no. 96), Sidjn (Savignac 1905, p. 96, no. 11), unknown provenance (surely Hauranian: Dunand 1934, p. 55, no. 91 mentioned by Sartre 1985, p. 174).

Outside Hauran the name *Ἀμερος* occurs in Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 383-384, no. 17), Amman (Macdonald 1982, p. 167) and Moab (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 399). The variant *Ἀάμερος*, attested in Egypt as *Ἀαμέρ* and deriving probably from the Safaitic 'mr (Sartre 1985, p. 175), occurs once in an epitaph from Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 181, no. 171). The name appears also as *Ἀμερᾶς* in Umm es-Surab (Hauran: PAES IIIA, no. 51) as well as in Madaba (the vocative case of this name, *Ἀμέρα*, has been misinterpreted by the editor Germer-Durand [1896, p. 616] as a variant of *Ἡμέρα*, while Gatier [1986, no. 122] considered it as the feminine form of *Ἀμερος*, which is another possible alternative). Finally, the name *Ἀμρος*, identified usually with *Ἀμερος*, is frequently attested in Hauran (Sartre 1982, nos. 9208, 9233 and id. 1985, p. 176 with all the relevant examples), but it is also found at Dhiban (Gatier 1986, no. 181), Nessana (in inscriptions: *Nessana* 1, nos. 3, 30d, 113; and in papyri: *Nessana* 3, nos. 21.37; 26.4,6; 139.3) and Khirbet Tannur (Sartre 1993, no. 95).

II. 5-6: The participle *ἀποθανόντος* or *ἀποθανούσης* (also in nominative and in various phonetic spellings, see chapter on Phonetics), introducing as a rule the age of the deceased, is extremely common in the inscriptions of Ghor es-Safi (for its occurrences see index 6, s.v. ἀποθνήσκω). Such a popularity is remarkable if we consider the fact that it is so far unparalleled in the epitaphs of the Third Palestine. Unlike the participle, the form ἀπέθανεν is quite rare (see commentary of inscr. no. 302).

II. 7-8: The year numeral is written rather unusually; the hundreds figure is expressed in ordinal number, while the units figure in numerical sign. A similar setting of the era year is encountered in inscr. no. 3 (see also Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 215, no. 201; p. 319, no. 5).

II. 9-10: A tendency to *etacism* is easily detected in the month name Ἀρτημησίου, but also in the words Ἀμήρου (I. 4), ἡτ(ῶν) (I. 6), ἡτους (I. 7).

2. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the bottom and at the upper left side, chipped in the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-14. Dimensions: 0.515x0.365x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The inscription is enclosed within a rich symbolic decoration, all in red paint: above a radial sun-disc; below a cross flanked by two ostriches (only the right one is preserved), between the spurs of which two eggs are visible; left and right two pairs of snakes. Traces of engraved guide-lines are discernible throughout the text. The inscription is engraved, preserving red paint in lines 1,3 (only above the year numeral), 4 (except for the year numeral), 7 and 8. The script is of the round form. The letters are well cut, but bigger and widely spaced in the last lines. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. I*

Date: 17 Xanthikos 217 E.P.A. = 7 April AD 322. After a recent revision of the tombstone the tens figure of the year numeral proved to be 4 instead of I. In this case the date should be modified as follows: 17 Xanthikos 297 E.P.A. = 7 April AD 402 and the inscription should be placed after inscr. no. 80.

	(sun-disc)	
	Μνημῖον Ἐννάθη	Monument of Ennathe, (daughter)
	Ἀλφίου, ἀποθανόν-	of Alphios, who died (at the age)
	τος ἑτῶν λγ',	of 33 years, in (the) year 217,
4	ἔτους σιζ', μη(νός)	on (the) 17th (day) of (the)
	Ξανδικοῦ ζι',	month Xandikos, on (the)
	ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου δευτέρα.	second day of (the) Lord (Monday).
	Θάρσι, Ἐννάθη, οὐ-	Be of good cheer, Ennathe,
8	δὲς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	[ostrich] + (ostrich)	

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημῖον; Ἐννάθη for Ἐννάθη; nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 II. 2-3: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης; use of masculine aorist participle in the place of a feminine one.  
 I. 3: the age numeral is flanked by two series of decorative serpentine motifs.  
 I. 4: the year numeral is decorated on either side by two series of angular motifs facing left; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by a smaller *eta* above *mu*.  
 I. 5: the month day numeral which is inverted, is flanked by similar serpentine motifs as in I. 3.  
 I. 6: a smaller *mu* above *eta* stands for the abbreviation of the dative ἡμέρα, while the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters covered with a horizontal bar; the weekday numeral, given in ordinal number, is preceded by a series of angular motifs similar to those of I. 4.  
 I. 7: Θάρσι, iotacism for Θάρσει.  
 II. 7-8: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- I. 1: The Hellenized Semitic name Ἐννάθη is a lengthened form of the feminine name Ἐννη (see commentary of inscr. no. 233). Alt (1928, pp. 219-220, no. 1), followed by Canova (1954, p. 33), identified Ἐννάθη with the feminine Arabic name Ḥinnat. There are three occurrences of Ἐννάθη in the neighbouring region of Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 4 [AD 476/7], 78 [both from el-Kerak], 228 [el-Frangh, AD 550/1]), but the present mention is the earliest of all. Two similar forms, differing slightly in the vocalization, appear in Hauran, Ἐνενάθη (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9221 and Sartre 1985, pp. 199-200; Umm el-Jimāl: PAES IIIA, no. 496), and Moab, Ἀνενάθη (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 55). For their diminutive Ὀνενάθη, see below inscr. no. 28. The masculine Ἐνεθος is encountered at es-Summaḳiyât in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 74).  
 I. 2: The name Ἀλφίος is richly documented in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safî, since it numbers 13 examples (see also nos. 26, 50, 56, 100, 163, 170-172, 248, 278, 287, 314) which cover the period from the early fourth to the late fifth c. AD (and maybe the early sixth c. AD). Its use mostly as a patronymic in combination with its high frequency in this area corroborate the view that Ἀλφίος was an indigenous name, popular among the local people. It has been suggested that it is the Greek transcription of the common Nabataean name hl̥fw (or hl̥fy?) (Arabic khalaf) which means "successor" (for its origin and parallels in other Semitic languages, see Sartre 1985, pp. 172-173 and Sartre 1993, p. 127, no. 99). An identification with the Greek name Ἀλφειός cannot be excluded according to some scholars (Abel 1931, p. 97 and n. 4; Canova 1954, p. 70, no. 46).

Although the Ghor es-Safi *\*Αλφιος* occurrences are the most numerous, the name is also abundantly attested in the provinces of Third Palestine and Arabia either in this form or in variations: *\*Αλφιος* in the area of Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 46; Corbo 1963-64, p. 234, no. II.3; el-'Amaqa: Canova 1954, no. 333; unknown provenance: Corbo 1963-64, p. 238, no. III.3), at Kh. Dharih, E. of Ghor es-Safi (Sartre 1993, no. 99), in Edom (Wadi Ghuwayr: *ibid.*, no. 124), in Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 149, no. 42/3), in the Negev (Horvat Be'er shema: Tzaferis 1996, pp. 77-78\*, no. 3; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 175, no. 15; Rehovot: Alt 1921, no. 103; 'Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 39), in Petra (Sartre 1993, nos. 32, 74), and in rock inscriptions at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 110, 169, 191); *\*Αλφειος* in a sixth c. papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 21.36, 39; this variant occurs also in sixth-seventh c. papyri from Egypt, Preisigke 1922, col. 21); *\*Αλειφος* in Hauran (Djeneine: *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1044; Mushennef: *ibid.*, no. 1080; Dunand 1934, pp. 48-49, no. 74), and in Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 17); *\*Ολφιος* in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 140, who considers it an Aramaism for *\*Αλφιος*), and in Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 28); *\*Ολεφος* (see below commentary of inscr. no. 6).

Two saints in the Palestinian hagiography bear the name *\*Αλφειός*: a. an anagnostes (known also as *\*Αλφαίος*, *\*Αλφεινός* and *\*Αλφειος*), who was cruelly tortured and then beheaded in AD 303 in Caesarea Maritima together with Zacchaeos, a deacon of the Gadarene Church (Eus., *De mart. Pal.* I.5) and b. a bishop of Rhinocorura, who was active in the fifth c. AD (Photius, *Bibl.* 52.13b, ll. 28-29, 32; *PG* 103.92).

ll. 2-3: The gender of the participle ἀποθανόντος is not in accordance with that of the deceased woman; for this discrepancy see chapter on Syntax.

l. 5: Noteworthy here is the use of the pure Macedonian month name Ξανδικός (see also no. 103) instead of the common Ξανθικός which is the prevailing orthographic variation in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. The spelling Ξανδικός appears only in inscriptions from Gerasa (Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 100, no. 48; p. 104, no. 62; p. 106, no. 68) and Gaza (*ibid.*, p. 125, no. 109).

ll. 7-8: "Θάρσει, οὐδεις ἄθάνατος" is an especially frequent acclamation at Ghor es-Safi, being as a rule the concluding phrase of the epitaph (for its frequency, dating and variants, see chapter on Acclamations). This formula, with its variants, was commonly encountered in the funerary texts of pagans, Jews and Christians during the Later Roman Empire (Simon 1936, p. 188 and n. 1; Lattimore 1942, p. 253 and n. 299; cf. Alt 1921, no. 15). It is an exhortation addressed by the living to the deceased in order to comfort him by stressing the fact that death is common to all mortals (for the consolatory theme of the universality of death, see Lattimore 1942, pp. 250-256). It has been suggested that "Θάρσει, οὐδεις ἄθάνατος" did not provide mere consolation but implied also a belief in eternal life for which death was a prerequisite (on this meaning of the expression, see the special study of Simon 1936, pp. 188-206; Welles 1938, pp. 454-455, no. 227 claimed that such an interpretation could be valid for Jews and Christians but not for pagans; cf. also *IGA* V, pp. xxx-xxx; Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, p. 2, no. 2 and p. 224; Guarducci 1978, p. 307; Sartre 1982, pp. 43-44 following Simon).

The attestations of "Θάρσει, οὐδεις ἄθάνατος" from Palestine and Arabia are mostly encountered in pagan burial inscriptions, while only a small portion is found on Christian gravestones. The best part of the relevant evidence originates from the regions of the Negev (Kirk 1939, p. 184; Alt 1921, nos. 15, 49-53; Tsafrir 1988, p. 162, no. 12 and p. 166, no. 18; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 173, commentary of inscr. no. 3), Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 166, 280, 374, 620, 695; Sartre 1982, p. 43; Gatier 1998, p. 365; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, p. 221), and Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 175, 177-179, 181, 183, 185, 201, 203, 224). In a Jewish context the formula appears in a number of epitaphs from the Beth She'arim cemetery (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, index, p. 228, s.v. ἄθάνατος, p. 229, s.v. θαρσέω). Unlike the above mentioned evidence, the Ghor es-Safi instances are in their vast majority Christian and testify to the survival of this pagan formula until the late sixth century AD.

3. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the upper half has been preserved. Inv. no.: Z-133. Dimensions: 0.355x0.26x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed at two levels and is at places chipped. The inscription is engraved and the letters belong to the round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.008-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. I*

Date: Audynaiois (?) 218 E.P.A. = 17 Dec. AD 323-15 Jan. AD 324.

Μνημ[ῖο]ν Παύλου	Monument of Paulus, (son)
Γεμέλλου, τελευ-	of Gemellus, who died
τήσαντος ἑτῶν	(at the age) of eighteen years,
4 δεκαοκτώ, ἔτο-	in (the) two hundred and
υς διακ[οσ(ιοστοῦ)] τη', μη-	18th year, on (the) .. (day) of
νὸς Αὐθ[οναίου..]	(the) month Audynaïos...
[- - - - -]	
[- - - - -]	
[- - - - -]	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημ[εῖο]ν.

l. 4: the age numeral is given in ordinal number.

l. 5: the hundreds numeral of the partially preserved era year is written in ordinal number probably in abbreviated form, while the tens and the units in cardinal figures.

l. 6: the lower half of the letters in this line is lost since the breaking of the stele occurred exactly at this point. There must be missing at least three lines from the lower part of the inscription.

#### Commentary

l. 1: *Παῦλος*, a favourite name among the Christians, occupies also a prominent place in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi. It is attested sixteen times in this corpus (see also nos. 25, 43, 47, 52, 74, 78, 103, 105, 149, 183, 192, 217, 219, 235, 236), a high rate which makes it one of the most popular names in this area. Comparatively speaking, in the epitaphs from the neighbouring Moab *Παῦλος* appears only four times (Canova 1954, nos. 142, 221, 322, 358). The frequency of the *Παῦλος* occurrences in Ghor es-Safi is paralleled only by the numerous mentions of this name in the Christian cemetery of the Deir el-Qilt Monastery in the Judaeen Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 319, no. 34; p. 320, no. 51; p. 322, no. 89; p. 323, no. 116; p. 325, nos. 144, 149; p. 327, no. 187; p. 328, nos. 201, 203, 209; p. 329, no. 211), which applied mainly to monks who had been buried there.

It is to be noted that, in addition to these monks, other people holding ecclesiastical offices bear the name *Παῦλος* in Palestine and Arabia (see below inscr. no. 149 [subdeacon]; 'Evron: Tzaferis 1987, p. 40\*, no. 3 and p. 42\*, no. 5 [bishop]; Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 200 [presbyter]; Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 474, no. 293; pp. 478-479, nos. 304, 306; pp. 481-482, nos. 309, 314 [same person, a bishop]; Gaza: Saliou 2000, p. 396, nos. 4, 5; pp. 400-401, no. 10; pp. 401-404, nos. 12, 13 [same person, a monk and then presbyter]; Meimaris 1986, p. 284, index B, s.v.). This phenomenon was probably an outcome of the name's reference to the Apostle Paul to whom churches had been dedicated in Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 484, no. 327, along with the Apostle Peter, 6th c. AD), and Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 78-79, AD 595). Civil and military officials were also among the bearers of the name *Παῦλος*, as for example a count and decurion mentioned in a building inscription from Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9123, AD 490) and a military governor, *dux*, of Arabia in a similar inscription from Zizia (S. of Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 155; cf. Di Segni 1995, p. 321, AD 580).

l. 2: If the first letter is correctly read as *gamma*, then the patronymic should be *Γεμέλλου*, a name uniquely attested in Ghor es-Safi. This name, deriving from the Latin cognomen *Gemellus*, "twin", is encountered also in Roman building inscriptions from Hauran (AAES III, nos. 135, 380a and 381 mentioning the same person, a centurion *Κυρινάλιος Γέμελλος*) and in two funerary inscriptions from the Jewish catacombs at Beth She'arim where a certain *Ἰουλιανὸς Γέμελλος* is mentioned (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 13, 14).

ll. 2-3: Although ἀποθανών (or -οῦσα) is the usual participle attributed to the deceased in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, τελευτήσας (or -ήσασα) is not an uncommon one (see also inscr. nos. 16, 22, 30, 34, 66, 75, 133, 139, 180, 194, 211, 217, 222, 223, 258, 261, 262). The verb appears as well in the aorist indicative ἐτελεύτησεν (inscr. nos. 53, 86) and in the phrase "ἀπαντ<ε>ς τελ<ε>υτᾶμεν (inscr. no. 106).

l. 5: The peculiar spelling of the year numeral, hundreds in ordinal number, while tens and units in numerical signs, is to be found also in inscr. no. 1.

4. Tombstone of purple sandstone almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left and lower right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-33. Dimensions: 0.47x0.32x0.08 m. The inscribed

surface has been smoothed only in the area of the inscription and is mostly weathered. The text is only engraved in oval script. Height of letters: 0.018-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. I

Date: 224 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 329 - 21 March AD 330.

Θάρσει.	Be of good cheer.
Μνημῖον Δη-	Monument of Demetrios
μητρίου ὀφ(φικιαλίου), ἀπο-	the officialis (member of the officium),
4 θανόντος ἑ-	who died (at the age)
τῶν ξ', ἑτ(ους)	of 60 years,
σκδ'.	in (the) year 224.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: θάρσει.

l. 2: μνημῖον.

l. 3: the letters ΟΦ are crossed by a diagonal stroke serving as abbreviation sign.

l. 5: the age numerical sign is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the word ἑτους is abbreviated by the first two letters and the siglum S at the end.

l. 6: above the year numeral there is a horizontal bar.

#### Commentary

l. 1: Despite the usual practice at Ghor es-Safi of placing the burial formula "θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος" at the end of the epitaph, here θάρσει alone emphatically opens the funerary text (for θάρσει as an opening phrase, see also inscr. no. 15).

ll. 2-3: The Greek name *Δημήτριος* was a popular one in the nomenclature of the Roman East (Sartre 1985, p. 198), especially in the areas that had formerly been under Seleucid rule (Di Segni 1990e, p. 381). In the provinces of Palestine and Arabia it appears frequently at Gerasa (Welles 1938, index D, p. 594, s.v., 11 examples dated from the mid-first to the third c. AD) and to a lesser degree at Philadelphia (Museum of Amman, Gatier 1986, no. 27) and at Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 120); it is also found in Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9254, 9411, 9412; Salchad: Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 657, no. 43; Mismiyeh: Waddington, no. 2535). On the contrary, *Δημήτριος* is rarely attested in the Christian epigraphy of these provinces. It appears only in church mosaic inscriptions from Kh. el-Wahadneh (in the vicinity of Pella: Piccirillo 1981, p. 20, no. B) and Ḥorvat Ḥesheq in Upper Galilee (Di Segni 1990e, pp. 379-385, nos. 1-4, mentioning the same person, a deacon *Δημήτριος* [and his deceased son *Δημήτριος* in no. 2], as the benefactor of the local church). The feminine *Δημητρία* occurs so far once in Golan (el-'Âl: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 62).

l. 3: The letters ΟΦ, crossed by a diagonal stroke, most likely stand for the abbreviation of ὀφφικιάλι(ο)ς, a term used in inscriptions and papyri to denote the member of the *officium* of a magistrate. Thus there were various categories of ὀφφικιάλιοι, such as *officialis* of the prefect, of the *praeses* etc. (on this office and related epigraphical and papyrological evidence, see Hanton 1927-28, p. 111, and n. 6, s.v.; *Hellenica* XIII (1965), p. 37 and n. 1), also ecclesiastical ὀφφικιάλιοι in the service of a bishop or a patriarch (Hanton 1927-28, p. 111, n. 7). The exact character of Demetrios' office cannot be determined due to lack of evidence. The date of the inscription, however, excludes the possibility of an ecclesiastical title. Thus it seems that Demetrios was plausibly a member of the *officium* of a governor of Palestine.

In Palestine and Arabia ὀφφικιάλιοι are epigraphically attested, mainly in Hauran. In inscriptions of the Roman period from Bostra there is a plain mention of ὀφφικιάλις (Sartre 1982, no. 9083) as well as the more specific title of "ὀφφικιάλι[ο]ι τῶν δεσμ[ω]τῶν" (members of the *officium* in charge of the prisoners, Sartre 1982, no. 9088); in a funerary building inscription from Msêkeh the dead bears the title of "ὀφ(φικιάλιος) τῆς ἡγεμο(νίας)" (member of the governor's *officium*, PAES IIIA, no. 795<sup>5</sup>) while in a building inscription from el-Mushennef (Nela) the office is accompanied by the name of the district in which the person served, "ὀφεκκ[α]νοῦ (misspelling for ὀφφικιαλίου?) τῆς Νηλκωμίας" (Waddington, no. 2217). Later on ὀφφικιάλιοι are recorded among other officials (δουκτικοί, σκρινιάριοι) in the imperial edict of Anastasios I (491-518), fragments of which have been found in Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9046, esp. p. 112) and Qaṣr el-Ḥallabât (PAES IIIA, no. 20, esp. p. 29, l. 8). The only non-Hauranian example of *officialis* occurs in an inscription from et-Tireh near Jerusalem (Gildemeister 1888, pp. 44-45) in which the bearer of the title acts as an overseer of a funerary monument erected by a *dux* of Palestine



(ἐργεπιστ(ατήσαντος) Ἀκυλίνου ὀφ(φικιαλίου): the reading ὀφ(φικιαλίου) for the letters ΟΦ, proposed recently by Feissel [BE 1993, no. 637], is preferable to that of the year numeral οφ' [= 570] of the Seleucid era for which many reservations had been expressed in Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 56 and p. 57, no. 3).

It should be noted in this respect that as a rule at Ghor es-Safi the name of the deceased is followed by the patronymic with the exception of 36 inscriptions in which the name is either accompanied by an office or profession (nos. 4, 27, 30, 55, 69, 86, 181, 197, 246), by an ethnic (no. 268) or it stands alone (nos. 35, 36, 62, 66, 71, 94, 135, 138, 151, 155, 185, 194, 207, 222, 244, 253, 269, 271, 288, 297, 300, 302, 307, 313, 315, 316).

5. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-150. Dimensions: 0.30x0.24x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is flaked off mostly in the lower part and badly weathered. The text is engraved in round script. Height of letters: 0.012-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. I

Date: Xanthikos (?) 229 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March - 20 April AD 334 (?).

	Μνημῆον	Monument of Sibylla,
	Σιβύλλης Ἀσ-	(daughter) of Asclepiades,
	κληπιάδου{ς},	who died (at the age)
4	ἄποθρονοῦσα	of 9 years, in (the)
	νν ἔτῳ γ θ',	year 229(?),
	ν ἔτους σκθ',	on (the) .. (day) of (the)
	νν ἐν μηνί(νι) Ξαν[θικῶ]	month Xanthikos (?),
8	[... ἡμ(έρα)] Διός.	on [the day] of Jupiter ? (Thursday).
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Σιβύλλης.

II. 2-3: Ἀσκληπιάδους for Ἀσκληπιάδου: the genitive here follows the third declension, although the name Ἀσκληπιάδης is of the first declension.

I. 5: the age numeral has a horizontal bar above.

I. 6: the word ἔτους and the year numeral are crowned by two peculiar horizontal bars with endings in the form of a scroll.

I. 7: the word μηνί is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*; of the month Xanthikos only the three first letters have been partially preserved.

I. 8: only the last four letters have been partially preserved; we may suggest that two more lines, containing the formula "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος", are missing.

#### Commentary

I. 2: *Σιβύλλα* was in antiquity the name of a woman foreteller from Asia Minor (most likely from Erythrai) who, wandering in various cities and countries, predicted the future disasters. Following the example of the original Sibylla, numerous such prophetesses were spread throughout the ancient world so that the name *Σιβύλλα* became synonymous to the prophetess. Although a Greek, Latin or Semitic root has been suggested for this name (for the relevant etymologies, see RE II. A2, cols. 2074-2705, s.v. *Sibyllen*) its origin still remains unknown (DELG, p. 1001, s.v.). The most famous among the Sibyllae was the Cymaeon (sometimes identified with the Erythraean) who foretold the future of Rome. In addition to the collections of prophecies concerning the fate of Rome, other Sibyllic books appeared from the 2nd c. BC either of Jewish or Christian inspiration. The latter, written in the first three Christian centuries, included among others a Christian prophecy referring to the Last Judgement of the World (for a detailed article on Sibyllae, see RE II.A2, cols. 2073-2183, s.v. *Sibyllen*). The Christian Sibyllic prophecies were held in such high esteem that Sibyllae were sometimes represented in the iconography of the Christian churches in the East (see Spetsieris 1963-64, p. 388; p. 398, fig. 10; p. 401; p. 406; p. 408, fig. 23; p. 418 and fig. 38; p. 421; p. 427; pp. 440-441; p. 453) and the West (five Sibyllae by Michelangelo in the Capella Sixtina in the Vatican etc.). This sibyllic tradition is also preserved in the literary sources as attested by an Arabic

manuscript from the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai (Meimaris 1985, no. 34 and n. 60), dated in 1001 but describing earlier events, which includes among other narrations, that of "the history of the wisdom of Sivylla, daughter of the ἀρχιερωλάτρης Heraclius of Ephesus".

The use of *Σίβυλλα* as personal name in two epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 107, AD 414) is an evidence for the popularity of the Sibyllic tradition in that particular area. It is noteworthy that Palestine and Arabia have yielded no other example of this name and that the existing epigraphic attestations of *Σίβυλλα* are found in inscriptions dating from the fourth to the second c. BC and coming from Greek cities (e.g. Thespiiai, Boeotia: *SEG* 19 [1963], no. 354k; Olosson, Thessaly: *SEG* 27 [1977], no. 214; Athens: *LGN* II, p. 397, s.v.; Bouthrotos, Illyria: *SEG* 38 [1988], nos. 474, col. II, l. 32; 483, l. 31; 485, l. 4).

II. 2-3: The Greek name *Ἀσκληπιάδης* means literally the son of Asclepius; consequently the sons and descendants of Asclepius were called *Ἀσκληπιάδαι*. Since the bearers of this name as a rule practised medicine, which was hereditary from father to son, the name *Ἀσκληπιάδαι* gradually came to be the equivalent of physicians (god of medicine, *LSJ*, p. 528, s.v. *Ἀσκληπιός*; Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 158, s.v. *Ἀσκληπιάδης*). In fact, several well known doctors of the Roman period bore the name *Ἀσκληπιάδης* (M. Wellmann, *RE* II.2, cols. 1632-3, nos. 37-46, s.v. *Asklepiades* and especially nos. 39 [famous physician from Proussa or Kios in Bithynia who lived in the early 1st c. BC], 40 [C. Calpurnius Asclepiades, AD 88-158, probably the head physician, ἀρχίατρος, of Trajan] and 41 [L. Arruntius Sempronianus Asclepiades, doctor of Domitian]).

It is therefore likely that the patronymic *Ἀσκληπιάδης* of this epitaph was suggestive of his medical profession and, in particular, all the more so if we relate it to *Σίβυλλα*, the deceased woman's name which is also a symbolic one. The name *Ἀσκληπιάδης* is so far known from an epitaph found in Inkhil (Hauran) in which it appears in the form *Ἀσκληπιάδης* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 651<sup>2</sup>) while it appears also in Palmyrene inscriptions (Stark 1971, pp. 6,71). Another derivative of Asclepius, *Ἀσκληπιόδωρος*, is borne by two priests mentioned in Roman inscriptions from Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 379-380, no. 10; p. 419, no. 123). *Ἀσκληπιός* as a personal name is encountered in a mid-fourth c. epitaph from es-Şanamein (Sartre-Fauriat 2001, p. 149, no. 1), and has been also restored in a Christian inscription from the baths of Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 193, no. 5).

6. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left and lower right sides, curved at the lower left and upper right corners and chipped on all sides except for the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-52. Dimensions: 0.46x0.325x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, while its right part is weathered. A cross appears above the text. Both the cross and the inscription are engraved and painted in red except for the last two letters of l. 4, in which the red paint has faded. The script belongs to the round alphabet with bigger letters in the first three lines. Height of letters: 0.01-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. II

Date: Gorpaios 240 E.P.A. = 19 August - 17 September AD 345.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Ὀλέφο[u] Βουέσθα, 4 ἀποθανόν- τα ἐν ἔτι σμ', μηνὶ Γορπιέ- ου [...].</p>	<p>Monument of Olefos, (son) of Bouestha, who died in the year 240, on (the) .. (day) of (the) month Gorpaios.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: only traces of the second *omicron* have been preserved, while the letter *upsilon* is eroded.

II. 4-5: ἀποθανόντα for ἀποθανόντος: the past participle is in accusative instead of genitive singular.

I. 5: ἐν ἔτι, iotacism for ἐν ἔτει.

II. 6-7: Γορπιέου, phonetic spelling for Γορπιῶν: genitive instead of dative singular; the month numeral is lost.

## Commentary

l. 2: The name *\*Ολεφος* enjoyed a great popularity in Ghor es-Safi (11 examples, see index 2) analogous to that of *\*Αλφιος*, with which it shares a common root, being one of its variants (see above inscr. no. 2 for commentary on *\*Αλφιος*). It has been considered as a diminutive of the well known name *\*Αλαφος* (Sartre 1993, p. 181, no. 147). Several examples of *\*Ολεφος* have been encountered in Hauran: at 'Anz (Dunand 1939, p. 566, no. 272), Krayft (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 693, no. 163), Burâk (ibid., p. 660, no. 51) and at Buteine (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 142, no. 2). It also appears at Umm el-Baqar in the Negev (Figueras 1985, p. 41, no. 33), at Aila (Sartre 1993, no. 147) and at Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, p. 85 and n. 45).

l. 3: Unlike the common name *\*Ολεφος*, the patronymic *Βουέσθας* seems to be new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi and by extension in that of Palestine. It could be the masculine form of *Βοαῖσάθη* recorded in a funerary inscription from Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 281-282) and considered by its editors as an equivalent of the Arabic Bu'aisat or Bu'aisah which is a diminutive of Ba'isah, "unfortunate, miserable". Of some relation with *Βουέσθας* could be also the feminine name *Βαθσαία*, probably a corrupt form of *Βοαῖσάθη* which occurs in an epitaph from Khan-Qoseir in Syria (Waddington, no. 2569).

l. 5: The age of the deceased is not indicated here. This is a rather infrequent phenomenon in Ghor es-Safi where out of a total of 318 legible epitaphs, only in 15 is the mention of age omitted.

7. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the lower right corner. First recorded by K. Politis at Safi in 1993. Inv. no.: Z-89. Dimensions: Unrecorded. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, has accumulations of salt crystals in the lower right part. A carved rectangular frame encloses the incised text, which is also set between engraved guide-lines. Below the inscription the existing guide-lines provided space for another three lines, but this space was finally left uninscribed. The script is a mixture of the round and square alphabet. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. II

Date: 25 Dios 240 E.P.A. = 11 November AD 345.

Μνημῖον	Monument of Saridas,
Σαρίδας	(son) of P(e)itholaos,
Πιθολάου ἀρ-	the archisynagogos,
4 χισυνόγωγος,	who died (at the age)
ἀποθανόν- ν	of 70 years, in (the)
το<ς> ἐτῶν ο',	year 240, on (the) day
ἔτους σμ',	of (the) Moon (Monday),
8 ἡμέρα Σελη-	on (the) 25th (day)
νης, μηνᾶς	of (the) month Dios.
Δίου κε.{Θά}	Be of good cheer,
Θάρσι, οὐδὶς	no one (is) immortal.
12 ἀθάνατος.	

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον; in the space after the second *mu* a superfluous vertical stroke probably indicates an unsuccessful attempt of the letter-cutter.

l. 2: Σαρίδας for Σαρίδα: nominative instead of genitive singular; the line ends with an angular motif.

l. 3: Πιθολάου, iotacism for Πειθολάου.

l. 4: ἀρχισυνόγωγος for ἀρχισυνάγωγος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the fourth syllable; the last two letters of the word are partially preserved.

ll. 5-6: the letter-cutter omitted the final *sigma* of the participle ἀποθανόντος.

l. 7: before the year numeral there is a possibly decorative character imitating the siglum S.

l. 8: the line ends with an angular motif as in l. 2.

l. 9: μηνᾶς for μηνός: *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 10: the letters *theta* and *alpha* at the end of the line are most likely the initial letters of the word θάρσι, which was finally accommodated by the letter-cutter in the beginning of l. 11.

l. 11: θάρσει, οὐδαίς.

# Commentary

l. 2: The name *Σαρίδας*, which appears for the first time in Ghor es-Safi, is already attested in a Hellenistic inscription from Miletus (228/7 BC: *LGPN* I, p. 401, s.v.) as the patronymic of a man from Crete. At Umm el-Jimâl of Hauran this name occurs frequently in two variant forms: *Σάρειδος* (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 239, 279, 280 probably referring to the same person) and *Σάρεδος* (*ibid.*, nos. 301, 363). The spelling *Σάρειδος* appears also at Rihab (Gatier 1998, p. 398, no. 95). A lengthened version *Σαρέδαθος* is encountered in a building inscription from 'Ormân (Dunand 1933, p. 243, no. 183). These Hauranian examples have been considered as Greek equivalents to the Arabic name Sharid derived from the root šrd, "to flee, to wander" (*PAES* IIIA, p. 140, no. 239).

l. 3: As to the patronymic *Πιθόλαος*, it may be a phonetic spelling for the Greek compound name *Πειθόλαος* (πειθω+λαός) or *Πυθόλαος* (πυνθάνομαι+λαός). Both names have not been documented hitherto in Palestine and Arabia. The closest parallels of *Πειθόλαος* have been found in Egyptian papyri (Preisigke 1922, col. 300, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 245, s.v.). Earlier epigraphic evidence concerning *Πειθόλαος* has been recorded in inscriptions from Greece, dated from the fourth to the first c. BC, mainly from Athens (*LGPN* II, p. 365, s.v., 3 examples), but also from Euboea (*LGPN* I, p. 368, s.v.), Calymnos (*ibid.*, *Πειθόλαος*), Rhodes (*ibid.*) and Nikopolis (*SEG* 27 [1977], no. 233 *Πειθόλαος*). *Πυθόλαος* is a name attested also in Hellenistic Greece (*LGPN* I, p. 394, s.v.; cf. also Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1283, s.v.).

ll. 3-4: Saridas bears the title of ἀρχισυνάγωγος, a misspelling for ἀρχισυνάγωγος. This term was usually employed to designate the head of a Jewish synagogue (*SEG* 43 [1993], no. 1297). The first literary references to *archisynagogoi* in a Jewish context are made in the Gospels (*Mark* 5. 22, 35, 36, 38; *Luke* 8.49, 13, 14), where are also described some of their religious duties (*Luke* 4.16ff; *Matthew* 5.23; *Acts* 13.15). There is a controversy among the scholars as to whether the title of *archisynagogos* was really functional (Brooten 1982, pp. 23-24; *NDIEC* 4 [1987], p. 218) or honorific (Rajak and Noy 1993, pp. 84-87). In some instances it seems that the office was hereditary: i.e. Jerusalem (*CIJ* II, no. 1404 = Lifshitz 1967, no. 79, where Theodotos, an ἱερεύς and ἀρχισυνάγωγος, was son and grandson of *archisynagogoi*; see also *NDIEC* 4 [1987], p. 218; Rajak and Noy 1993, p. 86). In the Diaspora existed also female *archisynagogoi* (Smyrna: *CIJ* I, no. 741 = *Smyrna* I, no. 295, 3rd c. or later: 'Ρουφεῖνα 'Ιουδαία ἀρχισυνάγωγος; Kastelli Kissamou, Crete: *CIJ* I, no. 731c; cf. Brooten 1982, p. 11, 4th-5th c. AD: Σοφία Γορτυνία πρεσβυτέρα κὲ ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα Κισσάμου; Myndos, Caria, *CIJ* I, no. 756; cf. Brooten 1982, p. 13, 4th-5th c. or later: [Ἀπὸ Θ]εωπέμπτης [ἀρ]χισυν(α)γώγου). All this information comes from the epigraphical evidence on the Jewish usage of ἀρχισυνάγωγος which geographically covers part of North Africa, Spain, Italy, Pannonia, Moesia, Crete, Cyprus, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine and is chronologically expanded from the first to the sixth c. AD, the Roman examples being predominant (for a detailed list of the Jewish mentions, see *NDIEC* 4 [1987], pp. 214-217; Rajak and Noy 1993, app. I, nos. 1-32, pp. 89-92).

Occasionally even non-Jews of high social status were honoured by the title of *archisynagogos* as a reward for their beneficence or patronage towards a Jewish community (Rajak and Noy 1993, pp. 88-89). Also a number of inscriptions originating mainly from Northern Greece and dating in the Roman Imperial period (1st to 3rd c. AD), refer to pagan *archisynagogoi*. In this case the title is applied to the president of a religious or craft association (for the relevant examples, see *ibid.*, app. II, nos. 1-6, pp. 92-93). It has been argued that the Jews borrowed this title from their Greek contemporaries adopting it for their needs (*NDIEC* 4 [1987], pp. 219-220; Rajak and Noy 1993, pp. 83-84; contra Brooten 1982, p. 5).

The Palestinian occurrences of *archisynagogoi* are all in a Jewish milieu. The earliest epigraphical attestation of the office comes from Jerusalem and is of the 1st c. AD (*CIJ* II, no. 1404 = Lifshitz 1967, no. 79). Jerusalem has yielded another (partially restored) example (*CIJ* II, no. 1414). Two mentions of ἀρχισυνάγωγοι are encountered in the Jewish catacombs of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 164, 203) and probably a third one (*ibid.*, no. 212). The later occurrences are to be found in Sepphoris/ Diocaesarea (5th c. AD.: *CIJ* II, no. 991 = Lifshitz 1967, no. 74) and Caesarea Maritima (5th-mid 7th c. AD: *JECM* V, no. 79: ἀρχισυνάγωγος καὶ φροντιστής).

The Ghor es-Safi epitaph does not offer any decisive evidence concerning the identity of *archisynagogos* Saridas. On the one hand, this epitaph, with the exception of the title ἀρχισυνάγωγος, does not present any other Jewish characteristics, while its phraseology and dating formula (era of the province of Arabia, Macedonian month name and planetary weekday) are identical to those used in the Christian epitaphs of Zoora. The contemporary known epitaphs of the Jewish community of Zoora (for this community see Sartre 1993, p. 133, nn. 70, 71), however, are

in their vast majority written in Aramaic, decorated with Jewish religious symbols and dated in a strictly Jewish manner (Jewish month, year of the Sabbatical cycle and era from the destruction of the Temple; 25 Jewish-Aramaic epitaphs from Zoora - including a bilingual Greek-Aramaic one [see below no. 18] - have been published up to the present. For a list of the first 18 inscriptions in the chronological order of their publication, see Stern 2001, p. 88 and n. 122, as well as Cotton and Price 2001, p. 277, n. 3. The last seven epitaphs, as most of the previous ones, have been published by Naveh [1999-2000, pp. 619-635]. Two more epitaphs are mentioned in the catalogue of the Zurich Auction XXIII of November 1989 [edited by Wolfe and Sternberg, pp. 24-25, nos. 32, 33]).

On the other hand, so far the only known bilingual, Greek-Aramaic, epitaph from Zoora (see below no. 18) reveals that while in the Aramaic text the Jewish system of reckoning is employed, in its Greek counterpart the common in the area era of the province of Arabia is used. According to the editors of this inscription (Cotton and Price 2001a, p. 279) "it seems that for the Jews attested on the tombstones from Zo'ar the language of the text seems to have determined the system of dating". If this is true (in fact further epigraphic evidence is needed in order to better substantiate this statement), then it is not unlikely that Saridas was a Jew.

8. Tombstone of yellow-greenish sandstone, rectangular in shape and nicely curved at the upper part. It is chipped at the lower left corner and broken at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-283. Dimensions: 0.57x0.30x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the lower unscripted part. The inscription is engraved and preserves red paint in lines 1,2,3 (in all letters), l. 4 (only in the first and the last two letters), l. 5 (only in the first five letters), l. 6 (only in the first three letters) and l. 7 (only in the horizontal bar above the year numeral). The script is of the square form with the exception of round and rhomboid *omicrons*. The letters are rather well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. II

Date: 241 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 346 - 21 March AD 347.

Μνημῖον	Monument of
Τροείλλα	Troila, (daughter)
Αὐξιβίου, ᾧ-	of Auxibios,
4 ποθανού-	who died (at the
σης ἔτων	age) of 35 years,
λε', ἔτους	in (the) year
σμά'.	241.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: Τροείλλα for Τρωίλας; nominative in the place of genitive singular.

l. 6: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.

l. 7: a similar horizontal stroke above the year numeral.

#### Commentary

l. 2: *Τροείλλα* is probably a solecism for *Τρωίλα* which is the feminine form of the name *Τρωῖλος*, a hypocoristicon for *Τρῶος* (Trojan). In mythology *Τρωῖλος* was the son of Priamos and Hekabe who was strangled by Achilles (*RE* VII.A2, cols. 602-615, s.v. Troilos, no. 2). Although *Τρωῖλος* is epigraphically (e.g. Greece, S. Italy: *LPGN* I, p. 448; II, p. 436; IIIA, p. 437) and papyrologically (Egypt: Preisigke 1922, col. 446; Foraboschi 1967, p. 323) attested from the fourth c. BC to the third c. AD, the feminine name *Τρωίλα* is so far unparalleled.

l. 3: The patronymic *Αὐξιβίος*, a Greek compound name (αὐξάνω+βίος), is uncommon in Palestine. The only parallels are encountered in two epitaphs from el-Kerak in the area of Moab neighbouring Ghor es-Safi (Canova 1954, nos. 59 [a funerary epigram], 64). At Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 101) and at Qanawât in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2359 = *AAES* III, no. 406) occurs the name *Αὐξων*, a derivative from αὐξάνω which is the first component of *Αὐξιβίος* (the words αὐξι and αὐξίτω attested in Hauran, Waddington, nos. 2006, 2415 and *AAES* III, no. 379 should rather be interpreted as the second and third person of the imperative form of the verb αὐξάνω than as personal names as suggested by the editors of the relevant inscriptions). For the patronymic *Αὐξιβίος*, used also in the following epitaph, see the commentary of inscr. no. 9.

9. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on the lower right side and at the lower right corner and chipped at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-271. Dimensions: 0.48x0.35x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is damaged in the right part at the end of lines 2-5. The whole text is engraved and painted red. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are of variable height with a tiny *omicron* in l. 1 and well cut. Height of letters: 0.01-0.04 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. II

Date: 241 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 346 - 21 March AD 347.

Μνημῖον	Monument of Ouardous,
Οὐαρδοῦς Αὐ-	(daughter) of Auxibios,
ξιβίου, ἀπογ-	who died (at the age)
4 ενομένης ἐτ-	of 30 years, in (the)
ῶν λ', ἔτους σμᾶ'.	year 241. Be of good
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς νν	cheer, no one (is)
ἀθάνατος.	immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 5: the age and the year numerals are both indicated by a horizontal bar.

l. 6: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 2: Judging from the participle ἀπογενομένης (ll. 3-4), *Οὐαρδοῦς* is a feminine name. It is also encountered in Hauran where it appears in the nominative *Οὐάρδα* in an epitaph from Djdiyeh (PAES IIIA, no. 783) and in the genitive *Οὐάρδης* in a funerary building inscription from el-Kefr (ibid., no. 667). It corresponds to the Arabic name ward which means "rose" (Negev 1991, p. 25, nos. 355, 357). In the literary sources the name occurs also in the masculine forms *Οὐάρδης* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1086) and *Οὐαρδάνης* (ibid.). *Οὐερδιανός*, a variant of the lengthened form *Οὐαρδάνης*, appears in a funerary epigram from Lâhitha in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2538).  
ll. 3-4: The use of the rare participle ἀπογενομένης (LSJ, p. 194, s.v. ἀπογίγνομαι II.2) to denote the deceased woman is confined to three mid-fourth century epitaphs (see also nos. 11,24). The Ghor es-Safi attestations seem to be so far unique for Palestine, while Hauran has yielded the only Roman example for Arabia (Tnât: PAES IIIA, no. 223, AD 208).

This as well as the previous epitaph (no. 8) present many affinities: their texts have similar wording and the deceased persons are both women of approximately the same age (Ouardous 30, Troila 35) who died in the same year (we cannot say if their death occurred at the same time since no further dating elements such as month, month day, weekday etc. are given). The additional fact that the two women share the patronymic *Αὐξιβίος* (a rare name in the area) indicates that they were sisters.

10. Tombstone of striped purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-60. Dimensions: 0.65x0.33x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is partially flaked off at the lower uninscribed part. The inscription is written in red paint. The script belongs to the round alphabet with nice letters resembling a professional manuscript writing. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. I

Date: Panemos 244 E.P.A. = 20 June - 19 July AD 349.

Μνημῖον Οὐ-	Monument of Obodous,
βοδοῦς Φινα-	(daughter) of Finatheos (?),
θέου, ἀποθανού-	who died (at the age) of
4 σης, ἐτῶν δύο,	two years, in (the) year
ἔτους ν σμδ',	244, in (the) month of
μηνὸς Πανέ-	Panemos, on (the) day of
μου, ἡμέρᾳ Ἑρμοῦ.	Mercury (Wednesday).

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Οὐβοδοῦς for Ὀβοδοῦς.

II. 6-7: Πανήμου.

## Commentary

I. 2: The feminine name *Οὐβοδοῦς* (its gender is confirmed by the participle ἀποθανούσης) seems to belong to the same category of names as that of *Οὐαρδοῦς* (see above commentary of inscr. no. 9). It is probably a variant of the feminine form of the common Nabataean name Ὀβόδας (on this name see below commentary of inscr. no. 63).

II. 2-3: The patronymic *Φινάθεος* is unparalleled in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It is known so far from a third century AD Egyptian papyrus in the spelling *Φινόθεος* (Foraboschi 1967, p. 333, s.v.). It is not unlikely that both names are merely vernacular forms of the Greek theophorous name Φιλόθεος.

11. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, with a diagonal stripe at the right side, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-309. Dimensions: 0.40x0.30x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the lower right part. The whole text is engraved and painted red. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabet. Letters fairly well carved. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. III

Date: 11 Audynaioi 244 E.P.A. = 27 December AD 349.

Μνημῖον Θεά-  
 ις Προσδοκί-  
 ου, ἀπογενομ-  
 4 ἐνης ἐτῶν ις,  
 ἔτους σμδ', μη-  
 νὸς Αὐδονέου  
 αἰ', ἡμέρᾳ Ἑρμοῦ.  
 8 Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀ-  
 θάνατος. Ὁ Θε(εὸς)  
 ἀθάνατος. +

Monument of Thoai,  
 (daughter) of Prosdokios,  
 who died (at the age) of  
 16 years, in (the) year 244,  
 on (the) 11th (day) of (the)  
 month Audynaioi, on (the)  
 day of Mercury (Wednesday).  
 Be of good cheer, no one (is)  
 immortal. (Only) God  
 (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 4: there is a horizontal bar above the age numeral.

I. 5: the year numeral is also equipped with a horizontal stroke above it.

I. 6: Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναίου: *omicron* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αἰ.

I. 7: the month day numeral is inverted.

I. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

I. 9: faint traces of the article ὁ and the abbreviated sacred word ΘC have been preserved; the horizontal bar, which should normally serve as a mark of abbreviation above the letters *theta* and *sigma*, is lost.

I. 10: there are only faint traces of the last five letters of the word ἀθάνατος; a cross at the end of the line.

## Commentary

II. 1-2: *Θοάι* is in all likelihood the Greek transliteration of the Arabic verbal personal name Tu'awi (PAES IIIA, p. 88, no. 142) which derives from the Semitic root 'wy, "to yell, to howl". This name occurs in another epitaph from Ghor es-Safi in the spelling *Θοάιει* (see below inscr. no. 56). It is also attested in Hauran in the orthographic variants *Θοάιει* (Ṣabḥah: PAES IIIA, no. 142) and *Θοάιη{η}* (Shakka: Dunand 1932, p. 404, no. 16).

II. 2-3: The Greek name *Προσδόκιος* appears in Palestine in an epitaph from the Jewish cemetery of Beth She 'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 166) in the form *Προσδοκίς* which according to the editors is either "an abbreviated form of *Προσδόκιος* or a woman's name *Προσδοκίς*". The

feminine *Προσδοκία* is found inscribed on a Christian bronze bowl originating from Amman (Mondésert 1960, pp. 119-123, with a commentary on the name in p. 120), while the masculine *Προ[σδόκ]ιος* is restored in a building inscription from Hauran (Umm ez-Zeitûn: *CIG* III, no. 4594; Waddington [no. 2547] prefers the reading *Προελ[τῖ]νος*). Both names *Προσδόκιος* and *Προσδοκία* are papyrologically attested in Egypt (6th c. AD: Foraboschi 1967, p. 355, s.v. *Φλ. Προσδόκιος*, 3rd c. AD: Preisigke 1922, col. 346, s.v. *Προσδοκία*).

II. 3-4: For the use of the rare participle ἀπογενομένης, see above inscr. no. 9.

I. 6: The spelling Αὐδονέος for the Macedonian month Αὐδυναῖος is very frequent in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi (for parallels from Palestine and Arabia, see Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 412, index 8).

II. 8-10: It is the first time in this corpus that the burial formula "θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος" is complemented by the phrase "ὁ Θεὸς ἀθάνατος". The emphasis given to God's immortality, however, is not an unknown theme in the Christian funerary epigraphy (see for instance the epitaph "Οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος, εἰ μὴ μόνον εἰς Θεὸς αὐτὸς ὁ πάντων γενέτης κὲ πᾶσι τὰ πάντα μερίζων" cited by Simon 1936, p. 194 and n. 2) to which it was handed down by the pagan tradition, as evidenced for example by an epitaph from Golan: "[Θάρ]<σ>ει [Λε]όντι, οἱ θεοὶ ἀθάνατοι..." (Fîq: Fossey 1897, p. 42, no. 14 = Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 36\*), and plausibly by another from Hauran: "... οἱ θεοὶ ἀ]θ<ά>νατοι..." (Salchad: *PAES* IIIA, no. 164). In addition to its consolatory role, the affirmation of divine immortality probably functioned also as a vehicle of hope for the soul's immortality (Simon 1936, p. 194).

12. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape. It is slightly chipped on three sides and broken at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-190. Dimensions: 0.245x0.25x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The first three lines of the inscription as well as the first four letters of the fourth line are engraved and painted red, while the remaining text is only painted. The red paint of the letters has been spread over the inscribed surface, especially at the lower part. The script belongs to the round form. The painted letters are of better quality than the engraved and painted ones. Height of letters: 0.013-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. I

Date: 249 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 354 - 21 March AD 355.

	Μνημῖον Ἀβ-		Monument of
	δάλγην Βάγγ-		Abdalges, (son) of
	α, ἀποθανόν-		Vaggas, who died
4	τας ἐτῶν ο',		(at the age) of 70
	ἔτους δια-		years, in (the) two
	κοσμοιστοῦ		hundred and forty-ninth
	τεσσαρακοστο-		year, on (the) day
8	ὑ ἐνάτου, ἡμέ-		of Mars (Tuesday)...
	ρα Ἀρεως,		
	[-----]		
	[-----]		

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Ἀβδάλγην for Ἀβδάλγου: accusative in the place of genitive singular.

II. 3-4: ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the final syllable.

I. 4: the age numeral is enclosed within a square red painted frame.

II. 5-6: διακοσμοιστοῦ for διακοσμοιστοῦ: duplication of *sigma*.

II. 7-8: τεσσαρακοστοῦ for τεσσαρακοστοῦ: omission of one *sigma*.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: Ἀβδάλγην is the accusative case (for the wrong use of accusative after the word μνημεῖον, see chapter on Burial terms and phrases), of the masculine name Ἀβδάλγης which occurs below in inscr. no. 82. This name is attested seven more times at Ghor es-Safi in the genitive form Ἀβδάλγου (nos. 32, 53, 75, 90, 212, 221, 270). Ἀβδάλγης is found also at Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 23.1,3) and at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 371, no. 19 and p. 414, s.v.), while the form



*Ἀβδάλλη* recorded in epitaphs from Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 173, no. 3) and Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 120) is compatible either with a masculine or a feminine name. The form *Ἀβδάλλης* may offer a solution to the question of the nominative of this name which, judging from the genitive *Ἀβδάλλου*, could also be *Ἀβδαλῶς* (Sourdél 1952, p. 52; Negev 1981, p. 15) or *Ἀβδάλλας* (PAES IIIA, p. 59, no. 56), forms which so far have not been epigraphically attested. The name in the genitive *Ἀβδάλλου* is recorded frequently in the Negev (Nessana: *Nessana* 3, nos. 31.25, 79.24, 122.4; Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 55; 'Avdat: *ibid.*, no. 2) and the Hauran (Burd: PAES IIIA, no. 56; Der'a: SEG 7 [1934], no. 957). Two variant genitive forms *Ἀβδάλλου* and *Ἀβαδέλλου* appear respectively in Der'a (Hauran: PAES IIIA, no. 645) and Rehovot (Negev: Tsafir 1988, p. 160, no. 9).

*Ἀβδάλλης* may transcribe in Greek the common Nabataean name 'bd'lg' (PAES IVA, no. 79; CIS 2, 173), compound of the word 'bd, "servant", and the name of the Nabataean god al-G'(al-Ga) (PAES IIIA, p. 221, no. 512; near Petra there is an ancient site called al-Ga or al-Gi which Sourdél 1952, p. 52, n. 9 relates to the homonymous Nabataean god).

ll. 2-3: There is no sufficient evidence concerning the origin and etymology of the patronymic *Βάγγας* which is not documented elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. A speculative assumption would be that *Βάγγας* is the Greek transliteration of the Latin name *Vaccus* (for this cognomen see Kajanto 1965, pp. 25 and 165).

ll. 7-8: The year according to the era of the Province of Arabia is given in ordinal numbers.

ll. 10-11: The lower broken part of the tombstone should have originally included two more lines possibly containing the common formula "θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἄθανατος".

13. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the top and at the lower right corner. It is mended from two fragments, the smaller of which belongs to the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-210. Dimensions: 0.45x0.27x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is weathered and flaked off in various parts. The whole inscription is engraved and painted red. The script is of the oval alphabet with fairly well cut letters. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. III

Date: 250 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 355 - 21 March AD 356.

Μνημῖ-	Monument
ον Σίλθ-	of Siltha,
ας Ζηνό-	(daughter) of
4 βις, ἀπο-	Zenobi(o)s,
θανόν-	who died
τας ἐτῶν	(at the age)
νν η', νν +	of 8 years,
8 ἔτου(ς) σν'.	in (the) year 250.

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: Ζηνόβι(ο)ς for Ζηνοβίου: the patronymic appears in the nominative instead of the genitive case.

ll. 4-6: ἀποθανόντας (the correct form is ἀποθανόντος) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine past participle instead of the feminine one.

l. 7: this line contains only the age numeral followed by a cross.

l. 8: due to lack of space the letter-cutter used a haplography, identifying the final *sigma* of the word ἔτους with the hundreds figure *sigma* of the following year numeral (for the same haplography, see inscr. nos. 14, 35).

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The name *Σίλθα*, which derives from the Nabataean name šl', was very popular among the local inhabitants, since it is attested eight times at Ghor es-Safi. In six of these occurrences it is certain that the name *Σίλθα* applies to women because the participles following it have feminine endings (παυσασμένη: nos. 102, 119; ἀποθανούσης: nos. 195, 239, 243; τελευτησάσης: no. 222). The fact that in two cases the accompanying participles are masculine (ἀποθανόντας: no. 13; τελευτηκότων [gen. plural]: no. 22) does not prove that these examples refer to men, since the

disharmony between the gender of the deceased (feminine) and that of the participle (masculine) is not an uncommon phenomenon in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (for this inconsistency, see chapter on Syntax).

The high frequency of the feminine name *Σίλθα* at Ghor es-Safi is noteworthy granted that so far there is only one parallel from Palestine in the form *Σιλθοῦς*, the latter is recorded in the mosaic pavement of a church at Kissufim (Northern Negev: *NEAEHL* 3, p. 878 with full bibliography), where the name *Σιλθοῦς* identifies the mosaic figure of a wealthy woman dispersing coins, most likely the benefactress of this church.

Il. 3-4: *Ζηνόβιος* (fem. *Ζηνοβία*) was a common Greek theophoric name which became especially popular during the reign of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra (AD 266-273). In Ghor es-Safi the masculine *Ζηνόβιος* is frequently attested (inscr. nos. 33, 38, 189, 214, 274). It is also common in Christian inscriptions from Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 392-393, no. 1 [restored]), Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 17 [el-Kerak], 211 [Ader], 231 [el-Frangh]) and especially from the Negev (Elusa: Negev 1981, no. 92; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 181, no. 184; p. 184, nos. 272a, 275; Mampsis: Negev 1981, no. 84; Rehovot: Tsafirir 1988, p. 163, no. 14; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, inscr. nos. 70, 99; *Nessana* 3, pap. nos. 79.18, 90.45, 80, 82, 136.5). It is interesting that an abba Zenobios mentioned in a Christian inscription from Nessana (*Nessana* 1, no. 38) may be identical to the martyr who suffered martyrdom at Sidon in the time of Diocletian. The mention of Zenobios in the present epitaph is the earliest one among the Christian examples in the area.

The feminine name *Ζηνοβία* appears in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 86, 87, 230, 282), in the Negev (Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 176, no. 22) and in Jewish epitaphs from Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 24, 183) and Ascalon (ibid., p. 168, n. 5).

*Ζηνόβιος* seems to have been the patronymic of Siltha although it appears in nominative case (for this phenomenon see also inscr. nos. 20, 49, 76, 192 and probably nos. 128, 280).

14. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on the upper left and lower right sides. Inv. no.: Z-217. Dimensions: 0.36x0.31x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the lower left corner. Above the inscription there is an outlined engraved cross, while below an incised *cross-rho* monogram. The text is engraved too, with letters rather well carved and aligned. The script is of the round type. Height of letters: 0.015-0.032 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. III

Date: 6 Panemos 250 E.P.A. = 25 June AD 355.

+

Μνημῖον Ἀλ-  
κάνις Ἀσλό- νν  
μου, ἀποθανόν-  
4 τος ἑτῶν λξ',  
ἔτου(ς) σν', μηνός  
Πονίμου ζ'. νν  
Θάρσι, οὐδὶς νν  
8 ἀθάνατος.  
⦿

Monument of Alkani(o)s,  
(son) of Aslomos, who  
died (at the age) of 37  
years, in (the) year 250,  
on (the) 6th (day) of (the)  
month Panemos.  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

Il. 1-2: Ἀλκάνις for Ἀλκανίου: nominative instead of genitive.

l. 4: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above its two figures.

l. 5: the letter-cutter omitted the final *sigma* of the word ἔτους, because it coincides with the first letter of the year numeral (for the same haplography see inscr. nos. 13, 35); unlike the age and the month day numerals, the year numeral is not indicated by the characteristic horizontal stroke.

l. 6: Πονίμου for Πανήμου: *omicron* for *alpha* and *iota* for *eta*; the month day numerical figure (ζ'), denoted by a horizontal bar above, is placed in oblique position.

l. 7: Θάρσει; οὐδείς.

### Commentary

Il. 1-2: The Hellenized Semitic name *Ἀλκάνης* is rarely attested in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. It may descend from the biblical name *Ἐλκανά* (1 *Samuel* 1.1) borne by the father of the prophet Samuel. This man is referred to by Josephus as *Ἀλκάνης* (*AJ* V. 10.2) which is closer to the present epitaph's spelling *Ἀλκάνης*. The Old Testament's orthography *Ἐλκανά* is preserved in an inscription from Jaffa (Wuthnow 1930, p. 45, s.v. with its Semitic etymology).

Il. 2-3: The name *Ἀσολμος*, which derives from the Semitic root šlm, "to make peace" (see Abbadi 1983, p. 83, s.v. šlm), appears also in inscr. nos. 33 and 141. It is most likely identical with *Ἀσολμος*, a name recorded in pagan inscriptions from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 1968a [el-'Ayīn], 1969 [Sahwet el-Khudr]; *PAES* IIIA, no. 199; Wuthnow 1930, p. 27, s.v.). The replacement of *alpha* with *omicron* (in the second syllable) is a common mistake in Ghor es-Safi observed here also in the spelling of the month name Πονίμου (=Πανήμου) (l. 6). *Ἰάσολμος* (Wuthnow 1930, p. 57, s.v.) and *Ἰάσολμος* (Salchad, Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 162) are further variant forms of *Ἀσολμος*.

Common characteristics between this epitaph and no. 13, such as the similarity of the letters, the haplography in the last letter of the word *ἔτους* and the first figure of the year numeral as well as the proximity of the date probably indicate that they are both works of the same engraver.

15. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, broken on all sides with loss of some letters at the lower right part of the text. Inv. no.: Z-140. Dimensions: 0.38x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is flaked off at the edges. It preserves traces of an earlier erased text. The inscription is only engraved. The script is a mixture of the round and square alphabets. The letters are fairly well cut with irregular alignment. Height of letters: 0.015-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. III

Date: 25[1] - 25[9] E.P.A. = 22 March AD 356 - 21 March AD 365.

Θάρσι. ννν	Be of good cheer.
Μνημῖον	Monument of Solemos,
Σολέμου Σα-	(son) of Samirabbos,
4 μράββου, ἀπ[ο]-	who died (at the age)
θαν<όν>τος ἐτῶ[v]	of 37 years,
λξ', ἔτους σγ[.].	in (the) year 25[.].

### Critical apparatus

I. 1: θάρσει.

I. 2: μνημεῖον.

Il. 4-5: ἀπ[ο]θάντος for ἀπ[ο]θανόντος: only half of the letter *pi* is preserved, while the following letter *omicron* is missing; the engraver failed to carve the letters *omicron* and *nu*; from the word ἐτῶν half of the letter *omega* is preserved, while the last letter *nu* is lost.

I. 6: a slightly curved line is incised above the age numeral; from the year numeral the hundreds and a small part of the tens figure is preserved, while the units figure is missing; the horizontal bar denoting the year numeral is also partially preserved.

### Commentary

I. 1: For θάρσει as an introductory word of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs, see above commentary of inscr. no. 4.

I. 3: Three more examples of *Σόλεμος* are encountered in this work (see inscr. nos. 43, 49, 310). Parallels of this name are recorded in Golan (Šûrmân: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 181) but almost exclusively in the Hauran region, where they appear in the following variant forms: *Σόλεμος* (Msêkeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 795<sup>5</sup>; 'Ormân: Waddington, no. 2019; Deir-el-Meyas: *ibid.*, no. 2053b; el-Ghâriyeh: Dunand 1933, p. 251, no. 224), *Σόλαμος* (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9386), *Σόλυμος* (Mebrnâ el-Beit: Waddington, no. 2426a), *Σολαῖμος* (Umm el-Quttên: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 209, 215; Umm el-Jimâl: *ibid.*, no. 451; 'Ormân: *ibid.*, no. 687; Salchad: Dunand 1934, no. 217). In Hauran occur also the lengthened forms *Σολαῖμαθος* (Der'â: Schumacher 1897, p. 123, no. 20) and the feminine *Σολαῖμάθη* ('Ormân: Dunand 1933, p. 246, no. 194).

*Σόλεμος* corresponds to the Arabic name Sulaim which in its Greek form *Σουλάιμ* is papyrologically attested twice at Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 92. 27-30, ca. AD 685). Sulaim is the

diminutive of Salm, transcribed in Greek *Σάλμος* (for the origin and the epigraphical evidence on this name, see Sartre 1985, p. 236, s.v.). *Σόλεμος* is one of the numerous Greek transliterations of Semitic names deriving from the common Semitic root šlm, "to make peace" (for these names see *ibid.*; cf. also *\*Ασλαμος* in inscr. no. 14).

ll. 3-4: *Σαμίραββος* may be the Greek transcription of a compound Semitic name consisting of the words sami, "high, heaven" (Negev 1991, p. 65, no. 1157) and rabb, "master, Lord" (*ibid.* p. 59, no. 1051). A possible interpretation of *Σαμίραββος* could be "heavenly master". This name enjoyed a great popularity at Ghor es-Safi as evidenced by its numerous occurrences (cf. also inscr. nos. 39, 95, 104, 156, 158, 186, 267, 311) which date from the mid-fourth to the late fifth centuries AD. The prevalent spelling is *Σαμίραββος* but it occurs also in the variant orthographic form *Σαμίραβος* (inscr. nos. 157, 234). In all cases except for one (inscr. no. 156) the name appears as a patronymic. The lack of *Σαμίραββος* examples from other parts of Palestine and Arabia so far is noteworthy and may be indicative of local use.

l. 6: The obliterated units figure of the year numeral would have ranged from α' to θ' (1-9).

16. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken around the lower half. Inv. no.: Z-185. Dimensions: 0.43x0.365x0.085 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is weathered, especially at the upper half with loss of the first two lines, and flaked off at the edges. Above the text traces of three crosses are discernible. The preserved text is engraved and painted red. It is set between guide-lines drawn in red paint. The script is basically square with some round characters. The letters seem to have been carved with difficulty due to the hardness of the material. Height of letters: 0.015-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IV

Date: 29 Artemisios 251 E.P.A. = 19 May AD 356.

<p>+ + +  [Mνημῖον Μαρθοῦς]  [- - - -]  τελε[υτη]σάσης ἐτ-  4 ὦν ιε', ἔτους σνα',  μηνὶ Ἀρτεμίου  κθ'. ν Θάρσαι, οὐδεις  ἀθάνατος. Εὐ-  8 μύρι, φιλτάτη  νν Μαρθοῦς.</p>	<p>[Monument  of Marthous .....], who died  (at the age) of 15 years,  in (the) year 251, on (the) 29th  (day) of (the) month Artemisios.  Be of good cheer, no  one (is) immortal.  Have a good fortune  (may your lot be  good), dearest  Marthous.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: this line has been restored on the basis of a. the typical phraseology used in these epitaphs, b. the deceased woman's name which appears in the last line, and c. the approximate number of letters in each line.  
l. 2: this line should have been occupied by the patronymic.  
l. 4: the age and the year numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above them; only traces of the dotted letters are preserved.  
l. 5: Ἀρτεμίου for Ἀρτεμίου: use of genitive in the place of dative singular.  
l. 6: a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral; θάρσαι.  
ll. 8-9: εὐμύρι for εὐμοίρει: *upsilon* in the place of the diphthong *oi* and iotacism in the last syllable.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The obliterated name of the deceased woman *Μαρθοῦς* is luckily preserved in the last line. The feminine *Μαρθοῦς* derives from the Aramaic *mrt'* (*marta*, "mistress, lady", Preisigke 1922, col. 519), transcribed in the New Testament as *Μάρθα* (for this name and its diffusion in the Graeco-Roman world, see Sartre 1985, p. 215, s.v. *Μαρθεῖνη*; see also below inscr. no. 200, commentary of *Μαρθόνη*). The latter name is attested in a rock inscription at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 56). The form *Μαρθοῦς* is unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia but it is recorded in third c. papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 206, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 188, s.v.). For feminine names with the ending -οῦς, see above inscr. nos. 9, 10.

I. 3: For the participle τελευτησάσης, see above inscr. no. 3.

II. 6-8: The common exhortation addressed to the deceased, "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος", is followed by a second word of encouragement, εὐμοίρει (imperative of the verb εὐμοιρέω, *LSJ*, p. 722, s.v.). It has been argued that in a Christian or Jewish burial context the former formula was employed not only as a mere consolation but mainly as an expression of hope for eternal life (see commentary on "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος" in inscr. no. 2). This idea is reflected more clearly in the verb "εὐμοιρεῖν" which may express the wish or the belief that the deceased be happy or have a good lot in the afterlife (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, pp. 2-3, no. 2 and p. 224).

In Ghor es-Safi this exhortation occurs once more in the Greek text of the bilingual inscription no. 18 in the form εὐμοιρεῖτω. As for εὐμοίρει it is richly documented in the Beth She'arim Jewish epitaphs in various spellings: *εὐμύρι* (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 2,3,5-7,9,26,27,33,47,52, 56,57,69,187), *εὐμοίρει* (correct form, *ibid.*, no. 171), *εὐμοίρι* (*ibid.*, nos. 130,173) and *οὐμύρι* (*ibid.*, no. 129); in all cases is coupled with the name of the deceased and only once is combined with the phrase "οὐδεις ἀθάνατος" (*ibid.*, no. 187). At Beth She'arim occurs also the adjective *εὐμυρος* (*ibid.*, nos. 13 and 124) which is encountered in Christian inscriptions from Egypt (*ibid.*, p. 51, n. 8). Epitaphs from Golan have also yielded a few examples of εὐμοίρει (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 13, 206\*).

The interesting phenomenon of two encouragement messages (θάρσει..., εὐμύρι) addressed to the deceased in this inscription is met as well in a number of epitaphs from Northern Sinai (area between Lake Bardawil and Raphia: Lifshitz 1971, pp. 157-159, nos. 11-15) which include the formulas εὐμύρι and εὐψύχι accompanied by the name of the deceased and the phrase "οὐδεις ἀθάνατος".

I. 8: To the deceased girl Marthous is applied the word "φιλότι", superlative form of the adjective "φίλη", dear, which is a sign of the great affection felt towards her by the person who composed the epitaph. The masculine "φίλτατε" (in vocative) is recorded in a Jewish-Greek epitaph from Beth-She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 29), while the expression "φίλτατος πάντων" accompanies the name of the deceased in a fourth century epitaph from Sâleh in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 726). The area of Hauran has also yielded a considerable number of funerary inscriptions employing the term "φίλος" (and its derivatives), either simple or as constituent part of a formula (for an enumeration of the relevant examples, see Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. II, pp. 172-173; cf. also an instance from Amman: Gatier 1982, no. 33: φίλη).

17. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, with a small part of the upper left corner missing. Inv. no.: Z-212. Dimensions: 0.40x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface is smooth, with some flakes at the lower right part and at the bottom and is covered by salt crystals. The inscription is surrounded at the right and lower side by a red painted linear frame, at the left side by a red painted dotted zigzag pattern and at the upper part by a series of red painted small dotted circles with small branches above them imitating fruits (pomegranates, apples?). The text is engraved, preserving thick red paint in the incised letters. The script belongs to the round alphabet with carefully executed and aligned characters. Height of letters: 0.016-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. I*

Date: 10 Peritios 252 E.P.A. = 25 January AD 358.

Μνημῖον Ἀβ-  
ουβάθῃ Αἰ-  
νίου, ἀπαθ-  
4 ονόντος  
ἐτῶν ο',  
ἔτους σβ',  
μηνὸς Περιτί-  
8 ου ννι'.

Monument of Aboubathe,  
(daughter) of Aeneas,  
who died (at the age)  
of 70 years,  
in (the) year 252,  
on (the) 10th (day)  
of (the) month  
Peritios.

Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Ἀβουβάθῃ for Ἀβουβάθης: nominative instead of genitive singular.

II. 2-3: Αἰνίου is phonetic spelling of Αἰνείου.

- ll. 3-4: ἀπαθονόντος (the correct form is ἀποθανόντος, transposition of the vowels) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine past participle in the place of the feminine one.  
 l. 5: the age numeral is enclosed within two angular lines and capped with a horizontal bar.  
 l. 8: a faded red painted horizontal bar denotes above the month day numeral.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: Ἀβουβάθη corresponds to the Arabic Ḥabbubah and is probably the diminutive of the name Ἀβιβάθη (Ḥabibah); these are both feminine names which derive from the Semitic root ḥbb, "love" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 9 and 10, s.vv.). So far there is only one parallel of Ἀβουβάθη in Hauran (Der 'ā: *ibid.*, p. 10, s.v.), while in the same area the forms Ἀβιβάθη (Salchad: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 159, 290) and Ἀβειβάθη (Ṣabḥah: *ibid.*, nos. 119, 427) are encountered. Ἀβαβάθη is another variant which occurs at Dekir (Wuthnow 1930, p. 6, s.v.).

ll. 2-3: Αἰνίου is the genitive of Αἰνίας (for the confirmation of this nominative, see below no. 285), phonetic spelling of the well known mythological name Αἰνείας (for the mythological hero Αἰνείας, see *RE* I.1[1893], cols. 1010-1019, s.v. Αἰνείας 2 [O. Rossbach]). Always in the iotacised form Αἰνίας (mostly in genitive), the name is common in Ghor es-Safi (see also *inscr.* nos. 59, 96, 237, 278, 285 and probably 130 in the form Ἡνίου) connected in most of the cases with indigenous names. This popularity among the local people may be related to the fact that the Nabataean king Aretas IV (9 BC - AD 40) was called Aeneas before he took the dynastic name (Sartre 1985, p. 172, s.v. Αἰνείας).

The form Αἰνίας is encountered also in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 141), at the cemetery of the Choziba monastery in Wadi el-Qilt (name borne by a monk from Maiumas: Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 76) and in Hauran (Ghâriyeh el-Ghârbīyeh: Dunand 1939, p. 568, no. 282). In the latter region the name appears usually in the correct spelling Αἰνείας (Sartre 1982, nos. 9269, 9270, 9413, 9425; Busân: Waddington, no. 2238; Tell-Ghâriyeh: Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 185, no. 56; Ezra': *AAES* III, no. 437 = *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 262; Shakka: *ibid.*, no. 1011) which occurs as well at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 92) and at Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 476-477, no. 299, Christian metrical inscription mentioning a priest by the name Αἰνείας). The uncommon form Αἰνίων is restored in an epitaph from Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 396, no. 92). The abbreviated name ΑΙΝ in a 6th century epitaph from Hauran (Djebel el-Kulêb: *PAES* IIIA, no. 731), completed by its editors as Αἰνίος, could also be restored as Αἰνείας.

Finally, by this name were known two distinguished men of the late 5th-early 6th c. AD, a sophist and a lawyer, both natives of Gaza and acquainted with Procopius of Gaza (*PLRE* II, p. 17, s.v. *Aeneas* 3 and 4 respectively).

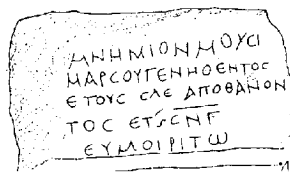
18. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, almost square in shape and slightly chipped all around. As we were told in 1999 in Amman it comes from the area of Ghor es-Safi although its exact provenance is not known. The tombstone was later acquired in Switzerland by the R. and E. Hecht Museum of the University of Haifa. Now it is kept in the above mentioned Museum under the inv. no. H-3029. Our inv. no. given in 1999 is Z-292. Dimensions: 0.355x0.33x0.03 m. The inscribed surface was originally flaked off at the upper left and the lower right corners; as a result the bilingual (Greek and Jewish-Aramaic) epitaph has been accommodated in the rest of the surface which had been smoothed. The Greek text comes first and it is faintly incised in five lines. Line 1 and the left half of lines 2-4 (l. 2: name Μάρκου, l. 3: word ἔτους and l. 4: syllable -τος) are painted over with heavy red colour, while over the right part of the Greek text and below the first line are visible four red painted candelabra (of five and seven branches) and among them a palm branch, a ram's horn and an incense pan. The Jewish-Aramaic text follows the Greek one, is carved in four lines and set between five deeply engraved guidelines, while it preserves traces of red paint. Both texts and the symbolic decoration are surrounded by a red painted frame of irregular shape which follows the smoothed surface of the tombstone on the three sides avoiding its damages. The Greek text is written in round script with letters of variable size. Height of letters: ca. 0.017 cm.

Bibl.: Naveh 2001, pp. 7-9 (in Hebrew with English abstract on pp. 60-61\*, simple mention); Cotton and Price 2001, pp. 10-12 (in Hebrew with English abstract on p. 61\*); Cotton and Price 2001a, pp. 277-283.

Colour photo Pl. II

Date: 253 E.P.A. = late December AD 358 - early January AD 359.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Μνημῖον Μουσι̇<br/>         Μάρσου, γενηθέντος<br/>         4    ἔτους σλε', ἀποθανόν-<br/>         τος ἔτ(ου)ς σνγ'.<br/>         Εὐμοιρίτω.</p> | <p>Monument of Mousi(s),<br/>         (son) of Marsos, who was<br/>         born in (the) year 235<br/>         (and) died in (the) year 253.<br/>         May his lot be good.</p> |
|--|---|



*Translation of the Aramaic text:* This is the grave of Mousis, son of Marsa, who died in the third year of the Sabbatical cycle, in the month of Kislev, on the twenty-seventh day of it, which is the year 290 after the destruction of the Temple.

#### Critical apparatus

Traces of incised letters, discernible above the first line of the Greek text where the formula ΕΙC ΘΕΟC could be detected, are plausibly remains of an earlier inscription which was erased in order to reuse the tombstone; traces of this preceding inscription are also visible in other parts of the inscribed surface.

l. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον: the upper left half of the dotted *eta* is obliterated; Cotton and Price read the name as Μουσίου; in our opinion the genitive ending -ου, of which only *omicron* is hardly visible, is a remnant of an earlier inscription.

l. 2: γενηθέντος for γεννηθέντος: *gamma* and *theta* are severely effaced and for that reason hardly traceable, while the three letters between them are faintly but legibly preserved; [πλ]η[σθ]έντος, Cotton and Price.

l. 3: the dotted letters, although faintly preserved, can be securely restored; Cotton and Price propose the following restoration for this line: ἔ<τ>ου<ς>... <ἀπο>θανόν-

l. 4: an oblique stroke at the upper right of its second letter *tau* marks the abbreviation of the word ἔτους; the era year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.

l. 5: εὐμοιρίτω for εὐμοιρεῖτω: the upper left oblique stroke of *upsilon* is effaced.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The deceased bears in the Greek inscription the name Μουσίς, while its exact transcription occurs in the Aramaic text. Prophet Moses, to whom this name alludes, was the founder and lawgiver of Israel and is mentioned mainly in this capacity in several inscriptions from Sinai where he was especially venerated (for the relevant references, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 92-93). His name in the form Μοῦσῃν, accompanied with the virtue of placidity (πραότης), occurs also in an inscription from Shivta in the Negev among other biblical personages (Negev 1981, no. 71). The etymology of *Μωϋσῆς* from the Hebrew *Mashah*, "draw out" is explicitly given in *Exodus* 2.10 (for the Egyptian origin of the name, now abandoned, see Josephus, *AJ* 2, 228; id., *Ap.* 1.3 [286], Thackeray 1926, vol. I, p. 279 and n. b; cf. also Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 969, s.vv. *Μωσῆς*, *Μωϋσῆς*).

As a personal name Moses is frequently attested in Byzantine inscriptions and papyri mainly from the Negev and, for obvious reasons, from Sinai in a variety of declensions and spellings of which *Μοῦσῆς* (or *Μουσῆς*: both pronunciations are valid) and *Μωϋσῆς* are prevalent. In the graffiti of Wadi Haggag in Sinai the forms *Μοῦσῆς* (Negev 1977, nos. 69, 74, 184) and *Μοῦσές* (ibid., no. 66) are encountered. At Nessana (Negev) the name appears in the nominative *Μουσῆς* (Nessana 3, no. 76.3) as well as in the genitives *Μουσειου* (ibid., no. 80.5) and *Μουσέου* (ibid., no. 85.8). Characteristic for the diversity of the name is the fact that Moses, the bishop of Aila, referred to in an early seventh c. papyrus from the same city (ibid., no. 51), is written in l. 1 as *Μωυσῆς* and in l. 6 as *Μουσαῖς*. The genitive *Μωϋσέως* occurs in an invocation from Pharan in Sinai (Grossmann, Jones and Meimaris 1998, pp. 355-358), while the genitive *Μωσῆ* is encountered in a Greek papyrus from Wadi Murabba'at in the Judaean Desert (*DJD* II, no. 91, col. II, l. 2). In an inscription from Umm er-Rasas (S. of Madaba) the idiosyncratic accusative *Μωυσιῖν* is found (Piccirillo 1994, pp. 250-251, no. 7a-b). The name *Μοῦσῆς* appears once in Hauran (Salchad: Waddington, no. 2010). A multiformity in the orthography of the name Moses (*Μοῦσές*, *Μοῦσῆς*, *Μωσῆς*, *Μωϋσῆς*, *Μωησῆς*, *Μωεισῆς*) is also observed in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 221, 223, s.vv.; Foraboschi 1967, pp. 200, 201).

Unlike the adequate attestation of this name among the Christians, the use of Moses as a personal name by the Jews of the Graeco-Roman world has been a controversial issue (for the relevant discussion, see Derda 1997, pp. 257-260; Williams 1997, p. 274; Derda 1999, p. 210; Williams 2002, pp. 279-283; cf. SEG 47 (1997), no. 2297; Cotton and Price 2001a, p. 278).

In conclusion it should be noted that, apart from the prophet Moses, a number of Saints bore the name *Μωσῆς* or *Μωϋσῆς* (Delehay 1902, index, col. 1138). Of interest to us is Saint (ἅγιος) *Μωϋσῆς*, mentioned only in the *Paris Codex* 1621, where he is said to have been a monk from Pharan.

II. 2-4: The patronymic *Μάρσος* appears transcribed in the Aramaic text as Marsa, a name which is encountered in another Jewish-Aramaic inscription from Zoora (Naveh 2001, pp. 5-7, English abstract on p. 60\*). The Greek form of the name is attested in a few inscriptions of the Roman period from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 400, no. 54; p. 430, nos. 157, 158) and probably in another one from Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 121, who doubts whether the name is complete or is part of a compound name). For a more detailed documentation on the name *Μάρσος* and its etymology, see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 866, s.v.).

A revision of the stone in the Hecht Museum which took place in December 2002 enabled not only the restoration of the word following the patronymic in l. 2 as the genitive participle γεννηθέντος but also the reading of the numerical letters CAE after ἔτους in l. 3. This allowed the identification of the year numeral ολε' = 235 E.P.A. as the birth date of Mousis while the year σνγ' = 253 E.P.A., mentioned below in l. 4 and indicated as such by the horizontal bar above and the abbreviated word ἔτους, is undoubtedly the date of death as implied by the preceding participle ἀποθανόντος. Omission of the horizontal bar above the year numeral CAE is of no importance since this is not an uncommon practice in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs. The mention of a date of birth in this epitaph, albeit unparalleled to our knowledge in the inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia, could -if combined with the date of death- compensate for the omission of the age of the deceased which is an almost indispensable element in the local epitaphs (see commentary of inscr. no. 6). Thus the age of Mousis, as deduced by the subtraction of the two dates, would be 18 years. At this point it should be noted that the use of a date of birth, relatively rare in the Greek inscriptions of the Late Antiquity, is attested mainly in epitaphs of children or young people (for a collection of pagan examples from Egypt and Phoenicia, as well as of Christian ones from Italy [Rome, Catane] and Asia Minor [Aphrodisias] see Feissel 1981, pp. 494-496; the same scholar has quite recently [BE 2003, p. 673, no. 107] proposed a date of birth also for Mousis of the Zoora epitaph which is identical to that suggested by us after the revision of the tombstone).

Both year numerals in the Greek inscription are to be calculated according to the era of the province of Arabia which was the common chronological system in Palaestina Tertia to which this area belonged. On the contrary, in the Aramaic version of the epitaph is used a purely Jewish dating formula, consisting of Jewish month, year of the Sabbatical cycle and year from the destruction of the Second Temple. As it is implied by the Mousis bilingual text and the inscription of the *archisynagogos* Saridas (see no. 9), if the latter refers to a Jew, the dating system employed by the Jews of Zoora on their tombstones was determined by the language of the text. The mention of the Jewish month and month day (27 Kislev) in the Aramaic inscription helps in establishing a more precise death date than that given in the Greek text (22 March 358-21 March 359), that is late December 358-early Jan. 359. However, the era of the province of Arabia is in accordance with that of the era of the destruction of the Temple only if the latter is reckoned from 1 Tishri 69 and not from 9 Ab 70, something that is in contradiction with the third year of the Sabbatical cycle mentioned in the Aramaic inscription (for the discrepancies arising from the different way of calculating the various dating elements in the Jewish-Aramaic epitaphs of Zoora, see Cotton and Price 2001a, pp. 279-283; Stern 2001, pp. 146-154).

The relevant synchronization between the two eras -the slight discordance between them could be attributed to calculation errors of the Jewish chronological particles- indicates that both inscriptions had been carved contemporaneously. Such a hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the last line in both texts is centered. This shows that care had been taken in preparing the lay-out of the inscriptions. At a second stage, the addition of the red painted Jewish religious symbols above the Jewish-Aramaic text (usually these symbols were placed below it at the bottom of the tombstone) had as a consequence the almost total covering of the right part of the Greek inscription and its partial effacement. Although the painting of the remaining engraved Greek text with red colour implies that the obliteration of the right side was not intentional, the incorporation of the Jewish decoration into the Greek inscription resulted in the eventual downgrading of the latter.

I. 5: The exhortation word "εὐμοιπέτω" (third person singular present imperative of the verb εὐμοιπέω) appears in the form "εὐμοίπει" (second person singular) in another epitaph from Ghor es-Safi (no. 16 where the relevant parallels from Palestine are given). For non-Palestinian epigraphic attestations of the term "εὐμοιπέτω", see Cotton and Price 2001a, p. 279.



19. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-279. Dimensions: 0.495x0.365x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered, chipped at the upper left corner and flaked off at the edges, especially at the upper and lower right parts. Faint traces of red painted crosses are discernible above the inscription, while traces of engraved guide-lines and frame (the latter preserving thick red paint in the left side) are visible here and there. The text is engraved, but lines 1,2,4,5,7,8,9 are additionally painted red. The script is of the round form with nice small symmetrical letters. Height of letters: 0.008-0.017 m. Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. IV

Date: 17 Hyperberetaios 254 E.P.A. = 4 October AD 359.

+    +    +	
Μνημῖον Ἀγαθαφέρον	Monument of Agathapheron,
Παυλονίου, ἀποθανόν-	(son) of Paulonius, who died
τος μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-	having a good name (at the
4 ματος ἐτῶν με',	age) of 45 years, in (the)
ἔτους σνδ', μηνὸς	year 254, on (the) 17th (day)
Ἑπερβερετέου ζ',	of (the) month Hyperberetaios,
ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου) β'. Θάρσι, Ἀγαθα-	on (the) 2nd day of (the) Lord (Monday).
8 φέρων, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer, Agathapheron,
τος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; Ἀγαθαφέρον (phonetic spelling of Ἀγαθαφέρων) for Ἀγαθοφέρωντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the third syllable and use of the nominative in the place of the genitive singular.  
 I. 2: Παυλονίου, phonetic spelling of Παυλωνίου.  
 II. 3-4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha* (as in the case of Ἀγαθοφέρων).  
 I. 4: three angular motifs appear before and four similar motifs (facing in opposite direction) after the age numeral.  
 I. 5: the year numeral is flanked by a series of three decorative angular motifs, each series facing in opposite direction.  
 I. 6: Ἑπερβερεταίου; the inverted month day numeral is emphasized by two angular motifs on each side and by the horizontal bar above it.  
 I. 7: the abbreviation for ἡμέρα is expressed through a smaller *mu* above an elongated *eta*; the abbreviation of the sacred word Κυρίου consists of the first and the last letter crowned by a horizontal line with endings in the form of a scroll; θάρσει.  
 II. 7-8: Ἀγαθαφέρων for Ἀγαθόφερον: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*.  
 I. 8: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

II. 1,7-8: Ἀγαθαφέρων is either a misspelling or a local variant form of the name Ἀγαθοφέρων. This Greek favourable name, compound of the words ἀγαθόν and φέρω, appears for the first time in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. However, names having as first component the adjective ἀγαθός (for the frequency of these names in Rome, see Solin 1982, vol. I, s.vv.) are not unknown in these provinces, as for example Ἀγαθήμερος in Hebron (Waddington, no. 1905) and Nessana (Nessana 3, pap. nos. 76.16, 79.65: Ἀγαθείμερος), and Ἀγαθόπους in Hauran (Qanawât: PAES IIIA, no. 765). Simple names, deriving from the same adjective, like Ἀγάθων (el-'Amaqa, Moab: Canova 1954, no. 333) and Ἀγαθος (Umm el-Jimâl: PAES IIIA, no. 262) are also recorded.

The name Ἀγαθοφέρων is encountered in Christian inscriptions from Greece (Boeotia: AE 1917, pp. 163-165, no. 15; Attica: SEG 15 [1958], no. 175) and from Korykos in Cilicia (MAMA III, no. 265; cf. Dagron and Feissel 1987, p. 222, no. 265). Ἀγαθοφόρος, probably an earlier form of Ἀγαθοφέρων, occurs in pagan inscriptions from Macedonia (Tataki 1988, p. 82, no. 12; p. 135, no. 335 [Beroea]; SEG 38 [1988], no. 629 [Kolindros]), while the variant Ἀγαθήφορος is characteristic for Lydia in Asia Minor (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 5, s.v.; BE 1963, p. 515, no. 239). Noteworthy finally is the name Φεράγαθος, an inverted form of Ἀγαθοφόρος or Ἀγαθοφέρων mentioned in a papyrus from Egypt (Foraboschi 1967, p. 239, s.v.).

I. 2: In contrast with the great popularity of the name Παῦλος among the Christians of Ghor es-Safi (16 occurrences, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3), its derivative Παυλώνιος was not much in

favour, not only in this area but also generally in Palestine and Arabia, where the derivative *Παυλῖνος* is more common. The latter name is known from a pagan inscription (AD 130) from Gerasa, where it is used as a *supernomen* (Welles 1938, p. 425, no. 145), from Hauran (Busân: Waddington, no. 2239; Umm ez-Zeitûn: *ibid.*, no. 2546a) and finally from the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 168, 169: both inscriptions refer to the same person).

20. Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and nicely curved at the upper part. It is broken on all sides and mended from four fragments. Inv. no.: Z-266. Dimensions: 0.46x0.25x0.035 m. Smooth inscribed surface, flaked off only at the lower right uninscribed part. Above the inscription an engraved and red painted cross with an elongated horizontal bar. The first two lines of the text are squeezed and hastily written with red paint in small, careless letters, as if they were added later. The lines 3-8 are engraved and painted red, except for the first letter *epsilon* of the eighth line which is only painted. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are rather well cut, but with irregular alignment in ll. 7 and 8. Height of letters: 0.006-0.04 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. II

Date: 255 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 360 - 21 March AD 361.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὃν θάρος ἔγραψα. Μνημῖον	One (is) the God, by whose encouragement I wrote (this).
4	Σωσάννα Ὀβέδας, ἀπο- θανόντος	Monument of Shoshana, (daughter) of Obedas, who died (at the age)
	ἐτῶν ι', νν	of 10 years,
8	ἔτους σνε'.	in (the) year 255.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: the second letter *nu* is inverted; θάρος for θάρσος on the analogy of θάρσει; "ὃν θάρος ἔγραψα" is a wrong syntax for the relative clause "οὗ μετὰ θάρσους ἔγραψα" in which οὗ is a subjective genitive to the word θάρσος.

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: Σωσάννα for Σωσάννας: nominative for genitive.

l. 5: Ὀβέδας for Ὀβέδου: the patronymic is given in nominative case instead of genitive.

ll. 5-6: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης: masculine past participle instead of feminine.

l. 7: above the age numeral an elongated horizontal bar is carved.

l. 8: the same elongated horizontal stroke is engraved above the year numeral.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: "Εἷς Θεός", an acclamation expressing the idea of monotheism, was common in the East (Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt) where it appears alone or in combination with other formulae. The first examples make their appearance in the late third c. AD, but their number increases significantly during the fourth and fifth centuries AD as evidenced by E. Peterson's thorough study on this subject (1926). Peterson reached the conclusion that "εἷς Θεός" was a typical Christian formula, while other scholars (Prentice, *AAES* III, pp. 18-19; pp. 50-51, no. 25; pp. 221-223, no. 263; Negev 1977, pp. 62-64; Trombley 1995, appendix V, p. 315; Dauphin et al. 1996, pp. 312-314, no. 5) assumed that it was originally created by Jews and later adopted by Christians. Recently doubts have been raised about the Jewish origin of this expression by Leah Di Segni (1994). After a re-evaluation of all the relevant material -old and new- from Palestine (62 specimens; for more recent examples of "εἷς Θεός" in Golan, all Christian, see Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 95, 100\*, 120, 122-123, 171, 228, 235\*), Di Segni concluded that "the Christian usage (of "εἷς Θεός" acclamation) in Palestine proper seems derived from gnostic and pagan imagery, in some cases through Samaritan conveyors" (Di Segni 1994, p. 115).

In the Ghor es-Safi epigraphy the acclamation "εἷς Θεός" appears as a rule in the beginning of the epitaph either alone or with the addition of other phrases: εἷς Θεός, εἷς ὁ Θεός, εἷς Θεὸς ὁ

μόνος, εἰς Θεὸς ἀμήν, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης (for commentary on these phrases and evaluation of the relevant evidence, see chapter on Acclamations).

The squeezed and careless writing of the phrase "εἰς Θεός, ὃν θάρος ἔγραψα" (for the syntactical irregularity see critical apparatus) indicates that it was added later in red paint at the top of the already inscribed epitaph, probably as an afterthought of the anonymous letter cutter.

The aorist of the verb γράφω, either in the first (ἔγραψα) or the third person singular (ἔγραψε), as well as the aorist participle γράψας (see below inscr. no. 145) appear frequently in pagan and Christian funerary and dedicatory inscriptions from Palestine and Arabia (ΕΓΡΑΨΑ/ΕΓΡΑΨΕ - Hammat Gader: Di Segni 1997, p. 201, no. 14; p. 204, no. 20; Hedeib al-Falah, E. of Aila: Sartre 1993, no. 138; Hauran: Waddington, nos. 2162 [Shakka], 2272 [Namara]; Atallah 1997, pp. 464-466, no. 3 [Wadi Salma]; ΓΡΑΨΑΣ - Hauran: Waddington, nos. 2464 [Harrân], 2538 [Lahitha]; Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 155\* = Dauphin et al. 1996, p. 327, no. 28 [Ramsâniyye]; Seilun: SEG 8 [1937], no. 149; Siyagha: Gatier 1986, no. 90; Som: SEG 44 [1994], no. 1422; 'Avdat: Negev 1977, nos. 38, 151; Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery: Ševčenko 1966, p. 263, no. 8; p. 264, nos. 14, 16.1). Although it is not always obvious, it seems that in most of the cases the subject of ἔγραψε, ἔγραψα, or γράψας was the dedicator of the inscription (i.e. the person who wrote or ordered the text) rather than the person who actually executed the inscription (that is the letter-cutter), unless this is clearly stated: for example "τοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἔγραψεν" (Nedjâr: PAES IIIA, no. 785<sup>1</sup>), or "χερσὶ ἔγραψεν οὗτος" (Abila: SEG 44 [1994], no. 1392), or even "ἔγράφι χερὶ Σεργίου Τοννίσου" (Shakka: Waddington, no. 2162) and "(ἔ)γραφε... χερὶ Ἡλίας Βαραχέ[ως]" (Sûr: Ewing 1895, p. 138, no. 66). Also a letter-cutter's signature is the phrase "Στεφάνου τεχ(νίτου) γραφέ (=γραφή)" mentioned in a building inscription found at Kibbutz Rouhamah, between Gaza and Hebron (Lifshitz 1971, p. 161, no. 20a).

The passive aorist form of γράφω, "ἔγράφη" (it was written), mentioned above, is also common (Moab: Canova 1954, no. 352 [Maḥaiy]; Samaria: SEG 44 [1994], no. 1364; Riha: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 71-72, no. 2B; pp. 76-77, no. 5; Nessana: Nessana 3, p. 345, index XI, s.v. γράφω). The phrase "γραφεὶς ποιμήν" (= bishop) recorded in a mosaic inscription from the Church of Saints Peter and Paul at Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 485, no. 330) plausibly refers to the mosaic or painted representation of the bishop Anastasios, benefactor of this Church.

l. 4: The biblical feminine name *Σωσάννα* derives from the Semitic root ššn (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 112, 114, 174; Negev 1991, p. 63, nos. 1118, 1119) which means "lily" or a "specific kind of rose". In Ghor es-Safi it is attested three times (see also inscr. nos. 148, 283), and it is a rather infrequent name in the Christian epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. Regionally the nearest parallel comes from Khirbet Dharih, S. of Moab (Sartre 1993, no. 100) but it is encountered as well in the Negev (Beersheba: Alt 1921, p. 23, no. 38; Elusa: *ibid.*, p. 29, no. 64), at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, p. 15, no. 24) and in Hauran (Umm el-Jimâl: PAES IIIA, no. 268). Syria has also yielded several examples of *Σωσάννα* (see Sartre 1993, p. 129). The variant form *Σουσάνα* is recorded in a mosaic inscription from Jerusalem (Mount of Olives: Meimaris 1986, p. 55, no. 328). Both forms *Σωσάννα* and *Σουσάννα* are attested papyrologically in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, p. 392, s.v. *Σουσάννα*, p. 400, s.v. *Σωσάννα*; Foraboschi 1967, p. 297, s.vv. *Σουσάνα*, *Σουσάννα* and p. 302, s.v. *Σωσάννα*). *Σωσάννα* was also named a Palestinian martyr, daughter of a pagan and a Jewess, whose memory is commemorated on the 19th of September (Delehaye 1902, cols. 58-59).

l. 5: The patronymic *Ὀβέδας* (spelling met in Josephus, BJ 1.4.4 90), or more common *Ὀβεδος*, may be the Greek equivalent of the Arabic 'Ubad (Alt 1921, p. 29, n. 3) which is the diminutive of 'abd (*Ἀβδος*), "servant". In Ghor es-Safi the spelling *Ὀβέδας* appears only in this epitaph, while the theophoric Nabataean name *Ὀβόδας* occurs much more frequently (see commentary on *Ὀβόδας* in inscr. no. 63). The name *Ὀβεδος*, however, was popular among the local inhabitants of Palestine (mainly South) and Arabia (especially of Hauran) and is recorded epigraphically in the following variations: *Ὀβεδος* at Beersheba (Alt 1921, p. 15, no. 13), Nessana (*Nessana* 1, nos. 122, 146), Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 33), Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, pp. 259-260, no. 15), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 370, no. 14; p. 377, no. 45 and p. 418, s.v.) and in Hauran (PAES IIIA, nos. 82 [es-Summaḳiyât], 110 [Šubḥîyeh], 128 [Šabḥah], 642 [Der'â], 688 [ʿOrmân]; Waddington, no. 1984c [ʿAyûn]; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 667, no. 74 [er-Rushaide]); *Ὀβᾶιδος* at the Amman Museum (Gatier 1986, no. 49) and at Sahwet el-Khuḍr (PAES IIIA, no. 681); *Ὀβέδ* at es-Summaḳiyât (PAES IIIA, no. 92); *Ὀβᾶιδ* at Nessana (*Nessana* 3, pap. nos. 92.38, 93.52, 93.40); *Ὀβηδος* at Salchad (Dunand 1939, p. 561, no. 255); *Ὠβεδος* at Mekawer (Piccirillo 1995, p. 305, no. c); *Ὀνβᾶιδος* at Salchad (Dunand 1939, p. 564, no. 265); and *Ὀβέδων* at Elusa (Alt 1921, p. 29, no. 62).

21. Tombstone of purple and white sandstone almost rectangular in shape and curved at the upper and lower right corners. It is broken at the upper and lower left corners. Inv. no.: Z-180. Dimensions: 0.43x0.45x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at various parts, especially at the edges. Traces of an incised and red painted cross above the inscription. The text is engraved, painted red and set between guide-lines, faint traces of which have been preserved here and there. The script is of the round form and the letters are of variable height, rather well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.017-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IV

Date: 23 Panemos 256 E.P.A. = 12 July AD 361.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημιον Ἀβ- δοάρθα Ὀλέφ- ου, ἀποθανόν- 4 τος ἐτῶν ο', ἔτ(ους) σνζ', μη(νός) Πανέμου κγ', ἡμέρα Ἄρεως.</p>	<p>Monument of Abdoartha(s), (son) of Olefos, who died (at the age) of 70 years, in (the) year 256, on (the) 23rd (day) of (the) month Panemos, on (the) day of Mars (Tuesday).</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the age numeral is indicated by a horizontal bar above.

l. 5: the words ἔτους and μηνός are abbreviated by their first two letters without any abbreviation sign; above the year numeral there is the usual horizontal stroke.

l. 6: Πανήμου; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The name Ἀβδοάρθας appears as a patronymic in another inscription from Ghor es-Safi (no. 75). It is most likely the abbreviated form of the Hellenized Semitic name Ἀβδοαρθέας which transliterates the Arabic 'Abdharith, compound of the word 'abd, "servant" and the name Harith. It was so far epigraphically attested only in the spelling Ἀβδοαρέτας ('Ahire, Hauran: Savignac 1905, p. 95, no. 7).

The second component Harith (Ἀρέθας or Ἀρέτας) was a royal Nabataean name borne by four Nabataean kings (Hrtt). In the time of emperor Justinian the name became known in the Byzantine world by Arethas, ruler of the Ghassanids, Arab *foederati* of Byzantium (PLRE IIIA, pp. 111-113, s.v. *Arethas [al-Harith ibn Jabalah]*; cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.*, 51.8, p. 75). Another Ghassânid phylarch "Arethas, son of al-Arethas" is mentioned in an inscription of a sixth c. church recently excavated at Nitl, located 10 km. E. of Madaba (Piccirillo 2001, vol. III, p. 313). The name Harith, deriving from the root hrt, "to plough", was usually given to a child born during the season of ploughing (PAES IVA, p. 50, no. 55). In Palestine and Arabia it occurs transcribed in various Greek forms: Ἀρέτας in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 57), Ἀρέθας (Umm el-Quttên: PAES IIIA, no. 211) and Ἀρίθης (Têma: Dunand 1932, p. 573, no. 112) in Hauran, Ἀρθίς at the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 116, 118). In Egypt it is known as Ἀρέτ, Ἀρετος, Ἀρητᾶς and Ἀρίθας (Preisigke 1922, col. 506).

ll. 2-3: For the common name Ὀλεφος, see commentary of inscr. no. 6.

*The correct position for inscr. no. 211*

22. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, rectangular in shape and curved at the upper and lower left corners. It is broken at the top and at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-38. Dimensions: 0.545x0.385x0.075 m. The smooth inscribed surface is weathered and flaked off at the middle left side, at the right side and at the bottom. Just above the inscription and below it towards the bottom a cross has been incised. The text is engraved and painted red except for the ninth letter *kappa* in the second line. The script follows the round alphabet and the letters are well cut and aligned. A gradual increase in the size of the letters is to be noted. Height of letters: 0.011-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IV

Date: 28 Artemisios 258 E.P.A. = 18 May AD 363.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Σίλθα Οὐα- λεντίνου καὶ Κύρας θυγατρὸς, τελευ- 4 τηκότων ἐν ὁσιότη- τι μετὰ καλοῦ ὄγ- όματος ἐν τῷ σιζ- μῷ ἐτῶν λη', ἔτους 8 σνη', μηνὸς Ἀρτε- μίου ηκ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα- τος.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p>	<p>Monument of Siltha, (daughter) of Valentinus, and of Kyra, (her) daughter, who have both died in holiness, having a good name, during the earthquake (at the age) of 38 years (Siltha's age), in (the) year 258, on (the) 28th (day) of (the) month Artemisios. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; Σίλθα for Σίλθας: nominative for genitive.  
 II. 3-4: τελευτηκότων (correct form τετελευτηκότων) for τετελευτηκυῖων: the engraver uses the masculine present perfect participle although he refers to mother and daughter.  
 II. 6-7: σιζμῷ is the phonetic spelling of the dative σεισμῷ.  
 I. 7: a wavy horizontal bar above indicates the age numeral.  
 I. 8: the same wavy line above the year numeral.  
 I. 9: the inverted month day numeral is also denoted by the wavy horizontal bar; θάρσει.  
 I. 10: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

I. 1: For discussion on the name *Σίλθα*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 13.  
 II. 1-2: The name *Οὐαλεντίνος*, Greek transcription of the Latin cognomen *Valentinus*, is borne in this epitaph by a native person as indicated by his daughter's name. In Palestine and Arabia the form *Οὐαλεντίνος* is also attested in Roman and Early Byzantine inscriptions from Hauran (Der'a: Waddington, no. 2070m; Salchad: *PAES* IIIA, no. 168), Negev (Alt 1923, p. 61, no. 14 = SEG 8 [1937], no. 293; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 75 [preserved fragmentarily]), 'Evron (Tzaferis 1987, p. 46\*, no. 9 = SEG 37 [1987], no. 1518), in which it appears either alone or combined with Greek or Latin names. In a pilgrim's graffito at Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, p. 24, no. 62) an Egyptian bears this name ([*Οὐ*]αλεντίνος Ἀνουβ[ίου]). For the feminine *Οὐαλεντίνα*, see below inscr. no. 193.

II. 2-3: The word "θυγατρὸς", which designates Kyra as the daughter of Siltha, is the only sure indication of kinship at Ghor es-Safi. The high frequency of the feminine name *Κύρα* in the epitaphs from this area (10 instances: nos. 22, 88, 143, 169, 172, 173, 175, 208, 232 and 312) is noteworthy if compared to its rare occurrence in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. In these provinces *Κύρα* has been encountered only at Nessana (*Nessana* 1, no. 30d), at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (as a pilgrim's name, Negev 1977, nos. 57, 119) and in Hauran (Sâleh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 730). A Jewess bearing this name appears in an epitaph from Joppe (SEG 8 [1937], no. 140). Egypt has also yielded a few papyrological examples of this name (Preisigke 1922, col. 188, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 174, s.v.).

II. 3-6: The phrase "τελευτηκότων ἐν ὁσιότητι" implies that both Siltha and her daughter Kyra had led a pious life. "Ὁσιότης", holiness, piety, was a fundamental Christian virtue whose significance is stressed already in the New Testament (*Luke* 1:75; *Eph.* 4:24). Mention of this virtue is made at Ghor es-Safi in three more epitaphs (nos. 61, 89, 95; see also chapter on Burial terms and phrases) while it is unattested in Palestine and Arabia in contrast to the epithet "ὁσιος" or "οἰώτατος" which is frequently employed in these provinces as a title of ecclesiastical officers, especially bishops (see for example Gattier 1986, ind. gén.grec., s.vv. *ὁσιος*, *οἰώτατος*, p. 230).

The accompanying expression "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος", is quite common. For its frequency and meaning see commentary of inscr. no. 91 (cf. also chapter on Burial terms and phrases).

II. 6-9: It is worth noting that in this and the following two epitaphs, apart from the time, the cause of death is indicated. As it is clearly stated in all three inscriptions the deceased persons were victims of an earthquake which is explicitly dated on Monday, 28 Artemisios of the year 258 of

provincia Arabia, i.e., on 18 May AD 363. It is known that Palestine and its adjacent regions have suffered earthquakes - some of them catastrophic - from antiquity to the present day (for a list of seismic events since the first c. BC, see Arvanitakis 1899, pp. 158-190; Amiran 1950-51, pp. 223-246; id. 1952, pp. 48-62; for an updated and revised edition of this earthquake catalogue, see Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994, pp. 260-305; Nur and Ron 1996, pp. 75-85; for the earthquakes from the second to the eighth centuries AD in Palestine and NW Arabia on the basis of literary and archaeological evidence, see Russell 1985, pp. 37-59). The earthquake of 363 (for an elaborate study on this earthquake, see Russell 1980, pp. 47-64) was recorded by a number of ancient writers, such as Ephrem, Gregory Nazianzen, Ammianus Marcellinus, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Theophanes and others (for an analytical list of the relative Greek and Syriac sources, see Brock 1977, pp. 276, 283-286; Russell 1980, p. 61, n. 4). In these sources (except Ammianus) the earthquake was taken as a divine punishment that brought an end to the attempted rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, instructed by the emperor Julian (who died ca. one month after the earthquake, 26 June AD 363), and was considered as a fulfilment of the prediction of Jesus (*Matthew* 24: 1-2; for the religious interpretation of this natural phenomenon, see Russell 1980, pp. 50-52). However, the most detailed and accurate account of this earthquake appears in a letter included in a Syriac manuscript, discovered in 1975 by S. Brock in the Houghton Library of Harvard University (*Harvard Syriac* 99) and dated in 1899 (for a preliminary report, see Brock 1976, pp. 103-107; for the full publication, see Brock 1977, pp. 267-286). The letter is attributed to Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (AD 350-388); according to its editor it is rather pseudonymous, originally composed in Cyril's name in the early fifth c. AD (Brock 1976, pp. 106-107; id. 1977, pp. 280-283). A part of the text contains a catalogue of 23 sites affected by the 363 earthquake as well as the respective degree in their damage (Brock 1977, p. 276; Russell 1980, p. 51, fig. 4). From this list (and the other sources mentioned above) it is evident that the earthquake afflicted most of Palestine and Transjordan since the consequent destruction extended from Paneas in the north through Petra in the south and from the coast through the Jordan Valley and beyond it (Russell 1980, pp. 56-60, who combining historical and archaeological data added more settlements to those affected by the earthquake; Russell 1985, p. 42; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994, p. 265).

Although Zoora is not mentioned in the list of cities appearing in the letter attributed to Cyril, a hint for the affliction of the Southern part of the Dead Sea (where Zoora is located) by the 363 earthquake is already supplied in a passage of Saint Jerome, noting a seiche (standing wave in the Dead Sea) associated with an earthquake which caused destruction to Areopolis (Rabba) in Moab (Russell 1980, pp. 53-54; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994, pp. 265 and 295, appendix 6). The three epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (Zoora) not only confirm - beyond any doubt - the association of this part of the Dead Sea with the earthquake of 363, but they also enlist Zoora among the cities that suffered damage during it, as indicated by the loss of four people, a number which may increase with the discovery of new inscriptions.

Another valuable piece of evidence provided by the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs is the precise date of the earthquake: Monday (ἡμέρα Σελήνης; the weekday is given in two of the three inscriptions, nos. 23 and 24), 28 Artemisios of the year 258 of provincia Arabia which is equivalent to 18 May AD 363. In the letter attributed to Cyril the date is given in the Syrian way: Monday, 19 Iyyar of the year 674 of the kingdom of Alexander the Greek/Seleucid era (Brock 1977, p. 276) which falls on the 19th of May AD 363 (ibid., p. 268). The letter mentions in addition the exact time of the two major tremors of the earthquake which took place at the third and at the ninth hour of the night of Sunday to Monday, 18th to 19th of May. This is probably the reason for the discrepancy of one day between the two sources. In spite of this, however, the three inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi and the letter attributed to Cyril are complementary to one another. On the one hand, the epigraphic evidence supports the authenticity and the historical value of the manuscript and, on the other hand, the manuscript offers supplementary evidence concerning the exact time of the two major and disastrous tremors of the 363 earthquake.

It is noteworthy that the three Ghor es-Safi epitaphs are, to our knowledge, the only epigraphical attestations of an earthquake occurrence and its date in this region. A circumstantial epigraphic evidence on an earthquake is provided by a dedicatory inscription found in the neighbouring city of Rabbat Moab (Areopolis). Its text, dated in the year 492 E.P.A. (= AD 597/8), commemorates the reconstruction of an ecclesiastical building after its damage in an earthquake "... ἀνενώθη ἔτους υἷβ' μετὰ τὸ σεισμόν" (Zayadine 1971, pp. 139-141 who briefly comments on the possible earthquakes concerned).

Although the present tombstone belongs both to Siltha and her daughter Kyra, only the age of the mother is indicated. A common burial of father and son but not after an earthquake is also

attested in a sixth c. epitaph from Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 177, no. 33). A close parallel for a common burial of two members of the same family, killed in an earthquake, is offered by an epitaph of the late fourth c. AD from Cyrene, where mother and son, victims of an earthquake ("ἐτελεύτησαν ἐπὶ ἀγροῦ Μυροπωλᾶ σισμοῦ γενομένου"), were buried in the same tomb (Bacchielli, Reynolds and Rees 1992, pp. 15-22).

23. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-165. Dimensions: 0.45x0.28x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at the left side and weathered at the right inscribed area. Just below the inscription a large outlined isosceles cross is engraved. The text is also engraved, but remains of red paint are discernible throughout it. Traces of faint incised guide-lines are visible especially at the first lines. The script is of the round alphabet and carefully executed. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. V

Date: 28 Artemisios 258 E.P.A. = 18 May AD 363.

	+	Μνημῖον	+ ν	Monument of Obbe,
		Ὀββῆς	Σαμά- ν	(daughter) of Samakon,
		κωνος,	παυ- ν	who died (at the age)
4		σαμένης	ἐτ(ῶν) ν	of 15 years during the
		ιε' ἐν τῷ	σιζμῷ,	earthquake, in (the) year
		ἔτους	σνῆ, μη(νός)	258, on (the) 28th (day)
		Ἀρτεμισίου		of (the) month Artemisios,
8		ηκ', ἡμέρα	Σε-	on (the) day of (the) Moon
		λήνης.	Θάρσει,	(Monday). Be of good
		Ὀββῆ,	οὐδὶς ἀ-	cheer Obbe, no one (is)
		θάνατος.	+	immortal.
12		Εἷς	Θεός. νν +	One (is) the God.
		+		

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line starts and ends with an incised cross; μνημεῖον.  
 l. 4: the abbreviation of the word ἐτῶν consists of the first two letters and a small oblique stroke at the upper right part of the letter *tau*.  
 l. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; σιζμῷ for σεισμῷ (for this phenomenon see critical apparatus of inscr. no. 22).  
 l. 6: the year numeral bears a horizontal stroke above; the word μηνός is abbreviated by the first two letters, with the superscription of a small *eta* over *mu*.  
 l. 8: the inverted month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar.  
 l. 9: θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδείς.  
 l. 11: the line ends with a cross.  
 l. 12: traces of a small engraved cross are visible at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The feminine name *Ὀββῆ* is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic diminutive Ḥubb (*PAES* IIIA, p. 64, no. 69) which derives from the Semitic root ḥbb, "to love". Its parallels are encountered almost exclusively in the area of Hauran: es-Summaḳiyât (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 69, 89), 'Ormân (ibid., no. 699), el-Mushennef (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 666, no. 72), Shakka (Dunand 1932, p. 402, no. 11) and Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9380 [if the name *Ὀββῆ* is complete]; Sartre [1985, p. 220, s.v. *Ὀββῆ*] speaks for an unpublished example from Umm el-Jimâl). The name *Ὀββῆ* has been recently recorded in two epitaphs of unknown provenance (*SEG* 40 [1990], nos. 1430, 1431 [= Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 258-260, no. 16]) belonging plausibly to the same family which originated from Hauran but later migrated from there probably to the Damascus area. For a possible kinship of Obbe with Samakon referred to in the following epitaph, see commentary of inscr. no. 24.

ll. 2-3: *Σαμάκωνος* is the genitive of the Hellenized Semitic name *Σαμάκων* which appears in Ghor es-Safi also in inscr. nos. 24 and 102. This name has been attested so far only in three mosaic

inscriptions found in a church at 'Evron and referring to a priest (πρεσβύτερος) of this town in whose days the local church was built and embellished (Tzaferis 1987, pp. 42-43\*, no. 5; p. 44\*, no. 7; p. 47\*, no. 11). The forms Σόμακος (PAES IIIA, nos. 355, 469, 490) and Σουμάκος (ibid., no. 398), encountered in epitaphs from Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran, are plausibly variants of Σαμάκων. All three names are possible Greek transcriptions of a Semitic name which derives from the root smk , "to support" or "to increase, to elevate".

II. 3-4: "Παυσάμενος, -ένη" is the second popular funerary participle after "ἀποθανών, -οῦσα" in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (for its ca. 40 examples see index 6) but is quite rare in the rest of Palestine and Arabia (cf. the form "ἐπαύσετο" at Ayûn in Hauran: Waddington, no. 1986). For the expanded formula "παυσάμενος τοῦ βίου" see commentary of inscr. no. 114, while for the compound form "ἀναπαυσάμενος" see chapter on Burial terms and phrases).

I. 5: For the earthquake of AD 363, see above inscr. no. 22.

I. 12: The religious formula "εἰς Θεός" is placed at the end of the inscription; this is an exceptional case, for "εἰς Θεός" is as a rule the introductory phrase of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs.

24. Tombstone of white-yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left corner and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-280. Dimensions: 0.56x0.38x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, has some scratches. It seems that the letter-cutter started to engrave the epitaph the normal way, but at the end of the second line, when he realized that he had omitted the patronymic of the deceased (text a<sub>1</sub>) he turned the tombstone all the way round and started writing the text from the beginning, this time in bigger characters (text a<sub>2</sub>). The text a<sub>1</sub> is only engraved, while the text a<sub>2</sub> is engraved and painted over in red. The script belongs to the round alphabet with well cut letters. Height of letters: 0.008-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. V

Date: 28 Artemisios 258 E.P.A. = 18 May AD 363.

a<sub>1</sub> [M]νημῖον Σαμάκωνος ἀ-  
ρχιδιακόνου, ἀπογενομένου>

Monument of Samakon,  
(the) archdeacon, who died...

a<sub>2</sub> Μνημῖον Σαμά-  
κωνος Ζάβδα,  
ἀρχιδιακόνου,

Monument of Samakon, (son) of Zabdas,  
(the) archdeacon, who died (at the age)  
of 40 years during the earthquake,

4 ἀπογενόμενος  
ἐτῶν μ' ἐν τῷ ν  
<σει>ζμῶ, ἔτ(ους) σνη',  
μηνὶ Ἀρτεμισίου

in (the) year 258, on (the) 28th (day)  
of (the) month Artemisios.

8 ηκ'. Θάρσει, οὐδι- ν  
ς ἀθάνατος. νν  
Ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) Σελήνης.

Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal. (He died) on (the)  
day of (the) Moon (Monday).

#### Critical apparatus

a<sub>1</sub> I. 1: [μ]νημῖον: the first letter is lost.

I. 2: alpha is probably the initial letter of the word ἀπογενομένου which was left half-finished.

a<sub>2</sub> I. 1: μνημῖον.

I. 4: ἀπογενόμενος for ἀπογενομένου: the engraver puts the past participle in nominative instead of genitive despite the fact that the deceased man's name and his ecclesiastical office are given in genitive.

I. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.

I. 6: εἰσζμῶ for σεισμῶ: transposition of the letters of the first syllable and phonetic spelling of the second sigma (for the latter phenomenon see also inscr. nos. 22, 23); the word ἔτους is abbreviated by the first two letters and a small oblique stroke at the upper right part of the letter tau (for the same stroke see inscr. no. 23); a horizontal bar above the year numeral.

I. 7: μηνί for μηνός.

I. 8: the month day numeral is inverted and denoted with a horizontal bar above it; θάρσει.

II. 8-9: οὐδεῖς.

I. 10: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by its first letter and a ligature formed by the two consonants of the following syllables.



## Commentary

Text a<sub>2</sub>, ll. 1-2: For the personal name *Σαμάκων*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 23. The archdeacon *Σαμάκων*, like \**Οββη*, daughter of Samakon, mentioned in the previous inscr. (no. 23), was killed during the earthquake of AD 363 as is explicitly stated in ll. 4-6. Judging from his age (40 years), Samakon could probably be identified with the father of the fifteen years old Obbe as her patronymic reveals. Although Siltha and her daughter Kyra, victims of the same earthquake (inscr. no. 22), shared the same grave, Samakon and Obbe - if they were indeed members of the same family - were buried separately as indicated by their tombstones.

l. 2: The patronymic *Ζάβδας*, derived from the Aramaic root zbd, "gift", is one of the personal names, simple or compound (e.g. *Ζαβδάλλας*), employed in Semitic dialects in order to express the idea that the child is a gift of God (Caquot 1962, p. 244; Sartre 1985, p. 201, s.v. *Ζαβδάλλας* and p. 202, s.v. *Ζάβδος*). Semitic names derived from the root zbd appear frequently in Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions (Sartre 1985, p. 202; cf. also Maraqtan 1988, p. 157, s.v. zbdy; Al-Khraysheh 1986, p. 72, s.v. zbdw; Abbadi 1983, pp. 103-104, s.v. zbdy), while in Greek they occur in a variety of transcriptions which seem to follow the local pronunciations and the vocalization of the original stem. In Palestine and Arabia the name *Ζάβδας* is attested mainly in Hauran and to a lesser degree in Transjordan in the following variants: *Ζάβδας* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 499; Rihab: Gatier 1998, p. 398, no. 100 [dubious] and p. 416, s.v.), *Ζάβδος* (Hauran: Waddington, nos. 2070i, 2404; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 385, 408 [Ζ]άβ[δ]ε: vocative of *Ζάβδος* or more probably the feminine *Ζάβδη*), 483, 651, 709, 787<sup>5</sup>; Dunand 1932, p. 413, no. 53; Sartre 1982, nos. 9211, 9225), *Ζαβδέος* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 765 with parallels from Egypt), *Ζαβδίων* (Gerasa: Welles 1938, pp. 373-374, no. 2; pp. 407-408, no. 71; Gatier 1985, p. 308; Gatier 1996, pp. 47-48, no. 1 = *SEG* 46 [1996], no. 2057; Hammat Gader: Di Segni 1997, pp. 198-199, no. 11; Moab: Canova 1954, no. 88), *Ζάβεδος* (Moab: *ibid.*, no. 354), *Ζαβοῦδος* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 129, 314, 320; Waddington, no. 2054; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 665, no. 71; Dunand 1932, p. 574, no. 117), *Ζέβεδος* (Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 400, no. 54; p. 428, no. 154) and in the diminutive forms *Ζοβᾶϊδος* (Hauran: *CIG* III, no. 4573c; Waddington, nos. 2150, 2210a; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 226, 803; Dunand 1934, no. 75; Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 429, no. 156; Gatier 1982, pp. 272-273, no. 3), *Ζόβεδος* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 2127), *Ζοβείδος* (Hauran: *ibid.*, no. 1979), *Ζοάβειδος* (Hauran: *ibid.*, no. 369), *Ζωβείδης* (Moab: Canova 1954, no. 397). For more variants of the name from Syria and Egypt, see Wuthnow 1930, pp. 47, 48, 49, 50.

l. 3: The ecclesiastical title of the archdeacon (*ἀρχιδιάκονος* or *ἀρχιδιάκων*), borne by Samakon, is an important one. It was held by the senior deacon of each bishopric. As a leading deacon, he enjoyed several privileges. Among his duties were to make the proper arrangements for the services, to observe the traditional Church ritual and to instruct the new candidates for minor clerical ranks. As the bishop's personal deacon he conveyed the bishop's order to the clergy and the people, he occasionally substituted the bishop at Synods and on the death of a bishop or if a seat fell vacant, he acted as the episcopal guardian until the election of a new bishop (for more information on this office, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 178-182). Since it is known that only one archdeacon served in each diocese we may assume that Samakon was the *ἀρχιδιάκονος* of the local bishopric of Zoora (see below inscr. no. 27).

In Palestine *ἀρχιδιάκονοι* are attested in 'Evron (Tzaferis 1987, p. 40\*, no. 3; p. 42\*, no. 5 [same person]; p. 44\*, no. 7 = *SEG* 37 [1987], nos. 1512, 1514, 1516), at Deir el-Qilt in the Judean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 80; p. 324, no. 136), Karmiel (*SEG* 42 [1992], no. 1467), Kafr Kama (*SEG* 45 [1995], no. 1954), Moza (Meimaris 1986, p. 181, no. 902), Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 57.2, 26), Shivta (Negev 1981, pp. 61-62, no. 68) and at the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, p. 263, no. 8). In the province of Arabia the office is encountered in inscriptions from Jaber (Meimaris 1986, p. 181, no. 898), Khirbet Mekhayyat (Di Segni 1998, p. 441, no. 39) and 'Ayun Musa (*ibid.*, p. 452, no. 60) on Mount Nebo, as well as at Umm al-Rasas (*SEG* 37 [1987], no. 1555; Piccirillo 1994, p. 247, no. 4).

l. 4: For the rare use of the participle *ἀπογενόμενος* in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 9.

ll. 5-6: For the earthquake of AD 363, see commentary of inscr. no. 22.

**25.** Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-121. Dimensions: 0.435x0.34x0.07 m. On the inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, salt crystals are visible, especially at the lower part. Below the inscription there is an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram, similar to the one at the end of l. 8. The text is engraved and



Date: 262 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 367 - 21 March AD 368.

Μνημῖο-	Monument of
ν Ἀβδομ-	Abdomanes,
άνης Ἀλ-	(son) of
4 φίου, ἀπο-	Alphios,
θανόντο-	who died
ς ἔτη ᾠ,	(at the age) of 1 year,
ἔτους	in (the) year
8 σξβʹ.	262.

#### Critical apparatus

Il. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

Il. 2-3: Ἀβδομάνης for Ἀβδομάνου(or -η): nominative instead of genitive singular.

I. 6: ἔτη for ἔτους: the engraver used nominative plural in the place of genitive singular; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above it.

I. 8: a horizontal stroke emphasizes the year numeral.

#### Commentary

Il. 2-3: Ἀβδομάνης may be a local variant of the name Ἀβδομάνος which is epigraphically attested at Ἀvdat (Negev 1981, no. 3) and Wadi Ram (Sartre 1993, no. 141). The form Ἀβδοομάνος appears as well on a sarcophagus from Dhiban (Gatier 1986, no. 183). All three names transliterate in Greek the Nabataean name 'bd'mnw. This correspondence is confirmed by the double mention of the name in the bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription found at Wadi Ram (Sartre, as above). The Nabataean form 'bd'mnw occurs once more at Wadi Ram (mentioning the same person, an architect of the temple of Iram: Savignac 1933, p. 418, no. 9) and at Bostra (PAES IVA, p. 63, no. 79). Ἀβδομάνος, 'bd'mnw, is a compound name consisting of the word 'bd, "servant" and the element 'mnw. Littmann (PAES, as above) considered "'mnw" as the name of a person (not a divine name), while Milik (1959-60, p. 150 and n. 8) suggested its possible connection with a royal or a tribal name.

Il. 3-4: For Ἀλφίος, one of the most common names in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.

I. 6: The inappropriate use of ἔτη instead of ἐτῶν after ἀποθανόντος is rare.

27. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the lower left corner and broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-225. Dimensions: 0.42x0.36x0.105 m. The inscribed surface is smooth and salt crystals have been formed on it by rain water through the ages. The inscription ends with two big crosses, the first outlined and the second with serifs. The text and the crosses are deeply engraved and painted red. The script is of the round form. The letters are nicely executed and only after I. 7 become smaller and slightly squeezed due to lack of space. Height of letters: 0.02-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VI

Date: 10 Loos 264 E.P.A. = 29 July AD 369.

Μνημῖον νν	Monument of Apses
Ἀψη, ν ἐπισκό-	(the) bishop, who died
που, παυσα-	(at the age) of 55
4 μένου ἐτῶ-	years, in (the) year
ν νε', ἔτους	264, on (the) 10th
σξδ', μηνὸς	(day) of (the) month
Λώου ι'. Θάρ-	Loos. Be of good
8 σι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνα-	cheer, no one (is)
+ τος. ++	immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Ἀψη for Ἀψου or Ἀψητος (for this double genitive form see commentary below).

- l. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by two angular motifs left and right and by a horizontal bar above.  
 l. 6: the year numeral is covered by a horizontal stroke.  
 l. 7: the month day numeral, *iota*, bears a trema.  
 ll. 7-8: θάρσει.  
 l. 8: οὐδεὶς.  
 l. 9: the line starts with a small cross, badly weathered.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: The frequent use of the name *\*Aψης* in Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 40, 74, 124, 200) seems to be local since no parallels of it have been attested elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. The two known so far examples of *\*Aψης* are pagan and both refer to people of Phoenician origin. The earlier comes from a fourth c. BC (333) honorary inscription found in Athens (*SEG* 35 [1985], no. 70; the honoured person is a Tyrian) and the later from a Hellenistic (264 BC) dedicatory inscription to Apollon Amyklaios from Idalion in Cyprus (Masson 1968, pp. 397-400; cf. also *BE* 1969, pp. 533-534, no. 606 and *LGPN* I, p. 97; *\*Aψης* grandson bore the Phoenician name Γηρουσμών = Gereshmoun = client of Eshmoun). According to Clermont-Ganneau (1888, pp. 190-192), who wrote a detailed commentary on the name, *\*Aψης* is the Greek transcription of the compound theophoric Semitic name *\*bdšd*, consisting of the word *\*abd*, "servant" and the name of the Phoenician god *Šed* ("hunter") (ibid., pp. 191-192 with all the grammatical transformations which occurred during the transcription from the Semitic *\*Abd-Šed* to the Greek *\*Aψης*). He was also the first to distinguish between the genitives *\*Aψου* (inscr. from Athens) and *\*Aψητος* (inscr. from Cyprus), assuming correctly that in the first case *\*Aψης* followed the first declension (*\*Aψης-ψου*), while in the second the third declension (*\*Aψης-ψητος*) (ibid., p. 191). This double declension of *\*Aψης* is detected also in the Ghor es-Safi examples which present the genitives *\*Aψη* (later form of *\*Aψου*, inscr. no. 27: 1st decl.) and *\*Aψητος* (inscr. nos. 40, 74, 124, 200: 3rd decl.). Of some relevance to *\*Aψης* may be the name *Σεπ(ί)μος* *\*Αψαῖος* borne by a person holding the title of *πολεῖτης* and *προστάτης* of the city in an honorary inscription from Palmyra (Waddington, no. 2582). Waddington, the editor of the inscription, identifies *Σεπ(ί)μον* *\*Αψαῖον* with a certain *Apsaeus* who instigated the people of Palmyra to revolt against the Romans after the defeat of Zenobia (cf. also the Palmyrene name *\*bdšyd*, Stark 1971, p. 103, s.v. who interprets *šyd* (hunter) as the epithet of a god rather than as the Phoenician deity *Šed*).
- ll. 2-3: This is so far the only mention of a bishop in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (for the ecclesiastical office of the bishop and its epigraphical attestations in Palestine and Arabia, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 203-213; cf. also Feissel 1989, pp. 814-818; for recent examples of *ἐπίσκοπος*, see Gatier 1986, p. 226, s.v.; Di Segni 1990b, pp. 268-269, no. 3; Gatier and Villeneuve 1993, pp. 8-10, no. 3; Sartre 1993, nos. 50, 109, 115; Piccirillo 1994, pp. 242-243, no. 1a; pp. 244-246, no. 2; pp. 258-259, no. 14; Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 22, 86; Di Segni 1998, pp. 445-446, no. 47; pp. 449-450, no. 56; pp. 451-452, no. 59; Saliou 2000, pp. 392-393, no. 1; pp. 397-398, no. 6; pp. 399-400, no. 9; pp. 405-406, no. 15). Although his bishopric is not mentioned, the provenance of the epitaph indicates that *Apsēs* was a bishop of the city of Zoora (for Zoora and its history, see Metaxakis 1907, pp. 287-288; Gutwein 1981, pp. 125-128; Sartre 1993, pp. 133-134; Tsafir, Di Segni and Green 1994, p. 263, s.v. Zoora), one of the episcopal sees of Palaestina Tertia (Honigsmann 1939, p. 43, no. 721.7; p. 68, no. 1051). This epitaph not only introduces the name of a new bishop but also comprises the earliest testimony so far of a bishop of Zoora, since chronologically the next reference to a bishop of Segor (another name for Zoora) is made by Egeria in the account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land (AD 381-384: Wilkinson 1971, p. 107, 12.7). Other bishops of Zoora, known from Councilar Acts, are: *Musonios*, who participated in the Second Council at Ephesus (*Latrocinium*, AD 449, *ACO* II, I.1, p. 80, no. 79) and in the Fourth Oecumenical Council at Chalcedon (AD 451, ibid., p. 57, no. 73); *Isidoros* who signed a synodical epistle in Jerusalem in AD 518 against Severus of Antioch (*ACO* III, p. 79, no. 19); *Ioannes*, who was present at the Council of Jerusalem in 536 (ibid., p. 28, no. 40; p. 116, no. 47; p. 126, no. 23; p. 150, no. 11; p. 155, no. 24; p. 161, no. 17; p. 170, no. 17; p. 184, no. 39; for these three bishops see also *HEO* II, p. 1046). Recently the episcopal list of Zoora has been enriched by two new names of bishops recorded in two mosaic dedicatory inscriptions uncovered in the Monastery of St. Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata in the close vicinity of Zoora (Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou forthcoming, nos. 1 [with an extensive commentary on the episcopal list of Zoora], 4). These bishops, named *Petros* and *Iakovos*, are to be placed after *Ioannes* (mentioned in AD 536) since the inscriptions in which they appear are dated in AD 572/3 and 605 or 607 respectively.

28. Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and slightly curved at the corners. Inv. no.: Z-170. Dimensions: 0.58x0.39x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the lower right part, where some salt crystals are also visible. In the middle above the inscription there is an engraved and red painted cross. A similar cross is depicted below the inscription, to the left of which a smaller cross is incised. Faint traces of an engraved frame are discernible at the left margin and at the bottom of the tombstone. The text is engraved and painted red. The script is basically round with some oval characters. The letters are fairly well cut. Height of letters: 0.009-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VI

Date: 5 Loos 265 E.P.A. = 24 July AD 370.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Ὀνενάθης Μεγεθίου, παυσα- μένης ἔτων κζ', 4 ἔτους σξέ', ἐν μη- νὶ Λώου ε'. Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος. Ἡμέρᾳ Ἀφροδίτης. 8 Ὁ Θεός καὶ ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) αὐτοῦ σὲ ἀναπαύσῃ, ζθ' (= ἀμήν).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+ +</p>	<p>Monument of Onenathe, (daughter) of Megethios, who died (at the age) of 27 years, in (the) year 265, on the 5th (day) of the month Loos. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal. (She died) on (the) day of Venus (Friday). May God and his (son) Christ give you repose, amen.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: a horizontal bar above indicates the age numeral.

l. 4: the year numeral is emphasized by a similar horizontal stroke.

l. 5: Λώου for Λώφ: use of genitive instead of dative singular; a horizontal bar over the month day numeral; θάρσει.

l. 6: οὐδεὶς.

l. 8: the sacred names Θεός and Χριστός are abbreviated by their first and last letter with a horizontal bar above them.

l. 9: the form ἀναπαύσῃ, third person singular aorist subjunctive, should have normally been given in the third person plural ἀναπαύσωσιν since the subject of the verb are two persons, God the Father and Christ the Son.

#### Commentary

l. 1: Ὀνενάθης, in Arabic Ḥunainat (PAES IIIA, p. 66, no. 75), is the lengthened form of the name Ὀνάινα recorded at Jaber (Mittmann 1970, p. 195, no. 31) being in its turn the feminine of Ὀνενος (see below commentary of inscr. no. 67). It is the diminutive of the feminine names Ἀνενάθης, Ἐνενάθης, Ἐννάθης (for these names see above commentary of inscr. no. 2). All the afore-mentioned names derive from a common Semitic root ḥnn meaning "merciful, favourable" (for an analytical Semitic etymology, see Sartre 1985, p. 222, s.vv. *Ovaináthē*, *Ovanáthē*). Several spelling variants of Ὀνενάθης are encountered in Hauran: Ὀβαινάθης at Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9239) and at Burāk (Sejourné 1898, p. 100, no. 8), Ὀνανάθης also at Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9240), Ὀνηνάθης at es-Summaḥiyāt (PAES IIIA, no. 75) and Οὐνεῦνάθης at Der'a (Waddington, no. 2070o).

l. 2: Apart from its occurrence in this epitaph, the Greek name Μεγέθιος (a plausible Semitic origin of Μεγέθιος from the root ghwt, "to succour, to help relieve" suggested by Wetzstein, followed by Wuthnow, is discussed by Sartre 1985, pp. 216-217, s.v. *Μεγέθιος*) is attested rather infrequently in Hauran: two examples from Bostra (Sartre 1982, nos. 9111, 9419) and one from the Museum of Suweida (Dunand 1934, p. 48, no. 72). The feminine is more common appearing not only in Hauran but also in the neighbouring Moab in various forms: Μεγεθία (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 125; el-Mote: *ibid.*, no. 315; Dhibîn: Dunand 1933, p. 241, no. 173); Μεγεθειά (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 381); Μεγεθειή (Shakka: AAES III, no. 372), Μεγαθία (Sâleh: Waddington, no. 2256), Μεγηθία (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 409), Μεγεθίς (Mifa'le: Waddington, no. 2386; Ghaṣm: PAES IIIA, no. 621).

II. 8-9: The last two lines express the wish or the innermost belief of the deceased woman's kindred that God will give her repose. This is a common Christian funerary formula which is also encountered in nos. 125 and 225. Similar examples are to be found in Palestine in inscriptions from the Negev, mainly from Beersheba (Alt 1921, nos. 29, 38, 39) and Shivta (ibid., no. 142). The peculiarity of this epitaph's formula is that both God (the Father as the first person of the Holy Trinity) and Christ (the Son, as the second person of the Holy Trinity) are expected to give rest to the dead Onenathe. An analogous formula, Κύριε or Χριστέ ἀνάπαυσον, is also employed in the epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (see below commentary of inscr. no. 106).

The invocation for the repose of the deceased in the present epitaph ends with the numerical sign ζθ' (= 99) which is obviously the isopsephism of the word ἀμήν ("verily, so be it": for this term and its various uses, see *BAG*, pp. 45-46, s.v.; Lampe, p. 88, s.v.), that is the total of the numerical value of the letters forming this word (α'=1, μ'=40, η'=8, ν'=50, 1+40+8+50=99: for this isopsephism, used also for "βοήθι" and "ἀκοή", see *BAG* as above; Lampe, as above; *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960), p. 311 and n. 1; Vidman 1975, p. 215; Strus 1995, p. 244). This is further confirmed by inscr. nos. 125 and 225, in which similar invocations conclude with the term "ἀμήν" written in full. The sign ζθ' occurs as well at the end of epitaph no. 42. The epigraphic parallels of *koppa-theta* in Palestine and Arabia are confined to one example preceded by the compendium ΧΜΓ and encountered in a late fourth century funerary epigram from Shakka (Maximianopolis) in Hauran (Wetzstein 1863, pp. 301-303, no. 129; Waddington, no. 2145; cf. *Hellenica* as above, pp. 306-319; for the reading ΥΘ = Υ(ιός) Θ(εοῦ) instead of ζΘ, see recently Sartre-Fauriat 2001, I, p. 171; ibid., II, pp. 217-218 and n. 61). ζθ', this time preceded by its equivalent "ἀμήν", is also attested once in a non-literary sixth/seventh century papyrus from Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 3, no. 90. 1). More frequent is the use of this sign especially in Egypt but also in Syria, Asia Minor and Greece (*Hellenica* as above, p. 311; *IGA* V, p. XXXII; Bernand 1992, no. 115; *IGLS*, passim; Vidman 1975, pp. 215-216; Feissel 1983, no. 268; Kiourtzian 2000, nos. 38, 45).

29. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and chipped on all edges. Inv. no.: Z-285. Dimensions: 0.525x0.285x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off mainly at the lower uninscribed area. Below the inscription two crosses are engraved at a certain distance from each other. The text is only engraved in a round script. The slightly awkward execution of some letters should be attributed to the hard surface of the tombstone. Height of letters: 0.01-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VI

Date: 8 Hyperberetaios 265 E.P.A. = 25 September AD 370.

+	Μνημῖαν	Θηά-	+	Monument of Theathe,
	θη	Ψούφου,	παυ-	(daughter) of Rufus,
	σαμένη	ἐτῶ-		who died (at the age)
4	ν	ιε', ν	ἐν	ἔτο-
	υς	σξέ', ν	μηνί	ν
	Υπερβερετέ-			of 15 years, in the year
	ου	η'.	+	265, on (the) 8th (day)
	+	+		of (the) month
				Hyperberetaios.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line opens and closes with a cross; μνημῖαν for μνημεῖον; just above the word μνημῖαν there are visible traces of the same word which was erased in order to be rewritten at a lower level.  
 II. 1-2: Θηάθη for Θηάθης; from the second letter *eta* is missing the middle horizontal bar; use of nominative in the place of genitive.  
 II. 2-3: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης; nominative for genitive.  
 I. 4: horizontal bar above the age numeral.  
 II. 4-5: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει; use of genitive instead of dative as is the correct syntax of preposition ἐν.  
 I. 5: the year numeral is stressed by a horizontal bar; μηνί for μηνός.  
 II. 6-7: Υπερβερεταίου; horizontal stroke above the month day numeral.  
 I. 7: the text ends with a cross.

## Commentary

Il. 1-2: The name *Θηάθη* is not documented so far in Palestine and Arabia. It seems to be the lengthened form of *Θέη* which is attested twice in Ghor es-Safi and Moab (for the relevant examples see commentary of inscr. no. 132). The name *Θούαθος*, Arabic Thawiyat, encountered in an epitaph from Awwas (Waddington, no. 2051; Wuthnow 1930, pp. 55, 174 s.v.) may be the masculine form of *Θηάθη*.

l. 2: *Ροῦφος*, *Rufus*, was one of the most frequent Latin cognomina (Kajanto 1963, p. 61) particularly popular among the Roman aristocracy (ibid., p. 229). In Palestine and Arabia it appeared with high frequency in pagan inscriptions from Hauran, especially from the neighbouring regions extending to Safi, borne as a rule by natives (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 181, 210, 803<sup>4</sup>; Waddington, nos. 1969, 2027, 2143, 2348, 2385, 2434, 2471; *AAES* III, nos. 417, 417a, 421; Sartre 1982, nos. 9341, 9351 [?]; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 288-289, no. 52); only in two cases the name is typically Roman (*PAES* IIIA, no. 795; Sartre 1982, no. 9034). Sartre cites Ryckman's assumption that the popularity of *Ροῦφος* in this particular part of Hauran is due to its correspondence to the Safaitic r'f, "to move hastily", but he also considers the possibility of an imported cognomen (Sartre 1985, p. 233, s.v. *Ρουφίνος*). In Ghor es-Safi, apart from this epitaph, the name *Ροῦφος* occurs in three more Christian inscriptions (nos. 55, 95, 136). It is noteworthy that in two of the cases two clergymen, a *πρεσβύτερος* (no. 95) and an *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος* (no. 55), were the bearers of the name. Another Christian example comes from Golan (Fakhem: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 140).

30. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all sides and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-113. Dimensions: 0.43x0.24x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is flaked off at the left and the upper and lower right sides. Between l. 6 and 7 stands a *cross-rho* monogram. Both the text and the symbols included in it are engraved and covered with red paint. The script is of the round alphabet, while the letters present an ascending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.01-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. II

Date: 266 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 371 - 21 March AD 372.

Μνημῖον	Monument of
Οὐϊκτωρί-	Ouictorinos
νου, τριβού-	(Victorinus),
4 νου, τελευτή-	the tribune,
σαντος ἐν	who died in
ἔτι σξς' .	the year 266.
ρ	
Εὐψύχι, <i>vacat</i>	Be of good cheer,
8 καλὲ ἄνθρω-	oh good man.
ν πε. <i>vacat</i>	

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 6: ἔτι for ἔτει; a horizontal bar over the year numeral; the line ends with an oblique palm branch.

l. 8: εὐψύχι, phonetic spelling for εὐψύχει.

l. 9: an uninscribed space at the beginning of the line.

## Commentary

Il. 2-3: The name *Οὐϊκτωρίνος*, Greek transcription of the Latin cognomen *Victorinus*, is rare in Palestine especially in a Christian milieu. A certain *Οὐϊκτωρίνος* bearing the military title of *beneficiarius*, is mentioned in a dedicatory inscription of the Roman period from Petra (2nd c. AD: Sartre 1993, no. 20; see also below commentary of inscr. no. 261 on the name *Βίκτωρ*). The patronymic of the deceased is omitted here and its place has been occupied by his office.

Il. 3-4: *Τριβούνος* (*tribunus*) was mainly a common military title applied strictly to officers of the following regiments: the *scholae* and the *vexillationes*, *auxilia* and legions of *comitatenses* and *palatini* as well as the cohorts of the *limitanei*, or more loosely to every commanding officer. The highest ranking tribunates were those of the *scholae* (Jones 1964, p. 640). The title of the tribune was also bestowed on certain magistrates or civil officials, e.g. *tribunus aerarius*, *tribunus plebis* etc. (on the important office of the tribune and his multifarious duties, see Jones 1964, index, p.

1516, s.v. *tribunes*; OLD, p. 1972, s.v. *tribunus*; cf. also Mason 1974, mainly p. 94, s.v. *τριβοῦνος* and p. 205, s.v. *tribunus*).

Unfortunately this epitaph does not offer the slightest indication concerning the exact identity of the tribune *Victorinus*. The military character of his office, i.e. a regimental commander, is hinted at however by the fact that the city of ancient Zoora, the findplace of the inscription, was in the late third c. the site of a Roman garrison (Eus., *Onom.*, p. 42, ll. 1-4). Located on the northern boundary of Palaestina Tertia, Zoora had considerable strategic value (for the strategic position of Zoora, see Gutwein 1981, pp. 18, 125-126), a factor evidenced by the stationing of a detachment of indigenous mounted archers, *equites sagitarii indigenae*, in the city a century later (*Not. Dign. Or.* 34.26; cf. also Kennedy 2000, pp. 203-204). Even later in the sixth c. Madaba mosaic map Zoora is depicted as a city enclosed within a defensive wall with three towers and a gateway (Gatier 1986, no. 153-20, pl. XXXI, fig. 109; Alliata 1999, p. 58, no. 24).

The title of *τριβοῦνος* is attested in Palestine and Arabia mostly in inscriptions of the Byzantine period (5th-7th c.; earlier occurrences of the title in its military sense are encountered in Latin inscriptions of the Roman period, as for example those from Bostra, Sartre 1982, index VIII, p. 429, s.v. *tribun*) which come from Jerusalem (Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Thomsen 1921, pp. 5-6, no. 8), Qaṣr el-Ḥallabât (*PAES* IIIA, no. 20, frags. 24-26, 33), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 481, no. 311; Piccirillo 1981, p. 41), Quweisme (Gatier 1986, no. 54), Main (*ibid.*, no. 162; Kennedy 2000, pp. 118-119, no. 1), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 206-207, no. 22) and Beersheba (Alt 1921, no. 27). In most of the above mentioned examples the office of *τριβοῦνος* was held by military commanders: at Qaṣr el-Ḥallabât and Jerusalem *τριβοῦνοι* are recorded along with *πραιπόσιτοι* (*praepositi*) in an imperial edict of Anastasios I which regulated various details concerning the military service. Fl. Martyrios, the *τριβοῦνος* at Main, is called *τοποτηρητής*, presumably a military officer entrusted with the task of the local administration. He had acquired the status of *clarissimus* and *spectabilis*, the latter attributed to the rank of *dux* (Gatier 1986, p. 189). The tribune Δαγίσθεος, mentioned in an offertory inscription in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Gerasa, is identified with the known general of Justinian who played an important role in the campaigns at Lazica (*PLRE* III, pp. 380-383, s.v. *Dagisthaeus* 1 and 2). At the date of the construction of the mosaic, AD 533, Dagisthaeus may have been commander of the city or regional garrison (Welles 1938, as above; Di Segni 1995, p. 314; Kennedy 2000, pp. 109-111). Only the tribune Δροσέριος from Hammat Gader seems to have been a civil servant, more specifically a senior member of the corps of notaries according to Di Segni (1997, p. 207).

ll. 8-10: The encouragement formula "εὐψύχει" (see below commentary of inscr. no. 297), followed by the epithet "καλὲ ἄνθρωπε", is obviously addressed to the deceased tribune *Victorinus*. A similar greeting formula, "καλὲ ἄνθρωπε [χ]αῖρε", occurs in an epitaph of the Roman period from Seleukeia on the Euphrates (*SEG* 26 [1976], no. 1582; cf. *BE* 1977, p. 429, no. 531). The phrase "καλὲ ἄνθρωπε" is also encountered later in a narration of the ecclesiastical writer John Moschus (*Pratum spirituale* 207, PG 87. 3097C). The adjective *καλός* in the present epitaph seems to refer to the moral, rather than to the natural beauty of the deceased (Lampe, p. 698, s.v. A2). Such a meaning of *καλός* is also hinted in the epitaph of a young military man from Hauran qualified by this epithet (cited by Sartre-Fauriat 2001, p. 166 and n. 375) as well as in the exhortation addressed to an *officialis* in an epitaph from Asia Minor (Karasenir): "εὐμύρι, Παπία, καλὲ ὀπφικάλι" (*MAMA* VIII, no. 170; cf. *Hellenica* XIII [1965], p. 37). Opposite to the laudatory character of the phrase "καλὲ ἄνθρωπε", is the pejorative use of the vocative "ἄνθρωπε" in a pagan epitaph from Emmaus (Amwas: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 162), in which this word is addressed to the probable violator of the tomb: "τὴν ἀνάγκην σοι ταύτην, ἄνθρωπε, μὴ ἄνυγε" (for this use of *ἄνθρωπε* in pagan funerary interdictions, see Feissel 1983, no. 59 [Beroia] with the relevant examples).

31. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the upper left corner and rounded at the bottom, broken at the upper right corner and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-47. Dimensions: 0.54x0.305x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the lower left side. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame. Above it are depicted three crosses in a row, while below it in the middle another cross. Below the text and inside the frame another cross is depicted. Both the crosses and the text are engraved and coloured in red paint. The letters follow the round alphabet and are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VI



Date: 20 Artemisios 267 E.P.A. = 10 May AD 372.

<p>+ + +  Μνημῖον  Εἰλιανός  Σηάλλου, ᾠ-  4 ποθανόν-  τος ἐτῶν  λε', ἔτους  σξζ', μηνός  8 Ἀρτεμισί-  ου κ', ἡμέρα  Διός.  +  +</p>	<p>Monument of Aelianus,  (son) of Seallos,  who died (at the age)  of 35 years, in (the)  year 267, on (the) 20th  (day) of (the) month  Artemisios, on (the)  day of Jupiter (Thursday).</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: Εἰλιανός for Αἰλιανοῦ: substitution of the first letter *alpha* with *epsilon* and use of nominative in the place of genitive.  
l. 6: a horizontal bar above denotes the age numeral.  
l. 7: every single figure of the year numeral bears a separate short horizontal bar above.  
l. 9: there is a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral.

#### Commentary

l. 2: *Εἰλιανός* is a false spelling for *Αἰλιανός*, Greek transliteration of the Latin cognomen *Aelianus*. In Palestine the name is rather rare, since there is only one parallel coming from a Byzantine mosaic inscription found at Kibbutz Magen (S. of Nirim: Meimaris 1986, pp. 122-123, no. 661). The fact that the person bearing this name, an *anagnostes*, belonged to the minor orders associated with the clerical and monastic institutions may be related to the existence of a homonymous Saint. He is mentioned in a late sixth c. (AD 595/6) inscription found in a church crypt consecrated to him in Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 147). In fact, Saint Aelianus was martyred in the neighbouring city of Philadelphia (Amman), where a martyrium was built over his burial place (on Saint Aelianus, see Meimaris 1986, p. 115 and Gatier 1986, p. 146, no. 147).

l. 3: The patronymic in genitive *Σηάλλου* appears in the version *Σεάλλου* in three more epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (nos. 140, 256, 293). A possible nominative of this Hellenized Semitic name would be *Σηάλλας* (or *Σεάλλας*) as indicated by the mention of this name in a Roman inscription found at Mdjemir in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2298). Hauran has also yielded the name *Σαῖῆλος* (es-Summaḳiyât: *PAES* IIIA, no. 93) and in Moab the variant *Σαῖλος* (Ainun: Canova 1954, no. 259). *Σηάλλας* (or *Σεάλλας*) plausibly transcribes in Greek the Semitic compound theophoric name sy 'Allah which means "companion of Allah" (*PAES* IIIA, p. 72, no. 93), while the names *Σαῖῆλος*, or *Σαῖλος*, although they share the same first component with *Σηάλλας*, have as second component the divine name 'El (*PAES* IIIA, p. 72, no. 93; Al-Qudrah 2001, pp. 170-171, s.v. *Σαῖλος*).

32. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the lower left corner and broken at the upper and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-302. Dimensions: 0.45x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface is chipped at the left side. Below the inscription there are three *cross-rho* monograms in the row heavily painted in red. This epitaph consists in fact of two inscriptions: a short one engraved (unfinished text A) and a longer one heavily painted in red and placed on top of the first one (complete text B). The discrepancy in the name and the age of the deceased between the two texts leads to the assumption that after these two mistakes the engraver rewrote the inscription in its correct and complete form this time using only red paint. The script of the incised text is a mixture of square and round characters, while that of the painted text follows the round alphabet. The painted letters are of a better quality than the incised ones. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. II

Date: Hyperberetaios 267 E.P.A. = 18 September - 17 October AD 372.

#### A. INCISED TEXT

<p>Μνημίαν Ὀλε-          φος Ἀβδάλγ(ου),          ἀποθανόν-          4 τας ἐτῶν κθ'.</p>	<p>Monument of Olefos,          (son) of Abdalges,          who died (at the age)          of 29 years.</p>
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#### B. PAINTED TEXT

<p>Μνημίαν Ὀλ-          ἐφθ(α) Ἀβδά-          λγου, ἀπο-          4 θανόντο-          ς ἐτῶν λ',          ἔτους σξξ',          μηνὸς Ὑπ&lt;ερ&gt;-          8 βερετέου.          ρ ρ ρ</p>	<p>Monument of Oleftha,          (son or daughter) of Abdalges,          who died (at the age)          of 30 years,          in (the) year 267,          in (the) month of          Hyperberetaios.</p>
--	--

#### Critical apparatus

##### a. Incised text

- I. 1: μνημίαν for μνημεῖον.
- II. 1-2: Ὀλεφος for Ὀλέφου: nominative for genitive.
- I. 2: the genitive ending -ου of the patronymic is abbreviated by the sign S.
- II. 3-4: ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of the last *omicron* with *alpha* (see also I. 1: μνημίαν).

##### b. Painted text

- I. 1: μνημίαν for μνημεῖον.
- II. 1-2: it is likely that for haplographic reasons the ending letter *alpha* of Ὀλέφθα is omitted since it coincides with the initial letter of the patronymic Ἀβδάλγου.
- I. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.
- II. 7-8: Ὑπ<ερ>βερεταίου: the engraver omitted the third and fourth letter of the month's name.

#### Commentary

- II. 1-2: The name of the deceased was originally written as Ὀλεφος (inscr. A) and then corrected in Ὀλέφθα (inscr. B). The latter name could be either a genitive masculine (Ὀλέφθας, -ας) or a nominative feminine (Ὀλέφθα, -α). Although the participle ἀποθανόντος, which accompanies this name also in inscr. no. 124, points to the first alternative, the second one is also plausible despite the masculine participle, if we consider the fact that the two other certain mentions of Ὀλέφθα from Ghor es-Safi (nos. 85, 121; cf. also Ἀλολεφάθη in no. 164) are certainly feminine. Ὀλέφθα may be the diminutive or variant form of Ἀλάφθα, a name documented in Jewish inscriptions (Jaffa: *CII* II, no. 904; Caesarea Maritima: *JECM* V, no. 175).
- II. 2-3: On the name Ἀβδάλγης, see above commentary of inscr. no. 12.

33. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, slightly curved at the top and chipped on all edges, especially at the left side. Inv. no.: Z-184. Dimensions: 0.53x0.25x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the edges. Above the inscription is engraved and painted in red a large outlined cross, flanked by two smaller red painted crosses. There are traces of a curved red painted frame at the top and at the upper left side of the inscription. The whole text is written between guide-lines; both are deeply engraved and painted red. The script is of the round alphabet with the exception of a square *omicron* in I. 1. As the text proceeds the size of the letters is reduced, while the density of the characters increases. The letters and the guide-lines present a descending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.015-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VII

Date: 13 Panemos 268 E.P.A. = 2 July AD 373.

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Μνημῖον	Monument of Aslomos,
Ἀσλόμου	(son) of Zenobios,
Ζηνοβίου,	who died (at the age)
4 ἀπο<θα>νόντος	of eight months,
μηγῶν ὥκ-	in (the) year 268,
τώ, ἔτους σξή,	on (the) 13th (day)
μηγὸς Πονέ-	of (the) month Panemos.
8 μου γί. Θάρσ<ει>	Be of good cheer
Ἀσλόμου, ὁ βί-	Aslomos,
ος ταῦτα.	that is life.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 4: the letter-cutter failed to engrave the syllable *θα* of the past participle ἀποθανόντος.

II. 5-6: ὀκτώ.

II. 7-8: Πονέμου for Πανήμου: substitution of *alpha* with *omicron* and of *eta* with *epsilon*.I. 8: inverted month day numeral (tens-units); θάρσει: the diphthong *ει* is written inverted.

II. 8-9: Ἀσλόμου for Ἀσλομε: use of the genitive in the place of the vocative singular.

## Commentary

I. 2: For the name Ἀσλομος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 14.

I. 3: Ζηνόβιος has been commented on above in inscr. no. 13.

II. 9-10: The consolatory expression "θάρσει, ὁ βίος ταῦτα" (see also inscr. no. 36), addressed here to an eight-months-old baby, seems to have served as an alternative to "θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος", a predominant formula in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (see above commentary of inscr. no. 2). The phrase "ὁ βίος ταῦτα", used as a reminder of the inevitable end of mortal life, is known from pagan and Christian inscriptions from East and West (for a collection of examples see *Hellenica* XI-XII [1960], p. 426 and n. 5; *BE* 1976, no. 424; Feissel 1995, pp. 386-389; to these add *SEG* 26 [1976], no. 1450; 37 [1987], no. 810; 39 [1989], no. 1036; 41 [1991], no. 1825). The closest parallel to the Ghor es-Safi formula in Palestine occurs in a pagan epitaph from Caesarea Maritima: "θάρσι... οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, ταῦτα" (*JECM* V, no. 149), while in another from the neighbouring Tyre one reads: "πάντων ἐστὶ τὸ θανεῖν, ταῦτα ὁ βίος" (Rey-Coquais 1977, no. 62). It is to be noted, however, that similar expressions, alluding to the unavoidable character of death as well as to the brevity of life, appear frequently in the funerary epigraphy of Hauran. Among these are: "τοῦτο τὸ τέλος" (Bostra), "μετὰ πάντα τάφος" (Irbid), "παροδῖτέ ἐσμεν πάντες τοῦ βίου" (Dūr), "ὁ βίος, τὸ κύμη" (Der'a: for the bibliography and commentary on these and related phrases, see Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. II, p. 224) and also "ὁ βίος ὡδὲν ἐστιν" (Wadi Jathum: *SEG* 19 [1959], no. 819; cf. Macdonald 1993, pp. 349-350 and Kennedy 2000, p. 74, no. 7).

34. Tombstone of white-goldish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-301. Dimensions: 0.435x0.31x0.08 m. The inscribed surface was smoothed. At the centre above the inscription there is a small red painted cross, while below at the same place another cross is engraved and painted over in red. There are traces of incised guide-lines. The text is also engraved, but painted over in red. The script is of the round form. The letters are nicely executed and aligned except for the first line which appears slightly curved. Height of letters: 0.014-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VII

Date: 270 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 375 - 21 March AD 376.

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Μνημῖον Ὁμ-	Monument of Ommabie,
μαβίης Σιλα-	(daughter) of Silanus,
νοῦ, τελευτη-	who died (at the age)
4 σάσης ἐτῶν	of 13 years, in the year
ιγ', ἐν ἔτι σο.	270. Be of good cheer,
Θάρσι, οὐδεὶς	no one (is) immortal.

ἄθάνατος.

+

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 5: the age as well as the year numeral are both emphasized by the usual horizontal bar; ἔτι is phonetic spelling for ἔτει.

l. 6: θάρσει.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The name of the deceased woman is quite common in Ghor es-Safi, where it appears in various forms: Ὀμμάβι (nom. in the place of gen., no. 129), Ὠμμάβι (nom. in the place of gen., no. 35), Ὀμμαβίης (nos. 34, 89), Ὀμαβίη (no. 311), Οὐμμαβίη(ς) (nos. 46 and 242). Outside Ghor es-Safi the name is infrequently encountered in the following variants using one *mu*: Ὀμάβι (nom.) in Hauran (es-Summaḳiyât: PAES IIIA, no. 95), Ὀμα[β]ίς in the Negev (Shivta: Alt 1921, no. 143) and Ὠμαβίς (nom. in the place of acc.) at Hebron (Mordtmann 1894, p. 208). It has been considered as the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Umm-abi, i.e. (mother of the father) "grandmother" (PAES IIIA, p. 72, no. 95), or Umm-abiha (mother of her father) "her grandmother" (Alt 1921, as above). According to Stark (1971, p. 69, s.v. 'MBY) "the name alludes to the resemblance of the child to the paternal grandmother", while in PAES IIIA (as above) the use of such names is compared to the Greek custom of using names derived from family relationships.

ll. 2-3: Σιλανός is the Greek transcription of the known Latin cognomen *Silanus* which derives from the Greek Σιληνός, in Doric Σιλανός (Kajanto 1965, p. 237). In Palestine and Arabia the name occurs, always in a Christian context, at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 203-204, no. 18), in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 154), in the area of Philadelphia (Gatier 1986, nos. 54a [Quweisme] and 56 [Yadudeh]) and also in Hauran (SEG 7 [1934], no. 954; Dunand 1939, pp. 569, 573, nos. 285, 299). Its rather frequent use in these areas led some scholars to assume that Σιλανός may be the Hellenized form of the Aramaic *Σίλας* or the Arabic Slyn (Di Segni 1998, p. 446, no. 48; p. 461, n. 70; also Gatier 1986, p. 73, no. 56).

35. Tombstone of reddish and white sandstone, forming roughly an hexagon broader at the bottom and narrower at the top. Inv. no.: Z-114. Dimensions: 0.44x0.37x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the edges and especially at its lower part. A concentration of salt crystals is observed from the centre towards the bottom of the tombstone. Remains of an engraved frame are visible to the left and right of the text. The right side of the frame as well as the traces of an engraved vault above the inscription are emphasized by red paint. A zigzag decorative red painted pattern follows the vertical right line of the frame. The text is engraved and preserves traces of red paint. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are relatively well cut considering the hardness of the stone. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VII

Date: 10 Panemos 270 E.P.A. = 29 June AD 375.

Μνημ<ι>ον {μ}	Monument of Ommabi,
Ὠμμάβι, ἀπ- ν	who died (at the age) of
αθανάντα-	28 years, on (the) 10th
4 ς ἑτῶν κη', ν	(day) of the month
ἐν μην(ι) Πανέμ-	Panemos. Be of good
ου νί. νν Θάρσι,	cheer, no one (is)
οὐδὶς ἀθόγα-	immortal. (She died)
8 τος. ἔτους(ς) σο'.	in (the) year 270.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημον for μνημεῖον: the engraver omitted the fifth letter *iota* (usual spelling μνημῖον); the *mu* at the end of the line is probably an ineffectual attempt of the engraver to start writing the deceased woman's name.

l. 2: Ὠμμάβι for Ὀμμαβίης: nominative for genitive.

ll. 2-4: ἀπαθανάντας (correct form ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the feminine past participle in the place of the masculine one; in l. 3 the second letter *theta* is carved in oblique position.

l. 4: the last letter *nu* of the word ἐτῶν is inverted; the age numeral is emphasized by the usual horizontal bar.

l. 5: the abbreviation for μηνί is expressed through the first two letters with the superscription of *eta* over a larger *mu*.

ll. 5-6: Πανέμου for Πανήμω: *epsilon* for *eta* and genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 6: a trema at the upper part of the month day numeral *iota* makes it more conspicuous; θάρσει.

l. 7: οὐδέεις.

ll. 7-8: ἀθόνατος for ἀθάνατος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*; there are only faint traces of the last five letters of this word.

l. 8: the first two letters of the word ἔτους are faintly preserved, while its last letter *sigma* has been fused with the first letter of the year numeral (for this haplography see also inscr. nos. 13, 14).

#### Commentary

l. 2: For the feminine name Ὠμμαβί and its variations, see above commentary on Ὠμμαβίη in inscr. no. 34. The name of the deceased here is not accompanied by the patronymic, a rare phenomenon for Ghor es-Safi, observed mainly when an office or profession follows the name of the dead.

l. 8: The mention of the era year is interrupted from that of the month by the encouragement phrase "θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθόνατος" which usually stands at the end of the epitaph.

36. Tombstone of dark purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved nicely at the upper right corner and chipped at the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-333. Dimensions: 0.53x0.36x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the upper left corner and at the whole length of the right side. A diagonal shallow cavity is observed mainly in the middle of l. 7. At the end of the text is depicted a large outlined cross. The text as well as the cross are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is based on the round alphabet. The letters are deeply engraved and more widely spaced towards the end. Height of letters: 0.015-0.045 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VII

Date: 8 Daisios 271 E.P.A. = 28 May AD 376.

Μνημῖον νν	Monument of
Εὐουαγρίου,	Euagrios, who died
ἀποθανόν-	in the year 271,
4 τος ἐν ἡτι	on (the) 8th (day)
σοῦ, μηνὸς	of (the) month
Δεσίου η'. νν	Daisios.
Θάρσει, ὁ βίος	Be of good cheer,
8 ταῦτα. +	that is life.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον; two uninscribed spaces after μνημῖον.

l. 2: Εὐουαγρίου for Εὐαγρίου: for this phenomenon see chapter on Phonetics, p. ?

l. 4: ἐν ἡτι for ἐν ἔτει: *eta* for *epsilon* and phonetic spelling of εἰ.

l. 6: Δεσίου for Δαισίου: phonetic spelling; two spaces have been left uninscribed at the end of the line.

l. 7: θάρσει for θάρσει.

#### Commentary

l. 2: Εὐουάγριος is a local pronunciation of the Greek name Εὐάγριος which appears rarely in Palestine. So far only a similar vulgar form Εουάγριος is known from a mosaic commemorative inscription in a Jewish ritual bath at Hulda (R. and A. Ovadia 1987, p. 73, no. 104); the name bearer was one of the benefactors of the bath. Εὐάγριος is attested more frequently in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 109, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 112, s.v.; LGPN I, p. 169, s.v.) and once in Sicily (Agnello 1953, no. 53). Εὐάγριος Ποντικός was in addition the name of a fourth c. (born in

ca. AD 345) monk and writer who originated from Euxine Pontus. He was an Origenist and for that reason he was later condemned along with Didymos by the Sixth and Seventh Oecumenical Councils (*RE* V.2[1905], cols. 832-833, s.v. *Euagrius*, no. 6). In his capacity as an Origenist, *Εὐάγριος* (and *Δίδυμος*) is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Sabae* 36, p. 124, l. 28; 90, p. 199, l. 6). Lack of patronymic is observed here as in the previous inscription.

ll. 7-8: The same expression appears above in inscr. no. 33 addressed to an eight-months-old baby.

- 37.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rounded all around having almost an oval shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-274. Dimensions: 0.365x0.25x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed with the exception of the lower part, is completely damaged and as a result the upper half of the inscription is lost. The preserved inscription is enclosed on three sides within an engraved frame painted over in red. Below the lower right corner of the frame a bird is drawn in red paint. The preserved text is engraved and painted with red paint in ll. 7,10,12. The script is of the square form. The letters are fairly well cut and the last two lines are rather squeezed due to lack of space. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. VIII*

Date: 13 Peritios 272 E.P.A. = 28 January AD 378.

	[ - - - - ]	
	[ - - - - ]	
	[ - - - - ]	
4	[μετὰ καλοῦ] [δνόματος καὶ] καλῆς πίστεως ἑτῶν κ', ἔτ(ους)	[...having a good name] (and) good faith (at the age) of 20 years, in (the) year 272, on (the) 13th (day) of (the) month
8	σοβ', μηνί Περι- τίου ιγ', ἡμέρᾱ Κ(υρίου)υ γ'. Θάρσι, οὐ- δὲς ἀθάνατο-	Peritios, on (the) 3rd day of (the) Lord (Tuesday). Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
12	ς. (bird)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 6: the whole line is barely discernible.

l. 7: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; the word ἔτους is abbreviated by its first two letters and the sign S.

l. 8: μηνί for μηνός.

l. 9: there is a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral; ἡμέρᾱ for ἡμέρα: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta*.

l. 10: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and the last letter with a horizontal bar above them; the weekday numeral *gamma* is also denoted by a horizontal stroke; θάρσει.

ll. 10-11: οὐδείς.

l. 12: the last letter *sigma* of the word ἀθάνατος was squeezed at the beginning of this line due to lack of space at the end of l. 11.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-5: An approximate number of five lines, containing among others the name and the patronymic of the deceased, is missing from the beginning of the text.

- 38.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape; it is chipped on all sides, broken at the lower left corner and mended from three fragments. Inv. no.: Z-267. Dimensions: 0.585x0.32x0.035 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular engraved frame, which in its upper and lower part includes a band, decorated with a *cross-rho* monogram flanked by two long horizontal palm branches. These branches at the upper band are heraldically depicted, while at the lower one have the same orientation (from left to right). Below the frame at the centre is incised an outlined cross in a slightly oblique (to the left) position, the interior of which is decorated with five engraved *chi*-signs. The text and the symbols included in it

are all engraved. The script is of the round type. The letters are rather carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. VIII*

Date: 30 Dystros 272 E.P.A. = 16 March AD 378.

(palm branch) $\text{P}$ (palm branch)	
Μνημῖον +	Monument of Merostha,
Μερώσθα +	(daughter) of Zenobios,
Ζηνοβίου,	who died (at the age)
4 παυσαμένη	of 20 years, in (the)
ἔτ(ων) κ', ἔτους	year 272, on (the) 30th
σοβ', μηνι $\text{P}$ +	(day) of (the) month
Δύστρου λ', +	Dystros, on (the) day
8 ἡμέρᾱ Ἀφρο-	of Venus (Friday).
δίτης. Θάραι,	Be of good cheer,
οὐδὶς ἀθά-	no one (is) immortal.
νατος. ++	
(palm (palm branch) $\text{P}$ branch)	
+	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; the line ends with a cross.
- l. 2: Μερώσθα for Μερώσθας; a cross at the end of the line.
- l. 4: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης; nominative for genitive.
- l. 5: the abbreviation of ἔτων consists of the first two letters and the sign S in oblique position; the age numeral is crowned by a horizontal bar.
- l. 6: the year numeral is emphasized by an elongated horizontal bar; μηνί for μηνός; dative for genitive; the line ends with a *cross-rho* monogram and a cross.
- l. 7: a cross at the end of the line.
- l. 9: θάρσει.
- l. 10: οὐδείς.
- l. 11: the line ends with two crosses.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: The feminine name *Μερώσθα* is hitherto unparalleled in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. It is plausibly a variant form of the name *Μορεσάθη* which is attested in Šabḥah of Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 137) and presents a structural similarity to *Μερώσθα*, despite its slightly different vocalization (on the etymology of *Μορεσάθη* see commentary of inscr. no. 161).
- l. 3: For the Greek name *Ζηνόβιος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 13.

39. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and broken on all sides and especially at the upper right part with loss of text at the end of ll. 1-5,7. Inv. no.: Z-250. Dimensions: 0.45x0.28x0.04 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered. Below the inscription a cross is depicted, flanked by two heraldic birds of which only traces have been preserved. The representation was drawn in red paint. The text is engraved with remains of red paint. The script is of the round form with letters fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. VIII*

Date: Dios 274 E.P.A. = 18 October - 16 November AD 379.

Μνημῖον Σ[αβι]- νάθη Σαμυρ[άββ]- ου, ἀπαθανού[σης]	Monument of Sabinathe, (daughter) of Samirabbos, who died (at the age) of
--	---

4	ἐτῶν κζ', ἐτ[ους] σοδ', ν μη(νός) ν Δίου [...], ἡμέρᾱ Διός. <i>vacat</i> Θάρσει, Σαβινάθ[η, οὐ]-	27 years, in (the) year 274, on (the)... (day) of (the) month Dios, on (the) day of Jupiter (Thursday). Be of good cheer
8	δὺς ἀθάνατος. (bird) + (bird)	Sabinathe, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; the last three letters of the line are mutilated.  
 ll. 1-2: Σ[αβι]νάθη for Σ[αβι]νάθη; nominative in the place of genitive singular.  
 l. 3: the three last letters of the past participle are lost.  
 l. 4: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; the three last letters of the word ἐτους are missing.  
 l. 5: the year numeral is denoted by the horizontal stroke; the word μηνός is abbreviated by the first two letters (a small *eta* above a large *mu*); the month day numeral is missing.  
 l. 7: the last three letters of the line are lost.  
 ll. 7-8: [οὐ]δεῖς.

## Commentary

- ll. 1-2: The restoration of the name *Σαβινάθη* is based on the name's repetition in l. 7. The feminine *Σαβινάθη*, which occurs only here in the Ghor es-Safi epigraphy, seems to be of Semitic origin as the ending -αθη attests. It could be considered as a variant form of the feminine Hellenized Semitic name *Ζεβίνθα* (or -θοῦ) (see commentary of inscr. no. 146).  
 ll. 2-3: The preserved letters of the patronymic point to the restoration *Σαμπάββου*, a name locally used in Ghor es-Safi (see commentary of inscr. no. 15).

40. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and curved at the upper and lower left corners. Inv. no.: Z-199. Dimensions: 0.37x0.33x0.12 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered and flaked off, especially at the lower part. Salt crystals are also visible on this surface. At the end of the text an outlined cross is carved in a shallow cavity filled with red paint. Below the inscription another outlined cross, with a small cross inscribed in its centre, is also incised and preserves traces of red paint. The text is engraved in round script. The letters, bigger in the first and last lines, are well carved. Height of letters: 0.011-0.04 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. VIII

Date: 12 Xanthikos 277 E.P.A. = 2 April AD 382.

Μνημῖον Ἀψ- ητος Πέτρου, ν παυσαμένου ἐτ(ῶν)	Monument of Apsēs, (son) of Petros, who died (at the age) of 7 years, in the year 277,
4 ζ', ἐγ' ἐτ(ει) σοζ', μη(νός) Ξαγ(θικοῦ) βί. +	on (the) 12th (day) of (the) month Xanthikos.
+	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 1-2: for the genitive Ἀψητος see commentary of inscr. no. 27.  
 l. 3: the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first two letters and a small abbreviation sign S above the letter *tau*.  
 l. 4: the age numeral is emphasized by two fork-like motifs on either side and by a wavy horizontal bar above; the word ἐτει is abbreviated by its two first letters and the abbreviation mark S; the year numeral is stressed by a wavy horizontal bar.  
 l. 5: the word μηνός is abbreviated by a small *eta* above a large *mu*; the month name is abbreviated by its three first letters and a small abbreviation sign S next to *nu*; the month day numeral is inverted (units-tens).

## Commentary

- ll. 1-2: For the name Ἀψης, its origin and etymology, see commentary of inscr. no. 27.



l. 2: *Πέτρος*, originating from the Greek word *πέτρα* and being a translation of the Aramaic *Κηφᾱς* (*John* 1. 42), is generally considered as an exclusively Christian name (for the few pagan instances of *Πέτρος*, including that of the governor of Arabia *Αὐραήλιος Πέτρος* from Bostra [AD 278/9, Sartre 1982, no. 9108], see Kajanto 1963, pp. 96, 97 and 117). The popularity of *Πέτρος* among the Christian inhabitants of Ghor es-Safi is remarkable, since the name numbers 20 examples which date from the late fourth to the early sixth c. AD. This is an extremely high rate competing with the *Πέτρος* occurrences from the whole of Palestine and Arabia encountered in Golan (Sûsîta: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 18\*; Fiq: *ibid.*, no. 28), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: FitzGerald 1939, pp. 13-14), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 241-243, no. 57), Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1944, pp. 162-165, no. 3 = Meimaris 1986, no. 1085; Meimaris 1986, no. 1268), in the Judean Desert (Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 77; p. 322, no. 101; p. 326, no. 173; p. 328, no. 193), in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 122), in the Negev (Rehovot: Tsafirir 1988, p. 161, no. 10B; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 79; Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 68; Beersheba: Figueras 1986, pp. 273-276, no. 3; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 184, no. 273), in Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9040, 9108; Suweida: Waddington, no. 2327; Qanawât: *ibid.*, no. 2361; the genitive *Πετρόου* in an inscription from el-Kufr refers rather to an ethnic [native of Petra] than to the name *Πέτρος*), and in the area of Madaba (Siyagha, Mt. Nebo: Gatier 1986, no. 86; Zizia: *ibid.*, no. 155; Main: *ibid.*, no. 167; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, p. 427, no. 4; p. 263, no. 19r).

The epigraphical material from Palestine and Arabia reveals that several people bearing the name *Πέτρος* were military and civil officials: provincial governors (of Palaestina Secunda: Hammat Gader: Di Segni 1997, pp. 241-243, no. 57; of Arabia: Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9108; Zizia: Gatier 1986, no. 155), a *δουκικός* (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9040), a *comes* (FitzGerald 1939, pp. 13-14), a *primicerius* (Ghor es-Safi, no. 231), a *praepositus* (*ibid.*, no. 254), a *subscribindarius* (Figueras 1986, pp. 273-276, no. 3).

As an Apostle's name, *Πέτρος* was also particularly common among the clergymen of these provinces. An archbishop and patriarch of Jerusalem (AD 524-552; Avi-Yonah 1944, pp. 162-165, no. 3), bishops of Aila, Phainon, Elusa (Gatier 1986, p. 191), Suweida (Waddington, no. 2327) and Maximianopolis (Shakka, found at Qanawât: Waddington, no. 2361), archdeacons (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 68; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, p. 427, no. 4), monks (Schneider 1931, p. 322, no. 101; p. 328, no. 193) and a door-keeper (θυρωρός) of the Church of Resurrection (Meimaris 1986, no. 1268) were among the bearers of the name.

Moreover the veneration of the Apostle Peter is evidenced in these areas by a sixth c. inscription from Gerasa recording the construction of a church dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul (Welles 1938, p. 484, no. 327).

41. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved at the corners and chipped at the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-124. Dimensions: 0.34x0.38x0.11 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered in the middle and flaked off at the edges. Above the inscription three outlined crosses filled with red paint are depicted side by side. Below the text a central *cross-rho* monogram is flanked by two heraldic birds. The outline of the monogram is preserved in red paint, while its interior is filled with green paint; the birds are drawn only in red paint. The whole text is engraved but ll. 1,2 (the first 7 letters), 4,5,7 (the abbreviation of the word ἡμ(έρα), 8 (the last 5 letters) and 9 preserve also red paint. The script is basically of the round alphabet with a few square *omicrons*. The letters are mostly symmetrical, nicely cut and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. III

Date: 8 Hyperberetaios 277 E.P.A. = 25 September AD 382.

+ + +

Μνημῖον Λαμ-  
πώνου Ἐνζεβίνα,  
ἀπαθανόντας  
4 ἐτ(ῶν) δοίω, μηνῶ-  
ν πέντε, ἔτους  
σοζ, μῆ(νός) Ὑπερβε(ρεταίου) η',  
ἡμ(έρα) Ἡλίου. Θάροι,  
8 Λάμπων, οὐδὶς

Monument of Lampon, (son) of  
Enzebinas, who died (at the age)  
of two years (and) five months,  
in (the) year 277, on (the)  
8th (day) of (the) month  
Hyperberetaios,  
on (the) day of (the) Sun (Sunday).  
Be of good cheer, Lampon,

ἄθάνατος. +  
(bird)  $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{P}}$  (bird)

no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1:  $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ .
- II. 1-2: the correct genitive form is  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu\varsigma$ , because the deceased man's name  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$ , appearing also in I. 8, is of the third declension.
- I. 2: the third and fourth letters *nu* and *omicron* are in ligature.
- I. 3:  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ ; substitution of *omicron* with *alpha* in the second and last syllables.
- I. 4: common abbreviation of  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega\nu$  (first two letters and sign S);  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\iota\omega$  for  $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ .
- I. 5: the cardinal numeral  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$  is badly weathered.
- I. 6: common abbreviation of  $\mu\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (a small *eta* above *mu*); the month name is abbreviated by its first six letters; the month day numeral *eta* is covered by a curved line imitating a bucket handle.
- I. 7: the word  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  is abbreviated by the two first letters (a small *mu* above a large *eta*);  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota$ .
- I. 8:  $\omicron\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ .
- I. 9: traces of an engraved cross are visible at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2:  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\nu$  is a mistaken form for  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu\varsigma$ , a genitive which occurs in inscr. no. 145.  $\Lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omega\nu$  was a common Greek name epigraphically attested in Greece already from the late sixth c. BC (*LGPN* I, p. 282; II, p. 279; IIIA, p. 268, s.v.). In the first Christian centuries it appears also in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 192, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 177, s.v.). The examples from Ghor es-Safi are so far unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia.

I. 2: The patronymic  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\zeta\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  seems to be the Greek transcription of a compound Semitic name consisting of the article *el* and the name  $\zeta\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  which derives from the root *zbn*, "to buy". A similar formation is observed in other Semitic names preceded by an article, such as  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ . Although  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\zeta\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  occurs only in this inscription, the simple name  $\zeta\epsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$  is quite common in the epigraphy of Syria, Palestine and Arabia (for an enumeration of parallels, see commentary of inscr. no. 45).

II. 4-5: As a rule, the age of the deceased is denoted in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi in years. An attempt for a more accurate definition of the age with an additional reference to months, as it happens here, is usually observed when the death occurs during the early childhood (see also inscr. nos. 44, 88, 127). Exceptional is only the case of the adolescent (19 years and 4 and a half months old) Samirabbos the teacher (inscr. no. 156).

The symmetrical letters and generally the nice appearance of the epitaph suggest the work of a professional engraver (of a workshop).

42. Tombstone made of a heavy sandstone block of purple colour, rectangular in shape and broken at the lower corners. Inv. no.: Z-297. Dimensions: 0.485x0.38x0.18 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed. An engraved and red painted frame covers the three sides of the inscription except for the lower one. The external sides of the vertical lines of the frame are decorated with red painted oblique lines imitating vertically split palm branches. At the lower right corner remains of a second external red painted frame are preserved. The inscription is crowned by a wavy line with bunches of dots in the cavities, probably a schematic representation of a blackberry bush branch. Below the inscription at the center an outlined cross with an inscribed *chi*-sign in the middle and a dot in each corner is depicted. The central cross is flanked by two *cross-rho* monograms. The decoration (except for the palm leaves and the external frame) as well as the text are engraved and painted over in red. The script is based on the round alphabet with symmetrical and well carved letters. Height of letters: 0.007-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. III

Date: 25 Hyperberetaios 277 E.P.A. = 12 October AD 382.

Μνημῖον Βα-  
ργουννᾶ ᾿Αβ-  
δήσου, παυσ-  
4 ἀμενος με-

Monument of Bargounna(s),  
(son) of Abdesos, who died  
having a good name  
(at the age) of 25 years,

τὰ καλοῦ ὀν- νόματος ἔτ- ῶν κέ, ἔτ(ους) σοζ',	in (the) year 277, on (the) 25th (day) of (the) month
8 μιν(ὸς) Ὑπερβε(ρεταίου) εκ', ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) Ἑρμο- ννν ζθ'. ννν ὤ. ⲡ + ⲡ	Hyperberetaios, on (the) day of Mercury (Wednesday). 99 = Amen.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 3-4: παυσάμενος for παυσαμένου: nominative in the place of genitive singular.

I. 7: a horizontal bar above the age and the year numerals; the abbreviation for ἔτους consists of the first two letters and a small abbreviation sign S.

I. 8: the word μινός is abbreviated by its first three letters, while the month Ὑπερβερεταῖος by the first six letters; in both cases the abbreviation sign is a lifted short diagonal stroke after the last letter of each word.

I. 9: the month day numeral is inverted with a horizontal bar above; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by its first two letters, the consonant *rho* and the same oblique stroke as in I. 8.II. 9-10: due to lack of space in I. 9 the engraver carved the last letter *upsilon* of the word Ἑρμοῦ at the end of I. 10.

## Commentary

II. 1-2: *Βαργουννᾶ(ς)* is the Greek transcription of a Semitic name not encountered so far elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. Most likely it is a compound name composed of the words bar, "son" and Guna (Jonah?).II. 2-3: *Ἀβδησος* is another Semitic name deriving from the word 'bd, "servant".

I. 10: The numeral ζθ' (= 99) stands for the isopsephism of the word ἀμήν (see commentary of inscr. no. 28).

43. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-169. Dimensions: 0.48x0.30x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the upper right corner and at the lower part. Two *cross-rho* monograms are drawn in red paint, one in the middle of I. 5 and the other at the end of the inscription. The text is engraved and painted red. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. In the first line the letters are smaller and more crowded than in the rest of the text. The letters are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.034 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IX

Date: 29 Loos 278 E.P.A. = 17 August AD 383.

Μνημῖον Σολέ- μου Παύλου, ἀποθαν(όντος) λ'	Monument of Solemos, (son) of Paulus, who died (at the age)
4 ἔτ(ῶν), ἔτ(ους) σο {η'} ⲡ <i>vacat</i> η', μιν(ὸς) Λῶου κθ'. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς	of 30 years, in (the) year 278, on (the) 29th (day) of (the) month Loos.
8 ἀθάνατ- ννν ος. ⲡ	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 3: the participle ἀποθανόντος is abbreviated by its first six letters and a lifted short diagonal stroke; the age numeral, crowned with the horizontal bar, precedes the word ἔτων (usually it follows).

I. 4: the words ἔτων and ἔτους are abbreviated by their first two letters and the sign S; the abbreviation ἔτ(ων) is also denoted by a horizontal bar above while that of ἔτ(ους) is marked by a

double dot on both sides of *tau*; after this word there is a decorative motif resembling a plant's sprout.

ll. 4-5: the hundreds and tens of the year numeral are written at the end of l. 4, while the units figure is carved at the beginning of l. 5; realizing that he was not allowed to separate the year numeral, the engraver repeated the units figure *eta* at the end of l. 5 just below the rest of the year numeral.

l. 6: usual abbreviation of μηνός with *eta* above a large *mu*; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: For the name Σόλεμος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

l. 2: For the popular name Παῦλος in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

44. Tombstone of reddish and white sandstone, originally almost square in shape, broken on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-161. Dimensions: 0.35x0.36x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped at the edges especially at the lower left corner. In the middle above and below the inscription two crosses are engraved, of which the lower one is additionally painted in red. The whole text, except for the three first letters of l. 1 (only engraved) is engraved and painted red. The letters belong to the round alphabet and are well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.023 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IX

Date: 15 Gorpaios 278 E.P.A. = 2 September AD 383.

+	<p>Μνημῖον νν            Ματρώνης.            Ἐρασίνου,            4 παυσσαμένη(ς)            ἔτων ζ' καὶ ν            μηνῶν ἕξ, ἕτ(ους)            σοη', μηνί Γορ-            8 πίου ιε', ἡμέ-            ρα Κρόνου. νν            [Θ]άρσει, οὐδὶς            [ἀ]θάνατος.</p>	<p>Monument of Matrona,            (daughter) of Erasinos,            who died (at the age)            of 6 years and six            months, in (the) year            278, on (the) 15th (day)            of (the) month Gorpaios,            on (the) day of Saturn            (Saturday).            Be of good cheer,            no one (is) immortal.</p>
+		

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the horizontal abbreviation S sign above the last letter *eta* of παυσσαμένη stands for the omitted letter *sigma*.

l. 6: the abbreviation of ἔτους consists of the two first letters and a horizontal S sign above them.

l. 7: μηνί for μηνός: dative for genitive singular.

ll. 7-8: Γορπίου is phonetic spelling of Γορπιαίου.

l. 10: [Θ]άρσει: the initial letter *theta* is effaced; οὐδείς.

l. 11: the first letter is lost.

#### Commentary

l. 2: *Ματρώνα*, the Latin *Matrona*, appears also in inscr. nos. 241 and 287. Examples of this name have been recorded in church mosaic inscriptions from Quweisme (Gatier 1986, no. 54), 'Ayun Musa (ibid., no. 96 = Di Segni 1998, p. 456, no. 68) and Kh. el-Wahadneh (S. of Pella: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 18-20, no. c = Meimaris 1986, no. 1281) of the province of Arabia. The masculine name *Ματρωνιανός*, a derivative of *Matrona*, occurs at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 224, no. 40). The name *Ματρώνα* was particularly common in the epigraphy of Africa (Kajanto 1965, pp. 18 and 80; for Egypt cf. Preisigke 1922, col. 209; Foraboschi 1967, p. 192, s.v.).

l. 3: This is so far the earliest mention of the name *Ἐρασίνο* in Palestine since its known parallels date to the sixth-seventh centuries and are all encountered in epitaphs from the Negev, that is 'Avdat (Negev 1981, nos. 18, 27) and Elusa (Alt 1921, no. 61; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 174, no. 6, a

metrical epitaph). *Ἐρασίνος* was in Greek antiquity a river's name (Pape and Benseler 1911, pp. 372-373, s.v.). As a personal name it was attested in Athens and Attica (*LGPN* II, pp. 153-154), Thasos and Delos (*LGPN* I, p. 161) from the sixth c. BC to the third c. AD. The rather frequent occurrence of *Ἐρασίνος* in the Negev made Professor A. Negev (1981, p. 32) assume an equivalence of *Ἐρασίνος* with the Nabataean name Hrs (cf. Preisigke 1922, p. 507, *Ἐρας* = Hiraš and *PAES* IIIA, no. 78, es-Summaḳiyât: *Ἐρασος*, Arabic Aḥras, Aḥrash, Ar'as).

ll. 5-6: For the precise definition of the age of the deceased child, see above commentary of inscr. no. 41.

45. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape with rounded bottom. Inv. no.: Z-361. Dimensions: 0.53x0.27x0.12 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and it is flaked in the upper and middle right side. Below the text on the right side there is a flat heavily red painted *cross-rho* monogram while to the left traces of a red painted cross. Above the text there are visible two heavily red painted symbols: to the left a cross with the letters *alpha-omega* below its horizontal bar and to the right a *cross-chi* monogram. Remains of an incised frame are visible on the three sides except for the bottom. The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IX

Date: 17 Apellaios 278 E.P.A. = 3 December AD 383.

	✠	✠	
	Μνημῖον	Οὐαλε-	Monument of Valentinus,
	ντίνου	Ζεβίνα, ᾧ-	(son) of Zebinas,
	ποθανόντος ἑ-		who died (at the age)
4	τῶν τριῖς, ἔτους		of three years, in (the) year
	σση', μη(νὸς) Ἀπελλέ-		278, on (the) 17th day
	ου ζι', <i>vacat</i>		of (the) month Apellaios,
	ν ἡμέρᾱ ν Ἡλί- νν		on (the) day of (the)
8	<i>vacat</i> ου. ννν		Sun (Sunday).
	+	✠	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: τριῖς (iotacism for τρεῖς) for τριῶν: the cardinal number for the age is given in nominative (undeclined) instead of genitive plural.

l. 5: a small *eta* above a large *mu* comprises the abbreviation of the genitive μηνός.

ll. 5-6: Ἀπελλέου, phonetic spelling for Ἀπελλαίου.

l. 6: the month day numeral sign ιζ' is inverted; the area after it has been left uninscribed.

l. 7: before and after the word ἡμέρᾱ is left an empty space of one letter and a space of two letters at the end of the line.

l. 8: the genitive ending -ου of Ἡλίου has been incised toward the end of the line, while the preceding area has been left uninscribed.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: For the Hellenized Latin name *Οὐαλεντίνος*, see above inscr. no. 22.

l. 2: *Ζεβίνας* is the Greek transliteration of a Semitic name deriving from the root zbn, "to buy" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 138). *Ζεβίνας* or *Ζαβίνας*, which means ἀγοραστός, "chattel", was a nickname given by the Syrians to the pretender Alexander II as an indication of his servile origin and then became popular as a proper name (Cumont 1926, p. 381; *PAES* IIIA, p. 114, no. 200). The form *Ζεβίνας*, which appears also in inscr. nos. 46, 93, 145, occurs as well at el-Ghâriyeh in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 200, borne by father and son) and Kwâro in N. Syria (*PAES* IIIB, no. 1067). The name is epigraphically attested in other variants: *Ζεβίνος* in Syria (Brâd: *PAES* IIIB, no. 1175; *AAES* III, no. 49); *Ζεβείνας* at Djilin in Hauran (Fossey 1897, p. 41, no. 9) and at Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 440, no. 187 as a patronymic and a surname); *Ζεβήνος* at el-Kerak in Moab (Piccirillo 1989, p. 118, no. 19); *Ζαβίνας* (see below inscr. no. 68) at Nessana (*Nessana* 1, no. 148) and at Dura-Europos (Cumont 1926, pp. 380-381, no. 18). In the latter city the name is also found as *Ζαβείνας* (ibid., p. 394, no. 37). The form *Ζαβίνας* is recorded in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke

1922, col. 116). A Palestinian martyr (Eus., *De mart. Pal.*, ch. 9) and a famous anchorite (Thdt., *HE* 34) bore the name *Ζεβίνας*, whereas *Ζεβίνος* or *Ζεβίνας* was called the eleventh bishop of Antioch (Cumont 1926, p. 381).

46. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-360. Dimensions: 0.51x0.295x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked on the right, upper and lower sides. Below the text in the middle is drawn in red paint a flat *cross-rho* monogram. Traces of a similar red painted monogram are discernible above the text. The whole text is engraved and painted in red in oval script. Height of letters: 0.015-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. IX

Date: 21 Apellaios 279 E.P.A. = 7 December AD 384.

	ⲣ	
	Μνημῑ- ν	Monument of
	ον Οὐμ- ν	Oummabie, (daughter)
	μαβίη Ζε- ν	of Zebinas,
4	βίνα, ἡτῶν ν	(who died at the age) of
	ιζ', ν σοθ', μη(νός) 'Α-	17 years, (in the year) 279, on (the)
	πελλέου	21st (day) of (the) month Apellaios.
	κά'. Θάρσαι, <οὐδὶς> ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
8	νατος.	(no one is) immortal.
	ⲣ	

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: Οὐμμαβίη for Οὐμμαβίης: use of nominative in the place of genitive.

l. 4: ἡτῶν for ἔτῶν: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta*.

l. 5: the age as well as the year numerals, which are separated by an empty space, are denoted by horizontal bars above them; the year numeral is not preceded by the usual word ἔτους; a smaller *eta* above an elongated *mu* abbreviates the genitive μηνός.

ll. 5-6: Ἀπελλέου is phonetic spelling for Ἀπελλαίου; in the middle between the two lines a small red painted cross is depicted.

ll. 7: the month day numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar above it; θάρσαι; the pronominal adjective οὐδεὶς seems to have been inadvertently omitted by the letter-cutter, since there is adequate available space in the following line.

l. 8: the line ends with a chain-like pattern (eight connected red painted small circles).

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The feminine Semitic name *Οὐμμαβίη*, appearing in various spellings at Ghor es-Safi, is discussed in inscr. no. 34.

ll. 3-4: The patronymic is the same as that of the previous inscription (see commentary above). If we add to this the short span of time (one year) which intervened between the two deaths and the fairly reasonable disparity in age between the two deceased persons, it would not be inappropriate to assume that *Valentinus* and *Ummabie* were brother and sister.

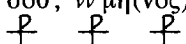
47. Tombstone of purple and white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left and lower right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-153. Dimensions: 0.43x0.27x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Below the inscription there is an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram flanked by two similar monograms in a larger size. The whole text is engraved and painted over in red with traces of incised guide-lines. The script is of the round form with letters carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. X

Date: 8 Dystros 279 E.P.A. = 22 February AD 385.

Μνημῑον νν	Monument of Magodele,
Μαγοδέλης	(daughter) of Paulus, who
Παύλου, ἀποθ(ανούσης)	died (at the age) of 7 years,

- 4 ἔτῳν ζ', ἐν ἔτ(ει)  
 σοθ', νν μη(νός) Δύ(στρου) η'.
- 
- in the year 279, on (the) 8th  
 (day) of (the) month Dystros.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 3: the participle ἀποθανούσης is abbreviated by the first four letters.  
 l. 4: the age numeral is flanked for emphasis by two angular motifs and crowned by a horizontal bar; the dative ἔτ(ει) is abbreviated only by the first two letters.  
 l. 5: the year and the month day numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar; common abbreviation of μηνός with a small *eta* above a large *mu*; the month name appears abbreviated by its two first letters.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: *Μαγοδέλη* or *Μαγαδέλη*, a variant appearing below in inscr. no. 229, is the Greek equivalent of the compound theophoric Semitic name Mgd'el, composed of the word mgd, "glory" and the divine name 'El. It could be translated as "the glory of 'El". The name is attested in its masculine form *Μαγάδελος* at Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 371). For the simple name *Μάγδιος*, also encountered in Ghor es-Safi, see below commentary of inscr. no. 84.  
 l. 3: For the name *Παῦλος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

48. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, rounded at the top and the bottom, broken at the upper and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-179. Dimensions: 0.59x0.36x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in various parts. Above the inscription the letter *lambda* covered by a vault is engraved; it plausibly represents a numerical sign of unknown symbolism. The text is engraved with traces of red paint in lines 1,3,5,7. Remains of incised guide-lines are visible throughout the inscription. The script is basically of the round form with the exception of a round *omicron* in l. 8. The letters are nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. X

Date: 20 Xanthikos 280 E.P.A. = 10 April AD 385.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Μνημῖον ν<br/>         'Αβδολμίθα- ν<br/>         βος *Αγγου, ν<br/>         4 ἀποθονών<br/>         ἔτῳν ξ', ν<br/>         ἐγ ἔτι ν σπ', νν<br/>         μηνός Ξανθι-<br/>         8 κοῦ νν κ'.</p> | <p>Monument of Abdolmithabos,<br/>         (son) of Aggos, who died<br/>         (at the age) of 60 years,<br/>         in the year 280,<br/>         on (the) 20th (day)<br/>         of (the) month<br/>         Xanthikos.</p> |
|--|---|

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 2-3: 'Αβδολμίθαβος for 'Αβδολμιθάβου: nominative instead of genitive.  
 l. 4: ἀποθονών for ἀποθανόντος; substitution of *omicron* with *alpha* and use of nominative in the place of genitive (here the participle is attracted by the nominative case of the personal name).  
 l. 5: the age numeral *xi* is emphasized by a heavily curved line covering the letter on the three sides.  
 l. 6: ἔτι for ἔτει; a slightly curved line (bar) stands above the numerical figures of the year.

#### Commentary

- ll. 2-3: The name of the deceased occurs also as *'Αβδαλμίθαβος* in inscr. no. 123. It seems to be the Greek transcription of a compound Semitic name, the first component of which is 'abd-el, "servant of the". The second element *Μίθαβος*, which should normally correspond to a Hellenized Semitic divine name, is of obscure etymology. Could *'Αβδαλμίθαβος* plausibly transcribe the Arabic theophoric name 'Abd el-Mujib?  
 l. 3: The patronymic *\*Αγγος* must render in Greek a Semitic name deriving from the root ḥgg = "to go on a pilgrimage" (Stark 1971, p. 87, s.v. HGGW; Negev 1991, p. 27, no. 414; for the name in the various Semitic dialects see Al-Qudrah 2001, pp. 37-38, s.v. *\*Αγος*). In Hauran the name occurs in

the variants *\*Aγος* (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 352, 414) and *\*Aγγαῖος* (Mouterde 1925, pp. 243-246, no. 32). This kind of name could be given to a boy born during the pilgrimage or on a feast (*PAES* IVC, p. 314a; Negev 1991, as above).

49. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost square in shape, curved at the bottom and chipped at three edges except for the upper one. Inv. no.: Z-111. Dimensions: 0.39x0.35x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Below the inscription there is a *cross-rho* monogram. The inscription and the monogram are enclosed within a frame curved at the bottom. The text, the symbol and the frame are all engraved and painted over in red. Traces of red paint are also visible at the left edge of the tombstone. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are not carefully cut with a descending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.013-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. X

Date: 25 Dios 280 E.P.A. = 11 November AD 385.

Μνημῖον Σό- ν	Monument of Solemos,
λεμος Χρήσ-	(son) of Chreskes (Crescens),
κης, ὀποθον-	who died (at the age) of
4 οὔς ἐτῶν ν	25 years, in (the) year 280,
νν κέ', <i>vacat</i>	on (the) 25th (day)
ἔτ(ους) ν σπ', ν μην-	of (the) month Dios.
ὅς Δίου εκ'. νν	
ρ	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Σόλεμος for Σολέμου.

II. 2-3: Χρήσκης for Κρήσκεντος; use of nominative in the place of genitive.

II. 3-4: ὀποθονοῦς (a vulgar form of the nominative singular of the masculine aorist participle ἀποθανών) for ἀποθανόντος; nominative for genitive.

I. 5: only the age numeral has been cut in the middle of the line (probably for emphasis).

I. 6: the letters *epsilon* and *tau* stand for the abbreviation of ἔτους; an uninscribed space before and after the year numeral; the last letter *nu* presents a reverse oblique stroke.

I. 7: the month day numeral is inverted.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: For Σόλεμος, its etymology, parallels and variants, see above inscr. no. 15.

II. 2-3: The patronymic *Χρήσκης*, a vernacular form of the name *Κρήσκης*, is given here in nominative (for this phenomenon see above commentary of inscr. 13). *Κρήσκης* is the Greek transcription of the common Latin cognomen *Crescens*. It was especially popular among humble people during the Imperial period (Kajanto 1965, p. 64; cf. also Kajanto 1963, p. 61; *LGPN* I, p. 273; II, p. 273; IIIA, p. 258, s.v.). The name continued to be used frequently in the Christian epigraphy (for analytical examples from Republican to Christian times, see Kajanto 1965, p. 234). The name *Χρήσκης*, rather common in Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 82 and 122), is not attested so far elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. *Κρήσκης* was one of the Seventy Apostles mentioned by Saint Paul in his *2nd Epistle* to *Timothy* (4.10).

50. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top and the bottom and flaked off at the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-31. Dimensions: 0.475x0.27x0.115 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The inscription is surrounded by a symbolic decoration all in red paint: above a sun-disc; below a big bird (peacock); left and right a series of snakes vertically placed. The whole text is engraved and preserves red paint in ll. 1,4,7. The script is based on the round alphabet. The letters are small, symmetrical and carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. X

Date: 9 Apellaios 280 E.P.A. = 25 November AD 385.



	(sun-disc)	
	Μνημῖον Κόσ-	Monument of Kosmos,
	μος Ἀλφίου, ἀ-	(son) of Alphios,
	ποθανόντος	who died (at the age) of
4	ἔτων λγ',	33 years, in (the) year 280,
	ἔτους σπ',	on (the) 9th (day) of (the)
	μη(νός) Ἀπελλέου	month Apellaios, on (the)
	θ', ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου ε'.	5th day of (the) Lord (Thursday).
8	Θάρσι, Κόσμο, οὐ-	Be of good cheer, Kosmos,
	δὶς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	(peacock)	

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Κόσμος for Κόσμου.

I. 2: or Ἀλφειοῦ.

I. 4: three serpentine decorative motifs on the left and four similar motifs on the right of the age numeral.

I. 5: the year numeral is also flanked by three (left) and four (right) angular decorative elements.

I. 6: the common *eta* above *mu* abbreviation for μηνός; Ἀπελλαίου; three serpentine motifs at the end of line.I. 7: a series of two snake-like motifs on both sides of the month day numeral *theta*; ἡμέρα is abbreviated by a small *mu* above an elongated *eta*; the abbreviation of the sacred word Κυρίου includes the first and last letter and above a wavy bar with a scroll-like ending to the right; a similar bar, with the scroll ending to the left, stands above the weekday numeral *epsilon*; a series of five serpentine motifs closes the line.

I. 8: θάρσει; the correct vocative singular form of Κόσμος is Κόσμε (and not Κόσμο).

II. 8-9: οὐδέεις.

## Commentary

II. 1-2: *Κόσμος* was a common Greek name, especially popular in Athens (for a detailed list of the Athenian examples, see *LGPV* II, p. 271, s.v.; cf. also *SEG* 39 [1989], no. 188 and *SEG* 40 [1990], no. 202). Outside Greece it is attested in Lydia (*SEG* 34 [1984], no. 1231), Bactria (Aï-Khanoun: *SEG* 29 [1979], no. 1587) and Egypt (*LGPV* I, p. 270, s.v., no. 2; *SEG* 38 [1988], no. 1776; Preisigke 1922, col. 18; Foraboschi 1967, p. 171). In Palestine it usually appears in the form *Κοσμᾶς* (see below commentary of inscr. no. 279). The vulgar form *Κώζωμος*, recorded in a Jewish epitaph from Jaffa, corresponds according to the editor (Lifshitz 1973-1974, pp. 29-31 = *SEG* 26 [1976-77], no. 1669) to the name *Κόσμος* or *Κοσμᾶς*.

I. 2: For the high frequency of Ἀλφίος in Ghor es-Safi, its etymology and its variants, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.

51. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, narrower at the top, chipped all around and broken at the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-167. Dimensions: 0.60x0.41x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed; salt crystals are concentrated on its upper part. Above the inscription there are traces of a red painted cross. To the right of the text a lampstand holding an oil-lamp is depicted in red paint. Below the inscription a large engraved and red painted *chi-rho* and *cross* symbol is flanked by two heraldic birds (the left one is hardly visible) drawn in red paint. Faint traces of an incised frame and guide-lines are discernible here and there. The text is engraved and red painted. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are nicely cut, spaced and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.023 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. III

Date: 15 Dystros 280 E.P.A. = 1 March AD 386.

+

Μνημῖον Μίλ-  
χι Μαξίμου, ἀπο-  
θανόντος ἑτῶ-

Monument of Milchis,  
(son) of Maximus, who died  
(at the age) of 55 years,

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>4 ν νε', ἔτ(ους) σπ', (lamp<br/>μη(νός) Δύστρον εἴ, stand)<br/>ννν ἡμ(έρα) Διός. νν<br/>Θάρσει, Μίλχι, οὐ-<br/>8 δις ἀθάνατος.<br/>(bird) ✱ (bird)</p> | <p>in (the) year 280, on (the)<br/>15th (day) of (the) month<br/>Dystros, on (the) day of Jupiter<br/>(Thursday). Be of good cheer, Milchis,<br/>no one (is) immortal.</p> |
|---|--|

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the age numeral is flanked by two vertical decorative wavy lines and crowned by a horizontal bar; the word ἔτους is abbreviated by its first two letters and the sign S; the year numeral is emphasized above by a horizontal bar wavy at the edges, and to the right by a decorative vertical wavy line.

l. 5: μηνός is abbreviated by a smaller *eta* above *mu*; the inverted month day numeral is crowned by a similar bar as that of the year numeral.

l. 6: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the letter *mu* above an elongated *eta*; uninscribed spaces on each side of the weekday.

l. 7: θάρσει.

ll. 7-8: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: *Μίλχις* is most likely a contracted form of the name *Μίλιχος* discussed below in commentary of inscr. no. 98.

l. 2: The name *Μάξιμος*, Greek transcription of the Latin cognomen *Maximus*, enjoyed great popularity thanks to its augural character (Kajanto 1965, pp. 30, 71, 72). In Palestine and Arabia the largest concentration of *Μάξιμος* occurrences is observed in Hauran (for the relevant bibliography see Sartre 1985, pp. 214-215, s.v.; for more recent examples see Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 90-92, nos. 1, 2; pp. 96-97, no. 1; pp. 249-250, no. 5; Di Segni 1997, p. 206 and p. 259, n. 19).

The name is also recorded in Christian inscriptions from Golan (Ramsâniyye: Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 155\*, 186), Karmiel (Tzaferis 1992, p. 132, no. 4; p. 134, no. 14), Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 85; this site has also yielded the feminine *Μαξιμα*: *ibid.*, nos. 116, 117), Negev (Beersheba: Figueras 1985, p. 21, no. 13 [uncertain]), Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 47, 65) and Transjordan (Rihab: Gatier 1998, pp. 399-400, no. 105; p. 403, no. 118; p. 404, no. 123; el-Quweisme: Gatier 1986, no. 54c; 'Ayun Musa, Mt. Nebo: *ibid.*, no. 96b = Di Segni 1998, p. 456, no. 67). *Μάξιμος* and *Μαξιμα* were also common among the Jews and Samaritans of Palestine (for the respective examples, see Di Segni 1997, pp. 259-260, n. 20).

ll. 5-6: the discrepancy appearing between the weekday clearly indicated on the stone (Thursday) and that acquired by modern computation (Sunday), could have been resolved if the units figure of the month day numeral had been written as a rounded *theta* and not as a rounded *epsilon* (i.e. ΘΙ instead of ΕΙ). Such an error could be ascribed either to the commissioner, who probably forgot the exact day on which the death occurred, or to the stonecutter who most likely confused the month day numerals (see chapter on Date of death, p.51).

52. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the right side and at the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-227. Dimensions: 0.54x0.325x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly chipped, flaked off and weathered in several places. Above the inscription at the centre a cross is depicted. The text is set between deeply engraved guide-lines which continue even below it, creating space for another three lines. The crosses above and inside the inscription, the text itself and the guide-lines are engraved and originally were painted over in red, but this red paint is now clearly preserved only in the first four lines. The script is basically of the round alphabet, presenting only a few square *sigmas*. The letters are rather well executed. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XI

Date: 30 Dystros 280 E.P.A. = 16 March AD 386.

+

[+] Μνημῖον {ι} ν + ν

Monument of

Παῦλος Δομ- ετίου, ἀποθα-	Paulus, (son) of Dometios (Domitius),
4 νάντος + {ν}+ ξ- τῶν + λ', + ξ- τους διακο- σσιαστοῦ νν	who died (at the age) of 30 years, in (the) two hundred and eightieth year, on the
8 ὀγδηκ<ο>στ- ν οῦ, μηνὸ- νν ς Δύστρο- ν υ τριακάδι, 12 ἐν ἡμέρῃ ν Ἡλίου. +	thirtieth (day) of (the) month Dystros, on the day of (the) Sun (Sunday).

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line should have started with a cross; μηνμεῖον: after this word a superfluous vertical line, an uninscribed space and then a cross.  
 l. 2: Παῦλος for Παύλου: nominative for genitive.  
 ll. 2-3: Δομτίου.  
 ll. 3-4: ἀποθανάντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*.  
 l. 4: after the first six letters there is a superfluous *nu* flanked by two crosses.  
 l. 5: the age numeral *lambda* is also flanked by two crosses.  
 ll. 6-7: διακοσσιαστοῦ for διακοσιοστοῦ: duplication of *sigma* and substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*.  
 ll. 8-9: ὀγδηκστοῦ for ὀγδοηκοστοῦ: the engraver omitted the *omicrons* before *eta* and before *sigma*.  
 l. 11: τριακάδι for τριακοστῇ: use of a numerical noun in the place of an ordinal number.  
 l. 12: the text ends with an engraved cross.

## Commentary

- l. 2: For the most common name Παῦλος in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3. Παῦλος is in all possibility the son of Domitius mentioned in inscr. no. 25, if we combine the twenty years that intervened between the two deaths and the age of the two men at the time of death.  
 ll. 2-3: For the occurrences of Δομέτιος in Palestine and Arabia, see above commentary of inscr. no. 25.

53. Tombstone of purple sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the upper part is preserved. Inv. no.: Z-258. Dimensions: 0.27x0.31x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The preserved inscription and its guide-lines are deeply engraved. Traces of red paint are visible in the text. The script is of the round form with the exception of two square *sigmas*. The letters are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XI

Date: 281 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 386 - 21 March AD 387.

Μνημῖον ν Μολεχάθη Ἀβδ<α>λγου. νν	Monument of Molechathe, (daughter) of Abdalges.
4 Ἐτελεύτεσ- εν ἡτῶν κ', [ἐτ]ους σπα'. [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -] [- - - -]	She died (at the age) of 20 years, in (the) year 281...

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μηνμεῖον; an uninscribed space at the end of the line.  
 l. 2: Μολεχάθη for Μολεχάτης: nominative in the place of genitive.

- I. 3: the engraver probably failed to cut the letter *alpha* after the *delta* of the name Ἀβδάλγου; two uninscribed spaces at the end of the line.  
 II. 4-5: ἐτελεύτησεν for ἐτελεύτησεν: substitution of *eta* with *epsilon*.  
 I. 5: ἡτῶν for ἐτῶν: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta*.  
 I. 6: the first two letters are lost due to a break at this part; between the word ἔτους and the year numeral there is a dividing oblique stroke; approximately three or four lines are missing from the bottom of the text.

#### Commentary




- I. 2: *Μολεχάθη* is the diminutive of the feminine name *Μαλεχάθη* which appears below in inscr. no. 126. *Μαλεχάθη* is attested frequently in Hauran (Der'â: Brunnnow 1899, p. 61, no. 31; el-'Uber: PAES IIIA, no. 796<sup>1</sup>; Salchad: Dunand 1939, p. 565, no. 269; el-Ghâriyeh esh-Sharkiyeh: ibid., p. 574, no. 303), where the form *Μαλιχάθη* was also in use (Da'l: Fossey 1897, p. 49, no. 35; Umm el-Jimâl: PAES IIIA, no. 518; Qanawât: Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 268, no. 28). All these variants derive either from the Semitic root *mlk*, "to reign" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 70, 148) or *mlh*, "to become beautiful". *Μαλεχάθη* or *Μαλιχάθη* is the feminine form of the masculine *Μαλίχαθος* which is especially common in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 801<sup>2</sup>; Waddington, nos. 1964, 1970, 2334, 2393-2395, 2462, 2543) where it occurs also in the spelling *Μαλείχαθος* (Waddington, nos. 2366-2369, 2413b, 2515; PAES IIIA, nos. 777, 784, 797<sup>9</sup>, 799). The variant *Μαλάχαθος* is known from Rihab (Gatier 1998, p. 402, no. 113).  
 I. 3: For the Semitic name Ἀβδάλγης, see above commentary of inscr. no. 12.  
 II. 4-5: The funerary verb ἐτελεύτησεν, which occurs as well abbreviated at the end of inscr. no. 86, is encountered sporadically in the area of Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 64; cf. also τελευτήσαντι: ibid., no. 68), in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 79, 89) and in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2200; Sartre 1982, no. 9235). It appears also in the Negev (Elusa: Alt 1921, no. 57; 'Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 16) with a special emphasis at Nessana (Nessana 1, index F, p. 197, s.v. *τελευτάω*, 14 instances).

54. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, concave in the middle, rounded at the bottom and chipped at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-340. Dimensions: 0.57x0.305x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered. Above the inscription there is a *cross-rho* monogram flanked by two horizontally placed palm-branches. Below the text a similar *cross-rho* monogram is depicted in the middle flanked by two crosses; all these symbols are engraved. The text is set between incised guide-lines. The inscription is engraved in round-oval script. The letters are fairly well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.011-0.024 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XI

Date: 28 Audynaïos 281 E.P.A. = 13 January AD 387.

(palm  (palm  
 branch) branch)  
 Μνημῖον *vacat*  
 Ὡρίων Κλ<α>υδίου,  
 ἀποθανόντος  
 4 μετὰ καλοῦ ὁ-  
 νάματος ν +  
 ἐτῶν λ', + ε-  
 τους σπα', ἐν  
 8 μηνὸς Ἀδωνέ-  
 ου  κη'. Θάρ-  
 σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
 τος. *vacat*  
 12 Ἡμέρα ν \* Ἀρεως.  
 +  +

Monument  
 of Orion, (son) of Claudius,  
 who died having  
 a good name  
 (at the age)  
 of 30 years,  
 in (the) year 281,  
 on the 28th (day)  
 of (the) month Audynaïos.  
 Be of good cheer, no one  
 (is) immortal.  
 (He died) on (the) day of Mars (Tuesday).

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημῖον; the space following this word has been left uninscribed.

- l. 2: Ὠρίων for Ὠρίωνος: nominative instead of genitive singular; Κλυδίου for Κλαυδίου: of the diphthong αυ has been inadvertently omitted by the engraver.  
 ll. 4-5: ὀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.  
 l. 5: the line ends with a cross preceded by an uninscribed space.  
 l. 6: the age numeral is flanked to the left by a simplified palm branch and to the right by a cross.  
 l. 7: the year numeral is preceded by an angular decorative motif.  
 l. 8: μηνός for μηνί: use of genitive instead of dative singular after the preposition ἐν.  
 ll. 8-9: Ἀδωνέου for Αὔδυναίου.  
 l. 9: the month day numeral is emphasized to the left by a *cross-rho* monogram and to the right by an angular motif pointing to the left.  
 ll. 9-10: θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδεῖς.  
 l. 11: the area following the letters -τος has been left empty.  
 l. 12: the two words are separated by an empty space.

#### Commentary

l. 2: Ὠρίων was a mythological giant, son of Poseidon. After his death Zeus transformed him into a bright constellation in the sky (*RE* XVIII.1 [1939], cols. 1066-1082, s.v. *Orion* 1 [Wehrli]). As a personal name Ὠρίων was especially frequent in Egypt both in inscriptions (*LGPN* I, p. 488, s.v.) and papyri (Preisigke 1922, col. 497; Foraboschi 1967, pp. 351-352). The name's popularity in Egypt could be ascribed to a martyr Orion commemorated at Alexandria on August 16 (Smith and Cheetham 1880, p. 1526, s.v. *Orion*). In Palestine, apart from the two Ghor es-Safi instances (see also below inscr. no. 274), the name occurs as well in two Christian rock graffiti from Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 26, 145), in the first of which Ὠρίων appears among Nabataean, Egyptian, Hebrew and other Greek names. A friend of Libanios, who was native of Bostra and a distinguished rich man from Aila cured by the hermit Hilarion, were among the bearers of the name Ὠρίων (*RE* XVIII.1 [1939], col. 1087, s.v. *Orion* 5 and 6 respectively).

Κλαύδιος, the Roman nomen *Claudius*, is very common in the Christian Ghor es-Safi epigraphy (nine occurrences) in which it is encountered as a cognomen. Among the Roman bearers of the name Κλαύδιος in Palestine and Arabia are: two governors of Arabia, Κλαύδιος Σεουήρος (first governor of the province between AD 107 and 115, Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 401, no. 56/57; Petra: Sartre 1993, no. 37) and Κλαύδιος Καπιτωλίνος (mid-third c. AD, Philadelphia: Gatier 1986, nos. 12, 13; Dhiban: *ibid.*, no. 179), an ἐπιμελητής Κλαύδιος Νικόμαχος (AD 231/2, Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 430, nos. 157, 158), as well as an ex-centurion (Sartre 1982, no. 9112), a soldier of the Third Cyrenaic legion (*ibid.*, no. 9337), and an ἀρχίατρος (*ibid.*, no. 9114) all from Bostra (for more Bostran examples, see *ibid.*, nos. 9021, 9336, 9338, 9467). It appears also as a husband's name at Farj in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 132). The Christian occurrences of Κλαύδιος come from a graffito at Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 247), and from a building inscription found in the Church of Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs at Gerasa (bishop's name: Welles 1938, p. 476, no. 298, AD 464/5). For the name Κλαύδιος, see also the commentary of Ἀκλαύδης in inscr. no. 128.

ll. 8-9: The vernacular spelling Ἀδωνέος for the Macedonian month Αὔδυναῖος, apart from Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 120), is encountered once in an epitaph from Moab (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 395).

55. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly broken at the uppermost left corner. Inv. no.: Z-171. Dimensions: 0.53x0.37x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed; it is chipped all around and flaked off in the lower right part and at the bottom. Above the inscription there is an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram with an inverted *rho*. Faint traces of an incised frame and double guide-lines are discernible. The text is engraved and painted over in red colour. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are elegant with serifs, very carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.26 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XI

Date: 282 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 387 - 21 March AD 388.



+ Μνημῖον ν

Monument of Rufus,

	Ῥούφου ἀρχι- ν	the archpresbyter,
	πρεσβυτέρου,	who died (at the age)
4	παυσαμένου	of 70 years,
	ἔτων ο', ἐν	in the year 282.
	ἔτ(ει) σπβ'. ννν	

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line starts with a cross which is almost embodied in the left vertical line of the frame; μνημείον.  
 II. 3, 4: the last three letters of both lines are compressed due to lack of space.  
 I. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.  
 I. 6: the dative ἔτει is abbreviated by the first two letters and a small oblique almost horizontal sign S at the upper right part of *tau*; the year numeral is crowned by a horizontal stroke.

#### Commentary

- I. 2: Another *Ῥούφος* bearing the ecclesiastical title of *πρεσβύτερος* is mentioned below in inscr. no. 95. For the name *Ῥούφος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 29.  
 II. 2-3: *Ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος* or *πρωτοπρεσβύτερος* (both titles were used for Peter archpresbyter of the Church of Alexandria, end of 4th c. AD, see Leontaritou 1996, p. 484, nn. 7, 8; p. 493, no. 4; *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος* was more common in Egypt, *ibid.*, p. 484, nn. 9-12) was an ecclesiastical office bestowed by a bishop upon a particular presbyter chosen regardless of seniority from among the rest of the presbyters of a certain church or diocese because of his administrative qualities. His duties varied according to the place where he served. He took over many of the liturgical and administrative duties of the bishop. He exercised discipline, along with the bishop over the lower clergy. He also presided over the presbyters of a country community after the abolition of the titles of *χωρεπίσκοπος* and *περιοδευτής* and their replacement by that of *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος*. In some cases he was elected even to the episcopal throne (on the office of the archpresbyter, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 186-187 and Leontaritou 1996, pp. 483-496). The office seems to have lasted for life (a direct evidence in favour of this refers to a "*πρῶτος πρεσβύτερος*" in a church of the Mount of Nitria: Leontaritou 1996, p. 491 and n. 55), a fact which is confirmed also in the case of Rufus who, seventy years old at the time of his death, still held the title of *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος*. Each church or community had probably one archpresbyter, but each diocese could have more than one (*Cod. Ius.* 1.3.41 (42) § 26). We cannot say whether *Rufus* was the only archpresbyter at the time in the area, but it is likely that he belonged to the diocese of Zoora (on this diocese see above commentary of inscr. no. 27). It is noteworthy that the Ghor es-Safi epitaph consists to our knowledge of the earliest securely dated mention of an archpresbyter (for a detailed chronological list of the Early-Middle Byzantine period archpresbyters, see Leontaritou 1996, pp. 492-496).

In Palestinian and Arabian epigraphy the title of *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος* is rather rare since, apart from Ghor es-Safi, it occurs two more times in church mosaic inscriptions of the sixth c. from Masouh (near Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 57a, in which the archpresbyter Stephanos bears the additional title of "*οἰκονόμος*") and Suhmata (Avi-Yonah 1934, pp. 96-105, pl. XXX, fig. 3 = Meimaris 1986, no. 1016). In the Life of Stephen the Sabaite (*ASS Jul.* III, p. 574), eighth c., a certain Γεώργιος *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος* of the Church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem is mentioned, while in the same *Vita* (*ASS Jul.* III, p. 542) an archpresbyter Σέργιος bears the title of "*ἀρχιπρεσβύτερης*" of the Laura of St. Sabas (for archpresbyters in monasteries, see Leontaritou 1996, p. 492 and n. 62).

56. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved at the corners, chipped and flaked off in the right side. It is kept at the Armenian Patriarchate Museum in Jerusalem (an inv. no. Z-188 was given to the inscription by K.D. Politis only because the tombstone was found in the Ghor es-Safi area). Dimensions: 0.34x0.30x0.135 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed; it is flaked off at the right side. Above and below the text the same symbolic decoration is preserved: an outlined cross flanked by *cross-rho* monograms. The inscription and the symbols are enclosed within an engraved frame and set between incised guide-lines. Both text and symbols are also engraved. The script belongs to the round alphabet and the letters are well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.018 m.

Photo Pl. XII

Bibl.: *SEG* 8 (1937), p. 51, no. 335 (with full bibliography); Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 201, no. 148 (chronological references); Sartre 1993, pp. 34-35, no. 105.

Date: 10 Hyperberetaios 282 E.P.A. = 27 September AD 387.

<p> <math>\rho</math> + <math>\rho</math>  Μνημῖον Θεοαῖει ν  Ἀλφίου, ἀποθανοῦ-  σα ἐτῶν ιη', ἐν ἣτι σπβ',  4 μενὸς Ὑπερβερε- ν  τέου δεκάτην, ἡμέρα  Σελήνης. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς  ἀθάνατος. <i>vacat</i>  <math>\rho</math> + <math>\rho</math> </p>	<p> Monument of Thoaiei,  (daughter) of Alphios, who died  (at the age) of 18 years,  in the year 282, on the tenth (day)  of (the) month Hyperberetaios,  on (the) day of (the) Moon (Monday).  Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal. </p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖον; Θεοαῖει, in previous editions; after a revision of the text we correct it as Θεοαῖει; Θεοαῖει for Θεοαῖεις: nominative for genitive.  
ll. 2-3: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
l. 3: the age and the year numeral are emphasized by a horizontal bar below (rare phenomenon); ἣτι for ἔτει: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει.  
l. 4: μενὸς for μηνός: substitution of *eta* with *epsilon*.  
ll. 4-5: Ὑπερβερεταίου.  
l. 5: δεκάτην for δεκάτη: use of accusative instead of dative singular.  
l. 6: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: For the rather rare Semitic name Θεοαῖει, see above commentary of inscr. no. 11.  
l. 2: For the most common name Ἀλφίος in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.

57. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped on all edges and broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-272. Dimensions: 0.25x0.30x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The inscription is enclosed on all sides, except for the lower one, within an engraved and red painted frame composed of three palm branches. The palm leaves of the upper branch are engraved and painted red, while those of the vertical branches are drawn in red paint. In the space between the upper frame and the text is depicted an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram inside a red painted radiant sun-disc flanked by two crosses also in red paint. Below the text an outlined cross is engraved, which is painted over in red. The whole text is incised and heavily painted in red. The script is basically square with characteristic rhomboid *omicrons* and *thetas*, and *upsilons* with a horizontal bar in the middle. The letters are elongated, symmetrical, well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. III

Date: 15 Hyperberetaios 282 E.P.A. = 2 October AD 387.

<p> + <math>\rho</math> +  Μνημῖον Ἰωάν-  νου Ἀττικοῦ,  ἀποθανόν- ν  4 τος ἐτῶν ζ', ν  ἔτους σπβ', ν  μηνὸς Ὑπερβε(ρεταίου)  εἰ. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς  8 ἀθάνατος.  + </p>	<p> Monument of Ioannes,  (son) of Attikos,  who died (at the age) of  7 years, in (the) year 282,  on the 15th (day) of (the)  month Hyperberetaios.  Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal. </p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖων for μνημῖον: the first four letters *mu*, *nu*, *eta* and *mu* and the last two *omega* and *nu* of μνημῖων are in ligature.

- l. 4: the last two letters *omega* and *nu* of the word ἐτῶν are connected in a ligature; a horizontal bar above the age numeral.  
 l. 5: the year numeral is crowned by a horizontal stroke.  
 l. 6: the first three letters *mu*, *eta*, *nu* of the word μηνός are in ligature; the month name Ὑπερβερεταῖος is abbreviated only by the first six letters.  
 l. 7: the inverted month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar; θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The Christian name of biblical origin Ἰωάννης, which appears four more times in Ghor es-Safi (inscr. nos. 153, 155, 196, 203) and once in the neighbouring Monastery of St. Lot at Deir 'Ain 'Abata (Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou forthcoming, no. 2), is the most popular name in Palestine presenting numerous occurrences. It appears in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 22, 47, 134, 174, 194), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: FitzGerald 1939, pp. 13-14), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 237-240, no. 54), Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 134-135, no. 20; p. 138, no. 24; Saliou 2000, pp. 394-396, no. 3 and nn. 20, 21), but the vast majority of these instances are encountered in the Third Palestine: in the area of Moab, mainly at el-Kerak (Canova 1954, pp. 421-422, ind. onomastico, s.vv. Ἰωάνα, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννα, Ἰωάννης [32 cases], Ἰωάννω); in the Negev (Alt 1921, index, p. 62; Negev 1981, index A, p. 77, s.vv. Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννης, Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 179, no. 95; p. 183, no. 238), especially at Nessana where Ἰωάννης is both epigraphically (*Nessana* 1, p. 196, index D, s.v.) and papyrologically (*Nessana* 3, p. 337, index IV, s.v. [ca. 50 cases]) attested; and at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, p. 263, nos. 6.2, 11; Negev 1977, p. 82, index A, s.v.). Ἰωάννης is the most common name also in the province of Arabia with numerous attestations in Transjordan (e.g. Gatiér 1986, p. 228; index général grec, s.v.; Piccirillo 1994, p. 368, indice 1, s.v.; Di Segni 1998, p. 465, index of names, s.v.; Gatiér 1998, p. 417, index onom., s.vv. Ἰοάνης and Ἰωάννης) and Hauran (Waddington, p. 5, index I, s.v.; *PAES* IIIA, p. 459, index I, s.v.; Sartre 1982, p. 392, index I, s.v.; Sartre 1985, p. 208, s.v.). In the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia Ἰωάννης is written in a variety of spellings: Ἰωάνης, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννης, Ἰωάννιος, Ἰοάνης, Ἰεάνης, Ἰάνης. It occurs as well in the abbreviated forms Ἰωάν(ης), Ἰωάν(νης), Ἰωάν(νης).

l. 2: Ἀττικὸς occurs as a deacon's name in the Ghor es-Safi epitaph no. 86. The Greek name Ἀττικὸς, originally denoting a person who comes from Attica, was common in the Greek world (*LGP* I, p. 94, s.v.; *ibid.* IIIA, p. 83, s.v.) and apparently in Roman Attica (*LGP* II, pp. 78-79, s.v.). As a Latin cognomen, apart from its geographical meaning, it was also used in the sense of "civilized" (Kajanto 1963, p. 56). All the so far known parallels of Ἀττικὸς in Palestine and Arabia originate from Hauran: Bostra (Sartre 1982, nos. 9237, 9465), Deir el-Leben (Waddington, no. 2396) and ed-Dafyaneh (MacAdam and Graf 1989, pp. 177-178, no. 1; for the suggestion that Ἀττικὸς in Hauran could transcribe the Safaitic names 'tq, 'tq or 'tk, see *ibid.*; cf. Sartre 1985, p. 185, s.v.). The first three instances are doubtful and only the fourth is complete being the patronymic of a certain Ἀλέξανδρος.

58. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top and the bottom and broken at the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-35. Dimensions: 0.565x0.31x0.085 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off all around and at the lower part. A Greek *pi*-shaped frame covers the text. Above the frame stands a *cross-rho* monogram, while two similar monograms appear below the inscription. The frame, the symbols and the text are all engraved and painted over in red. The script is basically square with characteristic rhomboid *omicrons* and *thetas* (see above no. 57). The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XII

Date: 30 Xanthikos 283 E.P.A. = 20 April AD 388.

ϣ

Μνημῖον Πέτρου  
 Οὐλπιανοῦ, ἀπο-  
 θανόντος ἐτῶν  
 4 ἐξήκοντα, ἐν ἔτι  
 σπγ', ἐν μηνὶ Ξαν-  
 θικῷ λ'. Θάρσει,  
 οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-

Monument of Petros,  
 (son) of Ulpianus, who died  
 (at the age) of sixty years,  
 in the year 283, on (the)  
 30th (day) of the month  
 Xanthikos. Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal.



8 τος.  


#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 4: ἔτι, iotacism for ἔτει.  
 l. 5: a horizontal bar above denotes the year numeral.  
 l. 6: a similar horizontal bar above the month day numeral; θάρσει.  
 l. 7: οὐδείς.  
 l. 8: at the end of the line there is a decorative motif consisting of a horizontal bar and five angular brackets facing to the right standing for a palm branch in horizontal position.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: For the frequent occurrence of *Πέτρος* in Ghor es-Safi and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.  
 l. 2: *Οὐλιπανός*, the Latin cognomen *Ulpianus*, derivative of the nomen *Ulpus*, is quite common in Ghor es-Safi (6 cases). The name was also frequent among the indigenous population of Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2383, 2463; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 51, 162 [= Waddington no. 2008, *Ὀλπιανός*], 210 [*Ὀλπιανός*], 591, 701 [= Waddington, no. 701]) and appears fragmentarily at Deir 'Ain 'Abata (Meimaris and Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou forthcoming, no. 11). It possibly owed its popularity (like the name *Οὔλλιος*, see below inscr. no. 224) to the emperor Ulpus Trajan who annexed Arabia (Sartre 1985, p. 227, s.v. *Οὐλιπανός*). *Οὐλιπανός* occurs also in church inscriptions from Jabaliyeh near Gaza (Saliou 2000, p. 396, no. 4; pp. 400-401, no. 10; pp. 402-404, no. 13). It was as well the name of a philosopher of the mid-fifth c. AD who had been a native of Gaza (*PLRE* II, p. 1181, s.v. *Ulpianus* 3). The feminine *Οὐλιπανή* is found on a graffito from Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 140).

59. Tombstone of white (?) sandstone "being nicely rounded in shape" since in second use may have served as the upper stone of a hand mill (Duncan 1924, p. 36). It was kept at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University (an inv. no. Z-189 was given to the inscription by K.D. Politis only because the stone was found in the Ghor es-Safi area). Dimensions: Unrecorded. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Traces of a dark ochre painted square frame are visible. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters are clearly cut and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Sartre 1993, pp. 135-137 (with full bibliography); Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 202, no. 150 (chronological references).

Photo Pl. XII

Date: 4 Audynaïos 283 E.P.A. = 20 December AD 388.

Μνημῖον Αἰνί- ου Γοδέου, παυσάμενος	Monument of Aeneas, (son) of Godeos, who died (at the age) of 80 years, in the year
4 ἐτῶν π', ἐν ἔτι σπγ', μηνὸς Αὐδονέου δ'.	283, on (the) 4th (day) of (the) month Audynaïos.
Θάρσει, οὐδῖς	Be of good cheer,
8 ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 1-2: Αἰνείου.  
 l. 2: for the patronymic Γοδέος and its various readings, see Sartre 1993, p. 136 (notes critiques for l. 2).  
 l. 3: παυσάμενος for παυσάμενου: nominative for genitive singular.  
 l. 4: ἐν ἔτει.  
 l. 5: the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above it.  
 l. 6: Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναίου: substitution of *upsilon* with *omicron* (common phenomenon for this month) and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.  
 l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: For the name *Αἰνείας*, appearing always in its iotacised form *Αἰνίας*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 17.

l. 2: Among the various readings proposed for the patronymic, *Θαδέος* (Duncan 1924, p. 37), *Τουδέος* (Savignac 1925, p. 477; Vincent 1927, p. 403), *Γοδέος* (Alt 1924, pp. 191-192), the latter seems to fit better the last five letters of l. 2 as shown in the photograph of the inscription (Duncan 1924, as above, p. 36). The name *Γοδέος* is encountered in Hauran, mainly at Umm el-Jimâl (PAES IIIA, nos. 506, 507, 509, 513), and once at Hegra (Jaussen and Savignac 1909-1914, vol. II, pp. 648-649, no. 16: *Γοδλίου*, corrected by Littmann in *Γοδαιου* [Wuthnow 1930, p. 41, s.v. *Γοδλίου*]; for the reading *Γοδαιου* see also Sartre 1993, p. 137, n. 101). According to Sartre *Γοδέος* is a diminutive of the name *Γάδος* formed after Gad, the popular guardian spirit (Sartre 1993, p. 137 and n. 102). For the attestations of *Γάδος* in Hauran, see Waddington, no. 2426b; PAES IIIA, no. 787<sup>7</sup>; Gatier 1998, p. 404, no. 121 and p. 416, s.v. *Γοδέος* may also derive from the Semitic root gdy, meaning "kid" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 41, 133).

ll. 4-6: The date of the epitaph has been established by Alt (1924, as above) to 4 Audynaïos 283 and has been correctly converted by him to 20 December 388 according to the era of the province of Arabia (for the other two incorrect calculations of the date according to the Seleucid era and the era of the destruction of the Temple, see detailed commentary of the date in Sartre 1993, pp. 136-137).

60. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost square in shape, chipped all around and slightly broken in the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-270. Dimensions: 0.30x0.27x0.12 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered especially at the upper right side. Traces of an engraved frame and guide-lines are discernible here and there. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,3,7,8 are also painted in red. The remaining lines, however, preserve also traces of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XII

Date: 3 Peritios 283 E.P.A. = 18 January AD 389.

Μνημῖον Ἀλού-	Monument of Aloufa(s),
φα Θεμουρένῃσα,	(son) of Themoureissas,
ἀπαθανόντος ἑ-	who died (at the age) of 50 years,
4 τῶν ν', ν' ἔτους	in (the) year 283, on (the) 3rd (day)
σπγ', μῆ(νός) Περιτίου	of (the) month Peritios,
γ', ἡμέρα) Διός. Θάρσι, Ἀ-	on (the) day of Jupiter (Thursday).
λούφα, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer, Aloufa(s),
8 νατος.	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: next to *epsilon* one letter space was left empty probably after an unsuccessful strike of the engraver.

l. 3: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*; the last three letters of the line are emphasized by a horizontal bar with scroll ending above them.

l. 4: the age numeral is crowned by a horizontal bar with scroll-like endings.

l. 5: the same type of bar (elongated) is used above the year numeral; the word *μηνός* is as usually abbreviated by the first two letters (an *eta* above a large *mu*).

l. 6: the month day numeral is emphasized by the same bar as that above the age and year numerals; the abbreviation of ἡμέρα is given by a small *mu* above a large *eta*; θάρσει.

l. 7: οὐδείς.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: In Ghor es-Safi the name Ἀλούφας appears also in its feminine form Ἀλουφάθη (see below commentary of inscr. no. 204). The masculine Ἀλούφας is rare in Palestine and Arabia but it is encountered frequently in Syria in the areas of Damascus (Waddington, no. 1877a) and Emessa (IGLS V, nos. 2310, 2570, 2680). Ἀλούφας is a variant form of Ἀλαφος, which derives from the Nabataean hlfrw (Sartre 1985, pp. 172-173, s.v. Ἀλαφος, cf. also the name Ἀλφιος in inscr. no. 2), and is a common name in Hauran (Dunand 1939, p. 565, no. 268; PAES IIIA, nos. 90, 174, 185, 191).

l. 2: The patronymic, otherwise unattested, is most likely a compound name consisting of the Arabic words *taim*, "slave" and *ra'is*, "leader, the head of...". The first component, transcribed in Greek as *Θάιμος* or *Θέμος*, appears usually as a single name (see commentary of *Θέμος* in inscr. no. 90; in this epitaph it is spelled *Θήμος*). This is also the case with the second component which occurs in Greek in the forms *Πάεσος* and *Πάεσσος* (Wuthnow 1930, p. 96, s.vv.).

61. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-7. Dimensions: 0.56x0.35x0.067 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is flaked off at the edges. The whole inscription is included within a rectangular frame, coarsely engraved. The external parts of the vertical lines of the frame are decorated with incised oblique lines imitating vertically split palm branches (for the same motif see inscr. no. 42). In the space between the upper line of the frame and the text is depicted a vault which covers an outlined deeply engraved cross with four decorative dots at its corners. At the left and right spaces above and attached to the vault there are two palm branches in vertical position. Below the text and inside the frame a thicker outlined cross flanked by two *cross-rho* monograms is represented. The text, as well as the whole decoration, is engraved and painted over in red. The script is basically round with the exception of a few square *omicrons*, *sigmas* and a *theta*. The letters are of variable height, fairly carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.027 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIII

Date: Panemos 284 E.P.A. = 20 June - 19 July AD 389.

(palm	(palm	
branch) +	branch)	
Μνημῖ-		Monument of
ον Ἀμαθ-		Amathesos,
ήσου Ἀβδι-		(son) of Abdisharos,
4 σάρου, ἀπο-		who died in holiness
θανόντος		(at the age)
ἐν ὁσιότη-		of 20 years,
τι ἔτε κ', ἔ-		in (the) year 284,
8 τους σπδ',		in (the) month
μηνὸς Πο-		of Panemos.
νέμου{ς}.		Be of good cheer,
Θάρσι, οὐδὶς		no one (is) immortal.
12 ἀθάνατος.		
ⲣ + ⲣ		

Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 6-7: ὁσιότετι for ὁσιότητι: substitution of *eta* with *epsilon*.

l. 7: ἔτε (= ἔτη) for ἐτῶν: use of nominative in the place of genitive plural; a short diagonal stroke is attached to the upper right tip of both *epsilon*s although the word is not abbreviated; the age numeral is crowned by a wavy horizontal bar.

l. 8: the same wavy bar above the year numeral.

ll. 9-10: Πονέμους for Πανήμου: substitution of *alpha* with *omicron* and of *eta* with *epsilon*; the last two letters *upsilon* and *sigma* are in ligature; the *sigma*, which is superfluous, may be due to a heteroclitc genitive; l. 10 ends with a *cross-rho* monogram.

l. 11: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

Commentary

ll. 2-3: The name Ἀμάθησος is new in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It may transcribe in Greek a Semitic compound theophoric name, consisting of the word *'amat*, "female servant" (Al-Khraysheh 1986, pp. 49-50) and the divine name *yt'* which derives from the root *yt'*, "to save, to help" (*yš'* in Hebrew).

ll. 3-4: The patronymic Ἀβδισάρος, unparalleled in Ghor es-Safi, is a Nabataean theophoric name (for its etymology and the ambiguity concerning the divine name of which it is formed, *dšr'* (Doushares) or *šr* (Ishshar), see Sartre 1985, p. 166, s.v. who prefers *šr*; cf. also p. 149). All the

known examples of the name have been so far recorded in Hauran where it occurs not only in the form Ἀβδισάρος (Der'a: PAES IIIA, no. 630; Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9329), but also in the spelling Ἀβδισάρ, which is devoid of the Greek ending (el-Ghâriyeh [proven. Šabḥa]: Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 674, no. 93; Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9300). Hauran has also yielded related theophoric names such as Ἀβδαδουσάρης (Umm el-'Osij: Clermont-Ganneau 1901, p. 168), Ἀβδουσάρης (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9266; Petra: Starcky 1965, p. 48) and Ἀβοδουσάρης (Sartre 1982, no. 9084).

ll. 4-7: The Christian burial phrase "ἀποθανόντος ἐν δσιότητι" occurs as well in epitaph no. 22 referring to Siltha and her daughter Κύρα who were both killed in the earthquake of AD 363 (τελευτηκότων ἐν δσιότητι, with commentary on the phrase).

62. Block of white marble, rectangular in shape. On its front surface a tabula ansata is carved in relief with its right dovetail slightly chipped at the upper part. Inv. no.: Z-324. Dimensions: 0.395x0.235x0.175 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Remains of a red painted horizontal line are visible at the lower part of the slab. The inscription, which occupies almost two thirds of the tabula ansata, is deeply engraved and painted over in red colour. The script is of the round alphabet with letters of variable height, rather carelessly carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIII

Date: 285 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 390 - 21 March AD 391.

Τοῦτο μνημῆ-  
ον Οὐλπιαν-  
ὸς ἐπ(οίησεν), περ'.

This monument was built  
by Ulpianus (in the year)  
285 (?).

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο normally should be followed by the neuter article τό.

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: the oblique stroke of the last letter *nu* is inverted.

I. 3: the letters *epsilon* and *pi* (with an oblique stroke, serving as an abbreviation mark, inside it) probably stand for the abbreviation of the verb ἐποίησεν (aorist indicative, 3rd person singular).

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: For Οὐλπιανός, a frequent name in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 58.

I. 3: Although it is not evident whether the verb ἐποίησεν refers to *Ulpianus* as the person who ordered and financed the monument or as the one who constructed it, it seems more plausible that the commissioner is meant here (ἐποίησεν is usually employed to denote the benefactor of a certain structure rather than the actual builder in Hauran, where the verb is abundantly attested, PAES IIIA, index V, p. 475, s.v. ποιέω; cf. Kritikakou 1990, pp. 381-382; on the development of the meaning of the verb ποιῶ and similar verbs in the inscriptions from antiquity till the Early Byzantine period, see Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1986, pp. 89-99).

The three last letters most likely belong to the year numeral which is formed in a peculiar ascending order (tens-units-hundreds; such an arrangement of the numerical letters is not unknown in inscriptions dated according to the Era of Provincia Arabia (Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 161 and especially p. 181, no. 74; p. 199, no. 139; p. 222, no. 231).

This text, which commemorates probably the construction of a funerary monument, is unique in Ghor es-Safi, but has many parallels in Hauran (PAES IIIA, index V, p. 474, s.vv. μνήμα, μνημεῖον; p. 475, s.v. ποιέω). The appearance of the block (use of marble instead of sandstone, text within a tabula ansata) also presents similarities to the Hauranian material.

63. Tombstone of dark purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-236. Dimensions: 0.52x0.30x0.095 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at the lower left part and weathered especially at the upper and central part. A recent deliberate attempt to chisel away certain symbols and letters is observed. Above the inscription are depicted from left to right: a partially preserved cross; the compendium ΧΜΓ (its first letter *chi* has been chiselled away); a *cross-rho* monogram, with the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega* incised beneath the horizontal bar of the cross; a *chi-rho* monogram. Below the inscription a central, recently erased,

cross symbol is flanked by two vertically placed palm branches. The text as well as the symbols are engraved and painted over in red. The script is basically round with the exception of some oval characters. The letters are of variable height, some of them especially elongated, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.04 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIII

Date: Panemos 286 E.P.A. = 20 June - 19 July AD 391.

+	[X(ριστός)]	M(αρίας)	Γ(έννα)	ΑΩ	✕	[Christ] born by Maria.
	Μνημι-					Monument of
	ον	Ἀμέρου				Ameros, (son) of Obodas,
	᾽Οβόδα,	ἀπο-				who died (at the age)
4	θανάντος					of 30 years, in the year
	ἐτῶν	λ',	ἐν			286, in (the month) of
	ἔτι	σπς,	Παγά(μου),	+		Panemos, on the day of
	ἐν	ἡμέρα	᾽Αφροδίτης.			Venus (Friday).
8	Θάρσει,	οὐδεὶς				Be of good cheer,
	ἄθανατος.					no one (is) immortal.
	(palm	[+]	(palm			
	branch)		branch)			

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the first letter, *chi*, of the compendium XΜΓ is effaced.

II. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

II. 4-5: ἀποθανάντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha* in the fourth syllable.

I. 7: ἔτι; Παγά(μου) for Παγή(μου): substitution of *eta* with *alpha* and abbreviation of the month by its four first letters; a cross after the month.

I. 8: usual abbreviation of ἡμέρα with a small *mu* above an *eta*.

I. 9: Θάρσει: the middle horizontal stroke of the first letter *theta* has been replaced by two vertical parallel strokes; the fourth letter *epsilon* of the word οὐδεὶς is written inverted.

I. 10: the second letter *theta* is exactly the same as that of I. 9.

#### Commentary

I. 1: It is observed that this line is fully occupied by symbols referring to Christ (see description above), which are a true confession of the Christian faith of the deceased. In particular the combination of the compendium XΜΓ with the sacred letters ΑΩ, which is met for the first time at Ghor es-Safi (XΜΓ is only attested here while ΑΩ appear more frequently, see also inscr. nos. 69,86,87,125,135,148,175,255,303,311,322-324,341), corroborates the assumption that at least in this case XΜΓ could be interpreted as X(ριστός) Μ(αρίας) γ(έννα) (for this nowadays most widely accepted interpretation as well for others, some of which based on isopsephism, see Tjäder 1970; Blanchard 1975 and recently Derda 1992; *NDIEC* 8, pp. 156-158; cf. Di Segni 1997, pp. 214-216). This scheme emphasizes the twofold nature of Christ: the human one expressed by XΜΓ which affirms Christ's birth by Virgin Mary, and the divine one denoted by the letters ΑΩ which, according to the *Revelation* (1.8; 21.6; 22.13 etc.), allude to the eternity of Christ by describing him as the beginning and the end of all universe. XΜΓ and ΑΩ are also encountered combined, this time filling the upper and lower corners of the same cross, on two door lintels: one from Golan (Rafid: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 120) and the other from the Negev ('Avdat: Alt 1921, no. 146 = Negev 1981, no. 41), where their role was to protect the building.

At this point it should be noted that although the compendium XΜΓ is common in the Early Christian epigraphy of Syria (see indexes of *IGLS*), its occurrences in Palestine and Arabia are much less frequent (for a list of examples from these provinces, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 80-82; for more recent evidence see Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 81,193,228,229; Di Segni 1997, pp. 214-216, no. 32; Di Segni 1998, p. 437, no. 29 and pp. 459-460, nn. 35-36).

I. 3: The Hellenized Semitic name Ἀμερος occurs in the spelling Ἀμηρος in inscr. no. 1. See commentary of this inscription for parallels of Ἀμερος.

I. 4: Ὀβόδας, which derives from the Semitic root 'bd, "servant", was a famous royal Nabataean name (Canova 1954, p. 120, no. 120; Sartre 1985, p. 167, s.v. Ἀβδοόβδας). One of these Nabataean kings, possibly Obodas III (29/8 BC), was buried at Oboda (modern 'Avdat, Negev) and

was worshipped there as a god (Alt 1921, p. 414, no. 145 and n. 6; Negev 1981, p. 16; *NEAEHL*, vol. 3, pp. 1155, 1557-1558, s.v. *Oboda*). A number of third c. AD inscriptions from this city, referring to Zeus Obodas (*Ζεῦ Ὀβόδα*: Negev 1981, nos. 3, 4, 13) or to god Obodas (*θεῷ Ὀβόδα*: *ibid.*, no. 6), may indicate the local survival of the Obodas cult (Alt 1921, p. 414, no. 145 and n. 7; Negev [1981, p. 16], on the contrary, believed that these references were not made to the deified Obodas but to a "local Zeus, the god of the town of Oboda").

As a personal name *Ὀβόδας* was quite common in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi (6 instances) where the diminutive *Ὀβέδας* (see commentary of inscr. no. 20) and the feminine *Ὀυβοδοῦς* (see commentary of inscr. no. 10) are also attested. In the neighbouring area of Moab the name is almost equally frequent (Canova 1954, nos. 120, 127, 214, 361, 378). *Ὀβόδας* occurs as well in the variants *Ὀβόδες* ('Ormân, Hauran: Dunand 1933, p. 244, no. 184) and *Ὀβόδης* (el-Mer: Wuthnow 1930, p. 86, s.v. and p. 153). The abbreviated form *Ὀβόδ(ας)* appears in an inscription located at the Museum of Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 73), while the contracted one *Ὀβδας* is encountered in Hauran (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 353). The derivative *Ὀβοδιανός* is finally recorded at 'Avdat (Negev 1981, no. 12) and at Beit Jibrin (Abel 1924, pp. 596-598: ἱερεύς). l. 7: The month name is abbreviated and the month day numeral is omitted.

64. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the lower half is preserved. Inv. no.: Z-71. Dimensions: 0.30x0.305x0.07 m. The preserved inscribed surface, chipped at the upper part, shows that the whole surface had been nicely smoothed. From the five surviving lines of the text the first three are engraved and painted red, while the last two are written in red paint faintly preserved. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are mostly symmetrical, carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.04 m.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. XIII  
Date: 20 Loos 286 E.P.A. = 8 August AD 391.

	[- - - -]	.....
	[- - - -]	.....
	[- - - -]	.....
4	[ca. 8 - 9 ἐν]	(in) the year 286,
	ἐτι σπς', ἐν μη-	on (the) 20th (day)
	νι Λώου κ', ἡμέ-	of the month Loos,
	ρα Ἀφροδίτης.	on (the) day of Venus (Friday).
8	Θάρσι, οὐδεις	Be of good cheer,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

Critical apparatus  
ll. 1-4: the number of lines lost above may be approximately four.  
l. 5: ἐτει; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar.  
l. 6: Λώου for Λώφ: genitive in the place of dative singular; a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral.  
l. 8: θάρσει.

Commentary  
ll. 1-4: These lines could have contained the name, the patronymic as well as the age of the dead.

65. Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top and broken at the left lower corner at the lower side. Inv. no.: Z-176. Dimensions: 0.265x0.18x0.045 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly weathered. Above the text a *cross-rho* monogram is depicted, flanked by two birds. The inscription is set between horizontal and two vertical guide-lines at the sides. The guide-lines, the text, as well as the decoration are all engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is of the round form with a mere square *epsilon* (l. 2). The letters vary in size, are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. XIV  
Date: 17 Apellaios 286 E.P.A. = 3 December AD 391.

(bird) $\varphi$ (bird)	
Μνημῖον ν	Monument of Euanthios,
Εὐανθίω Μα-	(son) of Malechos, who
λέχω, ἀπα- ν	died (at the age) of two
4 θανόντος	years, in the year 286,
ἐτῶν δῖω,	on (the) 17th (day)
ἐν ἔτι σπς, μη-	of Apellaios,
νός Ἀπελλέ-	on (the) day of Mercury
8 ου ζι', ἡμέρα	(Wednesday).
Ἑρμοῦ.	

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 2: Εὐανθίω for Εὐανθίου: substitution of ου by *omega*.  
 II. 2-3: Μαλέχω for Μαλέχου: same phenomenon.  
 II. 3-4: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*.  
 I. 5: δῖω for δύο: phonetic spelling of *upsilon* and substitution of *omicron* with *omega*.  
 I. 6: ἔτει.  
 II. 7-8: Ἀπελλαίου; the month numeral is inverted.

#### Commentary

II. 2-3: The substitution of the genitive ending -ου with -ω (in the name of the deceased and in the patronymic) occurs also in inscr. nos. 207 and 274. The same error is observed in inscriptions from Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9126, 9255; Kafr: PAES IIIA, no. 676).

I. 2: This epitaph provides the first epigraphical attestation of the Greek name *Εὐάνθιος* in Palestine and Arabia. The name, in its old form *Εὐάνθης* (the suffix -ιος is an Imperial coinage, Kajanto 1963, pp. 25-26), is known since the sixth c. BC in Cyprus (LGPN I, p. 170, s.v., no. 3; for parallels from Greece, see LGPN I, p. 170, s.vv. *Εὐάνθης*, *Εὐανθίων*, II, p. 163, s.vv. *Εὐάνθης*, *Εὐανθίων*, IIIA, p. 159, s.vv. *Εὐάνθης*, *Εὐάνθιος*, *Εὐανθος*). *Εὐάνθης* is also mentioned in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 110, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 112, s.v.).

I. 3: The Semitic name *Μάλεχος* is encountered almost exclusively in Hauran (Wuthnow 1930, p. 70, s.v.; Waddington, nos. 1964, 2195, 2196, 2226, 2230; PAES IIIA, nos. 366, 214, 713, 753, 795<sup>3</sup>; Sartre 1982, nos. 9004, 9264, 9305; Dunand 1932, p. 409, no. 38; p. 412, no. 50; p. 414, no. 56; pp. 577-578, no. 128; Dunand 1933, p. 235, no. 139; p. 246, no. 197; Dunand 1939, p. 575, no. 305) where it occurs also in the variants *Μάλιχος* (Wuthnow 1930, p. 70, s.v.; Waddington, nos. 2022a, 2123, 2133; PAES IIIA, no. 720; Sa'ed 1998, pp. 9-10) and *Μάλαχος* (Waddington, no. 2123; Dunand 1932, p. 410, no. 41). *Μάλιχος* is found as well in a graffito from Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 143) and in Palmyra (Waddington, nos. 2578, 2613, 2615). The mutilated name [Μα]λέχιος, borne by a bishop, appears in a church mosaic inscription from Mekawer (Piccirillo 1995, pp. 303-334, no. A). For the feminine *Μαλεχάθη*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 53.

*Μάλεχος* is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic name Malih, "tasty, beautiful" or more plausibly Malik, "king" (Preisigke 1922, col. 511). It is one of the Greek transcriptions of a popular Semitic name which derives from the root mlk, "to reign" (Sartre 1985, p. 214, s.vv. *Μάλεχος*, *Μάλχος*). Another common transliteration is that of *Μάλχος* which is abundantly attested in Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2041, 2043, 2072, 2077, 2115, 2130, 2177, 2217, 2272, 2513, 2547; PAES IIIA, nos. 610, 685, 732, 787<sup>7</sup>, 796<sup>1</sup>, 797<sup>4</sup>; Sartre 1982, nos. 9112, 9291, 9341; Dunand 1932, p. 403, no. 12; p. 578, no. 130). *Μάλχος* is frequently recorded at Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 379-380, no. 10; pp. 382-383, no. 15; pp. 384-385, no. 19; p. 440, no. 187; cf. also the variants *Μάλχας*: *ibid.*, p. 393, no. 40; *Μαλχαῖος*: *ibid.*, p. 400, no. 54; pp. 408-409, no. 74; *Μαλχίων*: *ibid.*, p. 383, no. 16) and sporadically at the Monastery of Wadi el-Qilt in the Judaean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 323, no. 115), at Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 1, no. 23), and in the area of Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 78). *Μάλχος* was also the name of the high priest's servant whose right ear Peter cut off during the arrest of Jesus (*John* 18.10).

66. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left corner and mended from two fragments. Recorded by K.D. Politis at Safi in 1993. Inv. no.: Z-90. Dimensions: Unrecorded. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at the edges and mostly at

the lower part. Traces of incised guide-lines are visible. The whole text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round alphabet with letters well cut and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIV

Date: 7 Audynaïos 286 E.P.A. = 23 December AD 391.

Μνημῖον	Monument of Philorome,
Φιλορώμης,	who died (at the age)
τελευτεσά-	of 7 years, in (the) year
4 σης ἐτῶν	286, on (the) 7th (day) of
ζ', ἔτου<ς> σπς,	(the) month Audynaïos,
μηνὸς Αὐδο-	on (the) day of Mercury
νήου ζ', ἡμέ-	(Wednesday).
8 ρα Ἑρμοῦ.	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: it seems that there is a ligature of the last two letters *eta* and *sigma* with the *sigma* placed inside the upper half of *eta*.

II. 3-4: τελευτεσάσης for τελευτησάσης: substitution of *eta* with *epsilon* in the third syllable.

I. 5: the engraver inadvertently carved *omicron* instead of *sigma* at the end of the word ἔτους.

II. 6-7: Αὐδονήου for Αὐδυναίου.

#### Commentary

I. 2: The Greek feminine name *Φιλορώμη* is so far not documented in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. A parallel of *Φιλορώμη* occurs in an inscription from Syracuse dated between the third and the fifth centuries AD (LGNP IIIA, p. 460, s.v.). The name in the form *Φιλορωμαία* as well as the masculine *Φιλορωμαῖος* are papyrologically attested in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 464, s.vv.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 165, s.v. *Κλανδία Φιλορωμαία*). The Christian usage of the name is probably due to the martyr *Φιλόρωμος* from Egypt who was a tribune in Alexandria. During the Diocletianic persecution he and the bishop Phileas were arrested as Christians and were both beheaded at Thmuis in AD 303. Their memory is commemorated in Rome on the 4th of February (Smith and Cheetham 1880, vol. 2, p. 1632).

*Φιλόρωμος* was also the name of a *comes* of the early-mid fifth c. AD in the East to whom Nilus the monk addressed a letter (*Φιλορόμφ κόμητι*) requesting from him to show more respect to the monks (PLRE II [1980], p. 878, s.v. *Philoromus*). A presbyter *Φιλόρωμος*, who originated from Galatia and lived around AD 400, is mentioned by Palladius (*Hist. Laus.*, ch. 45, l.6, p. 132).

67. Tombstone of dark purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the left side with loss of text, in the lower right side and at the bottom. It is kept in a private collection. Inv. no.: Z-209. Dimensions: 0.50x0.23x0.035 m. The inscribed surface which has been smoothed, is chipped in the lower left corner and flaked off especially at the upper and lower parts. Below the text a palm branch is depicted in vertical position flanked by two barely discernible *cross-rho* monograms. Both the text and the symbols are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is of the square form with characteristic rhomboid *omicrons* and *thetas*. The letters are of a rather good execution and alignment. Height of letters: 0.01-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIV

Date: 17 Loos 287 E.P.A. = 5 August AD 392.

Μνημῖον Ὀν-	Monument of Onenos,
ένου Παρθενίου,	(son) of Parthenios,
ἀποθανόντ(ος).	who died, - be of good cheer,
4 [Θά]ροι, οὐδὶς ἀθάγ-	no one (is) immortal, -
[α]τος, ἡτὸν εἴκ-	(at the age) of twenty-five
[ο]σοι πέντε, ἔτο-	years, in (the) two hundred
[υ]ς διακοσσιοσ-	and eighty-seventh year,
8 τοῦ ὀγδοηκοσ-	on (the) 17th (day)
τοῦ ζ', μηνὸς	of (the) month Loos,



Λ<ώ>ου ζι', ἡμέρα  
Διός.  
✠ (palm branch) ✠

on (the) day of Jupiter  
(Thursday).

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον.  
I. 2: the genitive ending -ου of the name Παρθένιος is written to the right between the first and the second line due to lack of space.  
I. 3: again due to lack of space the two last letters of ἀποθανόντος are omitted.  
I. 4: [θά]ρσει: the first two letters are lost; οὐδείς.  
I. 5: the first letter *alpha* is obliterated; ἡτόν for ἐτών: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta* and phonetic spelling of *omega*.  
II. 5-6: εἰκ[ο]σι.  
I. 7: the first letter *upsilon* is missing.  
II. 7-8: διακοσιοστοῦ.  
I. 10: the second letter *omega* of the month is omitted; the month day numeral is inverted.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: \**Ονενος* is the hypocoristicon of the Hellenized Semitic name \**Ανανος* and derives from the Semitic root hnn, "merciful, favourable" (Sartre 1985, p. 222, s.v. *Οναίναθη*). It is recorded in Hauran in the following variant forms: \**Ονενος* (Waddington, nos. 2048, 2053b, 2127; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 390, 439, 689, 692, 696; Dunand 1933, p. 244, no. 187), \**Ονάϊνος* (Waddington, nos. 2409, 2410; *PAES* IIIA, no. 676), \**Ονηνος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 521). In a papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, p. 118, no. 38.4) the name appears in the spelling \**Ωνάϊνας*. For the feminine \**Ονάϊνα* and the lengthened form \**Ονενάθη*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 28.

I. 2: *Παρθένιος* was a Greek pagan name (for epigraphical occurrences, see *LGP* I, p. 362, s.v.; *ibid.* II, p. 361, s.v.; *ibid.* IIIA, p. 352, s.v.; for papyrological ones from Egypt, see Preisigke 1922, col. 279, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 236, s.v.) which later became part of the Christian nomenclature thanks to a homonymous Saint, bishop of Lampsakus (Kajanto 1963, p. 97; Delehay 1902, p. 447). The Ghor es-Safi instances of *Παρθένιος* (see also inscr. nos. 116, 138 and 301) are the only Christian epigraphic attestations of this name in Palestine and Arabia, since their known parallels from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 419, no. 124; p. 446, nos. 197, 198) are all pagan (2nd-3rd c. AD) and the shortened form *Παρθένης* from Beth She'arim is born by a Jew (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 201).

II. 4-5: The common encouragement formula "θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος", usually placed at the end of the epitaph, is inserted here in the middle of the text in a way that disturbs its syntactical sequence. The same peculiar word order is observed in inscr. no. 273.

II. 7-9: Unlike the hundreds and tens of the year numeral which are expressed in ordinal numbers, the units figure is given in numerical sign.

68. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-277. Dimensions: 0.38x0.30x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is badly damaged at the upper part and flaked off at the lower one. The text is enclosed within an almost square frame, the vertical lines of which seem to continue onwards. Above the upper line of the frame are discernible three big crosses with serifs; all the crosses are decorated with four dots at their corners, but these dots are barely discernible in the two side crosses. The frame, the text and the decoration, inside and outside the frame, are only engraved. The script is of the round alphabet with letters of variable size, not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIV

Date: 288 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 393 - 21 March AD 394.

+ + +

Μνημῖον (palm branch)

Ἀμμιανοῦ Ζαβί-

<ν>α, ἀποθανόν-

4 τος ἐτών ν ν', ν

ἐν ἔτους ν σπη'.

Monument of Ammianus,

(son) of Zabinas,

who died (at the age)

of 50 years,

in the year 288.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; at the end of the line a palm branch in horizontal position.  
 l. 2: Ἀμμιανοῦ.  
 l. 3: the first letter on the stone is Z; could this stand for N written in a horizontal position?  
 ll. 3-4: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος.  
 l. 4: the age numeral is flanked by uninscribed spaces.  
 l. 5: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: use of genitive instead of dative singular; the third letter of ἔτους is rendered with a tiny *omicron*; the year numeral is crowned by an elongated horizontal bar.

## Commentary

- l. 2: Ἀμμιάνας, the Latin *Ammianus*, is found in the correct spelling with double *mu* in inscr. no. 249. Apart from Ghor es-Safi, it is attested as a patronymic in a late seventh c. (AD 682) papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 55.1).  
 ll. 2-3: The patronymic should probably be read *Zaβίνας* despite the fact that the three first letters are barely discernible and the *nu* has been written as *zeta*. *Zaβίνας* is a variant form of *Zeβίνας*, a Semitic name discussed in inscr. no. 45.

69. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-77. Dimensions: 0.395x0.30x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the edges with a concentration of salt crystals at the left side. Above the text there is an incised horizontal line. Faint traces of engraved symbols are barely discernible above this line. Below the text is engraved a *cross-rho* monogram flanked by the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*. The text is engraved and preserves red paint in ll. 1,3,7. Exceptionally l. 9, which is very faint, was written only in red paint. The script is of the round form. The letters, some of which are elongated, vary in size and are poorly executed. Height of letters: 0.012-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XV

Date: 5 Artemisios 288 (?) E.P.A. = 25 April AD 393.

Μνημῖον	Monument of Kaiamos,
Καϊάμου, δρ-	(the) draconarius,
ακωνάρις, ἀ-	who died (at the age)
4 ποθανάντος ἐ-	of 47 years, in the year
τῶν μζ', ἐν <ἐ>τι	288, on (the) 5th (day)
σπη', μηνὸς Ἀρτε-	of (the) month Artemisios,
μίου ε', ἡμέρα Ἀρεως.	on (the) day of Mars (Tuesday).
8 <Θάρσι>,	[Be of good cheer],
οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
Α Ϝ ω	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 2-3: δρακωνάρις for δρακοναρίου: *omega* for *omicron* and use of the nominative in the place of genitive singular.  
 ll. 3-4: ἀποθανάντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha*.  
 l. 5: <ἐ>τι for <ἐ>τει: the engraver omitted the first letter *epsilon*.  
 l. 6: the year numeral is almost covered with salt crystals.  
 l. 7: the month day numeral is emphasized below by a red painted horizontal bar; ἡμέρα for ἡμέρα: substitution of *epsilon* with *eta*.  
 l. 8: most likely this line included the verb θάρσει.  
 l. 9: only faint red painted traces of the expression οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος are preserved.

## Commentary

- l. 2: Καϊάμος may be the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Qaiyam (AAES III, p. 151, no. 145c) and derives from the Semitic root qwm, "to be firm, straight" (Sartre 1985, p. 211, s.v. *Κοέμας*). It is a very common name in Ghor es-Safi (6 instances) where it appears also in the form *Καϊοῦμος* (see below commentary of inscr. no. 205). *Καϊάμος* was equally popular in Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2103, 2253a, funerary epigrams; PAES IIIA, no. 786; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 700, no. 175) where the following variants are also attested: *Καϊάμος* (PAES IIIA, no. 655<sup>3</sup>), *Καϊάμας* (ibid.,

no. 38), *Καϊάμως* (ibid., no. 791), *Κέαμος* (Waddington, no. 2205; *PAES* IIIA, no. 125), *Κάϊμος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 265), *Κάειμος* (ibid., no. 65), *Καέμας* (ibid., no. 302), *Κοέμας* (Sartre 1982, no. 9339). The name *Καϊάμως* is encountered as well at Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 185, no. 284) and in Syria (Kefr Abil: *AAES* III, p. 151, no. 145c). At Khirbet es-Samra, the name occurs as *Κέαμος*, *Κάειμος*, *Κάομος* and in the interesting form *Καϊάμ* which is an exact transcription of the Arabic name (Gatier 1998, p. 379, no. 57; p. 378, no. 49; p. 392, no. 83; p. 375, no. 37 respectively). For the variants known from the papyri, see Sartre 1985, p. 211, s.v. *Κοέμας*.

II. 2-3: *Δρακονάρης* is the contracted form of *δρακονάριος*, *draconarius*, a military title held by the bearer of a standard with the representation of a dragon (*δράκων*, *draco*) (on *draconarius* see *RE* V.2 [1905], col. 1634, s.v.; Hanton 1927-1928, p. 79; Speidel 1985, pp. 283-287; cf. Speidel 1976, pp. 137-147]). It was a cohort's standard, a *signum militare*, which the Romans probably borrowed from the Parths or the Dacians in the third c. AD (*RE* V. 2 [1905], cols. 1633-1634, s.v. *draco* no. 2 [Fiebiger]). As a weapon the *δρακονάρης* usually carried a spear in his left hand. The title of *draconarius*, which was kept in use even after the replacement of the dragon by the sign of the cross under Constantine, is attested both in literary sources and in inscriptions (*RE* as above, col. 1634, s.v. *draconarius*; *ILS*, no. 8881: *Ανρήλιος Μάνος ἱππεὺς σαγιττάρης δρακωνάρης*, late 3rd-early 4th c.; *SEG* 34 [1984], no. 1676: *δρακοναρίου*, seal, AD 550-650).

The *draconarius* Καϊάμος, a native himself, might have served in the indigenous military unit stationed at Zoora (see commentary of inscr. no. 30).

70. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-42. Dimensions: 0.40x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off mostly in the upper part. Above the text is depicted a *cross-rho* monogram inscribed in a circle (radiant sun-disc). Below the text there are three *cross-rho* monograms the central of which is placed higher. At the upper right part of the inscription traces of engraved guide-lines are discernible. The whole text, including the symbols, are engraved and painted red. The script is basically square with characteristic letters, such as the rhomboid *omicron*, *theta* and *phi* (semi-rhomboid), as well as the *upsilon* with a horizontal bar in the middle. The letters are of fine quality, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.013-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IV

Date: 5 Dystros 288 E.P.A. = 19 February AD 394.

<p style="text-align: center;">ϙ</p> <p>Μνημῖον Ῥου- κεμάθης Πέ- τρου, ὁποθο- 4 νούντος (palm branch) ἡτ(ῶν) (palm branch) vacat (palm branch) ιζ', (palm branch) ν μη(νός) Δύστρου ε', ἡμ(έρα) Ὀφροδίτης, 8 ἐν τ(ῷ) σπη'. ϙ ϙ ϙ</p>	<p>Monument of Roukemathe, (daughter?) of Petros, who died (at the age) of 17 years, on (the) 5th (day) of (the) month Dystros, on (the) day of Venus (Friday), in the (year) 288.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 3-4: ὁποθονούντος (correct form ἀποθανόντος) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine aorist participle instead of the feminine; ἡτ(ῶν) for ἐτ(ῶν): substitution of *epsilon* for *eta*; the word is abbreviated by its first two letters, with a small *tau* above a large *eta*; this abbreviation is flanked by two palm branches in vertical position.

I. 5: two similar palm branches decorate on either side the age numeral which is placed in the middle of the line.

I. 6: abbreviation of μηνός with a small *eta* above *mu*; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

I. 7: ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the first two letters (a small *mu* above *eta*); Ὀφροδίτης for Ἀφροδίτης: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 8: the third letter *tau* followed by the sign S is probably the abbreviation of the dative of the neuter article τῷ; the year numeral bears above a horizontal bar.

## Commentary

Il. 1-2: The name of the deceased could have been a lengthened form of the masculine Arabic name Ruqaim which is derived from the Semitic root *rqm*, "intelligent, sly" (Al-Khraysheh 1986, p.168; Negev 1991, p. 61, no. 1089). The fact that no parallels of this name are known so far, complicates the issue of its gender since *Ρουκεμάθης* could be either the nominative of a masculine name or the genitive of a feminine name. The following masculine participle (ὁποθονούντος) does not offer much help because it is usually employed in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi for deceased women (see above commentary of inscr. no. 2 and below no. 73).

Il. 2-3: For the most common name *Πέτρος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.

71. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right corner and chipped at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-106. Dimensions: 0.40x0.26x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in various places. Below the text a line, denoting the end of the inscription, is engraved. In the upper part, left and right of the expression εἰς Θεὸς ὁ μόνος there are faint traces of two large red painted crosses with serifs. The whole text is engraved and Il. 2,4,5,7,9,11 are additionally painted in red. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are carefully cut with a slightly ascending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m. Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. XV

Date: 29 Daisios 289 E.P.A. = 18 June AD 394.

Εἰς Θεὸς	
✠ ὁ μόνος. ✠	God (is) One (and) the Only One.
Μνημῖον	Monument of Alithas,
4 Ἀλίθας,	who died (at the age)
ἀποθονόγ-	of 18 years, in (the)
τος ἐτῶν	year 289, on (the)
ιη', ἔτους	29th (day) of (the)
8 ν σπθ', μην-	month Daisios,
ν ὅς Δεσίου	on (the) day of
ν θκ', ἡμέρα	(the) Sun (Sunday).
ν Ἡλίου. (palm branch)	

## Critical apparatus

Il. 1-2: this expression is engraved in smaller characters than the rest of the text.

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: Ἀλίθας for Ἀλίθα: nominative for genitive.

Il. 5-6: ἀποθονόγτος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 7: the age numeral is decorated on either side by two angular motifs.

l. 8: a horizontal bar indicates above the year numeral.

l. 9: Δεσίου is phonetic spelling for Δαισίου.

l. 10: after the inverted month day numeral there is a decorative serpentine line.

l. 11: after the word Ἡλίου a similar line as above and a horizontal palm branch.

## Commentary

Il. 1-2: For the religious formula "εἰς Θεὸς ὁ μόνος", see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.

l. 4: Ἀλίθας is the Greek transliteration of a Semitic name which may derive from the same root hls as the name Ἀλεσος (see below commentary of inscr. no. 110).

72. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left corner and at the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-34. Dimensions: 0.37x0.31x0.075 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at several places and weathered. Traces of incised guide-lines are discernible throughout the inscription. The text is engraved. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m. Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. XV

Date: 12 Dystros 289 E.P.A. = 26 February AD 395.

Μνημῖον Βω- λανοῦ Ἀσάδου, ἀποθανόντος	Monument of Volanos, (son) of Asados, who died (at the age) of 48(?) years,
4 ἐτῶν μη΄, ἔτους σπθ΄, μη(νός) Δύστρου ιβ΄, ἡμ(έρα) Ἡλίου.	in (the) year 289, on (the) 12th (day) of (the) month Dystros, on (the) day of (the) Sun (Sunday).
8 Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθά- νατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: before the name Ἀσάδου there is a superfluous vertical stroke.  
l. 4: only faint traces of the age numeral are visible.  
l. 5: before the year numeral there is a horizontal bar with scroll-like endings.  
l. 6: usual abbreviation of μηνός with superscription of *eta* over *mu*.  
l. 7: ἡμέρα is also abbreviated by the first two letters (a small *mu* above an elongated *eta*).  
l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: The name *Βωλανός* is not documented so far elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. It is attested only in an inscription from Palmyra (Waddington, no. 2571c), in several second c. AD papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 78, s.v.), and on coins (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 233, s.v.). According to Preisigke (1922, col. 507) *Βωλανός* may correspond either to the Arabic Baulan or the Latin name *Volanus*.

l. 2: Ἀσάδος is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic name Ἀσάδ which means "lion" (Preisigke 1922, col. 506; Sartre 1985, p. 183, s.v.). This name appears with high frequency in inscriptions from Southern Hauran, especially from Umm el-Jimâl (for the relevant occurrences from Hauran, see Sartre, as above; see also Atallah 1995, pp. 394-395, no. 4 (Raodat al-Roye'y). In Hauran it occurs also in the variant Ἀσεδος (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 663, no. 64; Dunand 1934, p. 57, no. 94). The name Ἀσάδος is as well attested in a pilgrim's graffito from Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 172) and in papyri from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 16) and Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 60, s.v.).

73. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-288. Dimensions: 0.61x0.38x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the lower left corner. Traces of red paint in the margins of the inscription are probably remains of a painted decoration. Below the text is depicted an engraved and red painted outlined cross with a *chi*-pattern in the middle and four dots in the interior of the bars. The text is engraved and ll. 1,5,6 are painted over in red. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XV

Date: 12 Loos 290 E.P.A. = 31 July AD 395.

Μνημῖον Θόψη Ἐλλίου, ἀποθα- νόντος ἐτ(ῶν) κ΄,	Monument of Thopse, (daughter) of Ellios, who died (at the age) of 20 years,
4 ἔτους σγ΄, ἐν ν μηνὶ Λφου ν βί, ν ἡμέρα ν Κυρίου πέντη. Θάρσει,	in (the) year 290, on (the) 12th (day) of the month Loos, on (the) fifth day of (the) Lord (Thursday). Be of good cheer,
8 οὐδὶς ἀθάνα- τος. +	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; Θόψη for Θόψης; nominative for genitive; at the end of the line a decorative angular motif pointing to the text.  
 l. 2: two similar motifs at the end of the line.  
 ll. 2-3: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης; masculine in the place of a feminine participle.  
 l. 3: the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first two letters and a horizontal bar above; a horizontal bar for emphasis above the age numeral; an angular motif similar to that of ll. 1 and 2 after the age numeral.  
 l. 4: a horizontal stroke above the year numeral.  
 l. 5: Λῶου for Λῶφ; genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is inverted and covered by a horizontal bar.  
 l. 7: πέντη for πέμπτη; θάρσει.  
 l. 8: οὐδείς.  
 l. 9: the syllable τος, written in the middle of the line, is flanked by two engraved crosses with serifs.

## Commentary

- l. 1: *Θόψη* seems to transcribe in Greek a Semitic name the etymology of which escapes our knowledge. The accompanying participle ἀποθανόντος suggests a masculine name; however, the feminine participle παυσομένη applied to *Θόψη* in inscr. no. 141, speaks for a feminine name. The second alternative seems more probable since the use of a masculine participle, when referred to a deceased woman, is a common mistake in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs (see commentary of inscr. no. 2). The femininity of *Θόψη* is further confirmed by the occurrence of the feminine name *Θόφση* in a dedicatory inscription of the Roman period found at Deir el-Liyat, a village 3 km W. of Gerasa (Gatier 1982, pp. 272-274, no. 3).  
 l. 2: *Ἑλλιος* is the Greek transliteration of a Semitic name deriving from the root ḥll (Wuthnow 1930, p. 45, s.v.). Preisigke has vaguely equated it with the Arabic Ḥilli (1922, col. 508; cf. also Wuthnow 1930, p. 141). The name *Ἑλλιος* is new in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia, but is known from papyri found in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 98, s.v.).

74. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-197. Dimensions: 0.435x0.355x0.11 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in the upper right part. The text is set between a double engraved frame and guide-lines which continue even below the text (for three more lines). Below the guide-lines there is a red painted sun-disc. The whole text is engraved and red paint is preserved in ll. 1,2,4,5,7,8. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are small, symmetrical with serifs, perfectly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m. Bibl.: Unpublished. Photo Pl. XVI  
 Date: 19 Dios 290 E.P.A. = 5 November AD 395.

Μνημῖον Παύλου ᾧ Α- ν	Monument of Paulus,
ψητος, ἀποθανόντος	(son) of Apses, who died having
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος	a good name (at the age) of 33 years,
4 ἐτῶν λγ', ἐν ἔτους	in the year 290, on (the) 19th (day)
σγ', μη(νὸς) Δίου τί,	of (the) month Dios, on (the)
ἡμ(έρα) Σελήνης.	day of (the) Moon (Monday).
Θάρσει, Παῦλε, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer, Paulus,
8 ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
(sun-disc)	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 3: ὀνόματος for ὀνόματος; substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*.  
 l. 4: the age numeral is flanked by a series of four serpentine motifs; a small horizontal bar appears only above the tens figure of the numeral; ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: genitive in the place of dative singular.  
 l. 5: the year numeral is decorated with a series of three angular motifs on each side; the usual *eta* above *mu* is the abbreviation for μηνός; the inverted month day numeral is flanked by the same angular motifs as those of the year numeral.

l. 6: this line is enclosed within two series of decorative serpentine lines; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the common *mu* above a large *eta*.

l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδαίς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For the popular Christian name Παῦλος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

ll. 1-2: For the Semitic name \*Aψης and the double genitive \*Aψη, \*Aψητος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 27.

- 75.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken at the upper and lower left corners. Inv. no.: Z-255. Dimensions: 0.46x0.36x0.11 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the upper part and at the lower left corner. The text is set between engraved double frame and guide-lines (see inscr. no. 74). Below the inscription faint traces of a red painted sun-disc are discernible. The text is engraved. The script is basically round with a few square *omicron*, *epsilon* and *sigma*. The letters are small in size, mostly symmetrical, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVI

Date: 23 Dios 290 E.P.A. = 9 November AD 395.

Μνημῖον Ἀβδάλγου	Monument of Abdalges,
Ἀβδοάρθα, τελευταί-	(son) of Abdoarthas,
σαντος μετὰ καλοῦ	who died having a good name
4 ὀνόματος ἑτῶν πε',	(at the age) of 85 years, in the year
ἐν ἑτὶ σή, μηνός Δίου	290, on (the) 23rd (day) of (the)
γκ', ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης.	month Dios, on (the) day of Venus (Friday).
Θάρσει, Ἀβδάλγῃ, οὐδαίς	Be of good cheer, Abdalges,
8 ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
(sun-disc)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the age numeral is emphasized by two snake-like motifs on either side.

l. 5: ἑτὶ; the year numeral is enclosed within two series of three decorative angular motifs each; the usual abbreviation for μηνός consisting of the second letter *eta* placed above the first letter *mu*.

l. 6: the inverted month day numeral is decorated left and right by a series of four serpentine motifs similar to those of l. 4; a small *mu* over an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα.

l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδαίς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For the common Hellenized Semitic name Ἀβδάλγῃς, see above commentary of inscr. no. 12.

l. 2: For the compound Semitic name Ἀβδοάρθα, see above commentary of inscr. no. 21.

- 76.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-148. Dimensions: 0.38x0.30x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is broken at the upper right corner and flaked off at the upper, left and lower parts. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular double frame. This frame as well as the whole text are engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round form. The letters are rather well cut and aligned considering the uneven surface of the tombstone. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVI

Date: 27 Dios 290 E.P.A. = 13 November AD 395.

Ἐνθάδε κτε	Here lies Gelasios,
Γελάσιος υ	(son) of Moleches,
Μολέχης, υ	who died (at the age)
4 θανόντος υ	of 17 years, in the
ἐτῶν ιζ', ἐν	year 290, on (the)

ἐτι σή, μηνί  
Δίου κζ'. (palm branch)

27th (day) of (the)  
month Dios.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: κῑτε, phonetic spelling for κεῖται.
- l. 3: Μολέχης for Μολέχη: nominative instead of genitive singular.
- l. 4: θανόντος for θανών: the aorist participle is given in genitive although the name of the deceased is in nominative.
- l. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral and a trema over the tens figure *iota*.
- l. 6: ἔται; the year numeral is covered by a horizontal stroke; the dative μηνί, instead of the genitive μηνός, is in this case probably attracted by the preceding dative ἔται.
- l. 7: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; an oblique palm branch at the end of the line is projecting beyond the lower part of the inscription's frame.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: This is the earliest attestation of the burial formula "ἐνθάδε κεῖται" in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi. The next two mentions of the phrase in this area occur in the first half of the fifth century (nos. 89,194), while its use becomes common in the sixth century (for the relevant examples see chapter on Burial terms and phrases). In the neighbouring region of Moab, especially at el-Kerak and Maḥaiy, "ἐνθάδε κεῖται" (and its variations) is prevalent in the epitaphs of the sixth and seventh centuries, enumerating hundreds of instances (284 according to Canova 1954, pp. lxxviii-lxxix; cf. also Corbo 1963-1964, pp. 230-231; pp. 232-234, nos. 1-2; p. 235, no. 4; pp. 236-238, nos. 1-3; Piccirillo 1989, p. 114, no. 10; p. 117, no. 18). The forms "ἐνθάδε or ἐνθα or ἐνταῦθα (κατα)κεῖται" are not infrequent in the Negev (Elusa: Alt 1921, no. 64; Shivta: Negev 1981, nos. 57,58; particularly at Beersheba: Alt 1921, nos. 17,19,22,25-29,34,36; Figueras 1985, no. 29), in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, index V, p. 474, s.v. *κεῖμαι*; Sartre 1982, index II, p. 398, s.v. *ἐνθάδε κεῖται* [in various spellings]) and in Edom (Sartre 1993, nos. 63 [Petra], 100 [Kh. Dharih]). They are met as well in the cities of Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 50-52, nos. 98,99; p. 60, no. 121; pp. 93-95, nos. 129q, 130) and Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 121-122, no. 4 [= *SEG* 8, no. 270]; p. 125, no. 10; pp. 133-134, no. 18; pp. 136-138, no. 23 [= *SEG* 8, no. 271]; p. 139, no. 29), and are common in Egypt (*IGA* V, p. xxi). This burial formula, mainly in the form "ὧδε κεῖται", is also encountered in the second-fourth century Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, index on the Greek words, p. 229, s.v. *κεῖμαι* [22 examples]).
- l. 2: Γελάσιος, a Greek name deriving from the verb γελάω, -ῶ, "to laugh" (Kajanto 1963, p. 86), is rather frequent in Palestine as a Christian name (it should not be confused with the pagan Semitic name Γάλεσος attested in Hauran; on this name see Dar and Kokkinos 1992, pp. 10-12). It is encountered in two fourth-fifth c. AD epitaphs from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 92, no. 129f [Γελάσις]; p. 93, no. 129n) as well as in two sixth c. epitaphs from the area of Moab, a neighbour of Ghor es-Safi (Canova 1954, nos. 7, 351[Γελάσεος]). Bostra in Hauran has yielded in addition one example of Γελάσιος recorded in a metrical inscription (*PAES* IIIA, no. 601 = Sartre 1982, no. 9141). Γελάσιος was also the name of a hegumen of the Laura of Saint Sabas who died in AD 545 (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 84, p. 189, l. 13; for more references see *ibid.*, index II, p. 260, s.v.).
- l. 3: The patronymic Μολέχης is given here in nominative instead of genitive case (for this phenomenon-see above inscr. no. 13). It may be a variant of Μόλεχος which is the diminutive of Μάλεχος (on this name see above commentary of inscr. no. 65). In Hauran the name is encountered in the spellings Μολαίχος (Bostra: *PAES* IIIA, no. 599 = Sartre 1982, no. 9346; *PAES* IIIA, no. 600 = Sartre 1982, no. 9334) and Μολχέος (Qaṣr el-Bā'ik: *PAES* IIIA, no. 23<sup>1</sup>). The feminine name occurs in the Negev in the variant forms Μολέχα (*Nessana* 3, nos. 20.6 and 21.11), Μωλέχη (*Nessana* 1, no. 73) and Μούλχη ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 10). The letters ΜΩΛΕ in an epitaph from Elusa have been considered by the editors (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, pp. 176-177, no. 27) as an abbreviation either of Μώλεχος or of Μωλέχη.
- l. 4: The second aorist participle of the simple verb θνήσκω, "θανών" is employed in three cases (see also nos. 90,260) in the place of its commonly used compound counterpart "ἀποθανών". A few parallels of "θανών" have been recorded in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 189) and Hauran (Waddington, no. 2032; cf. the form "ἔθανον" at Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9393).

77. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left corner and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-181. Dimensions: 0.32x0.24x0.075 m. The inscribed sur-



face has been smoothed and is flaked off at the upper part. In several parts accumulations of sand and salt fur are visible. Above the text are depicted three simple crosses at a certain distance from each other. The text is set between guide-lines which continue even below it. Both the text and the crosses are only engraved. The script is of the round alphabet with small nice letters, carefully cut, but with a slightly ascending alignment (especially in the first lines). Height of letters: 0.007-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVI

Date: 7 Apellaios 290 E.P.A. = 23 November AD 395.

	+	+	+
	Μνημῖαν vacat		
	Οὐρέου Σίλα, ἀπο-		
	θανόντος ἐτῶν		
4	ἔξ(ο)ήκοντα πέντε, ν		
	ἔτους σ', μη- ν		
	νὸς Ἀπελλέου ζ'. ν		
	Θά[ρ]σι, οὐδὶς ἀθά-		
8	νατος.		
	Monument of Oureos,		
	(son) of Silas, who died		
	(at the age) of sixty-five		
	years, in (the) year 290,		
	on (the) 7th (day) of		
	(the) month Apellaios.		
	Be of good cheer,		
	no one (is) immortal.		

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖαν for μνημεῖον: substitution of *omicron* for *alpha* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει.
- l. 4: the third letter *omicron* is superfluous.
- l. 5: after the word ἔτους there is a serpentine decorative motif.
- l. 6: Ἀπελλαίου.
- l. 7: θά[ρ]σει; οὐδεὶς.
- l. 8: the letters of this line are mostly eroded.

#### Commentary

l. 2: Οὐρέος is probably a variant spelling of the common Semitic name Οὐριος or Οὔρος. The form Οὐριος appears rarely in seventh-eighth c. papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 249). Οὔρος appears frequently in Hauran (Wuthnow 1930, p. 93, s.v.; PAES IIIA, no. 771; Waddington, nos. 2114, 2162a, 2270, 2402, 2514) -where its Nabataean form is also attested (e.g. PAES IIIA, no. 778)-, and is found once in a pilgrim's graffito from Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 243). The form \*Ορος, encountered at Umm Sideira (S. Sinai: Lifshitz 1971, p. 152, no. 4) and at Rihab (E. of Gerasa: Gatier 1998, p. 395, no. 88), may be another variant of Οὔρος. Wuthnow (1930, p. 140) considered Οὔρος as the equivalent of the Arabic name Hur which means "free, generous, noble" (cf. Negev 1991, p. 31, no. 483; Stark 1971, p. 90, s.v. HR'), while Οὔριος as the Greek transcription of Huri (Wuthnow 1930, p. 140; cf. also Preisigke 1922, col. 513).

Σίλας (for its etymology see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1390, s.v.; cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 419, s.v.) is a common name in Ghor es-Safi (6 instances) although it is rarely attested in Palestine and Arabia. It occurs in Christian epitaphs from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 108-109, no. 175 = Meimaris 1986, pp. 262-263, no. 1299) borne by a *lecticarius*, "bier-bearer", Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 378, no. 50) and Şûrmân in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 184). Σίλας was also the disciple of Apostle Paul who later became bishop of Corinth (Pape and Benseler as above, no. e; Delehay 1902, index, col. 1163, s.v.).

78. Tombstone of white limestone, rectangular in shape and chipped in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-119. Dimensions: 0.555x0.335x0.07 m. This tombstone comes from the same grave as no. 211, where were both used as cover slabs. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed, is chipped at the edges and flaked off at the lower right corner. Above the text within an uninscribed line is depicted an outlined and deeply hollowed cross flanked by two similar crosses of a smaller size, the interior of which is filled with red paint. Below the text and occupying part of the last uninscribed line is another larger scale, outlined and hollow cross with its interior painted red flanked by two heraldic peacocks. Both birds are engraved with traces of red paint visible only in the right one. The text is set between incised double guide-lines and enclosed within a rectangular frame which consists of two engraved lines in the upper and left sides and of three lines in the right and lower

sides. The vertical lines of the frame continue below the text including also the symbolic scene. The text is engraved and ll. 1,4,7,10 are painted over in red. Faint traces of red paint are also discernible in the remaining text. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are nice, symmetrical, well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IV

Date: 19 Xanthikos 292 E.P.A. = 9 April AD 397.

+ + +	
Μνημῖον Παύ-	Monument of Paulus,
λου Ζαννέου,	(son) of Zanneos,
ἀποθανόντο- ν	who died having
4 ς μετὰ καλοῦ	a good name
ὀνόματος ν	(at the age) of 30
ἐτῶν λ', (fish)	years, in the year
ἐν ἔτους ν	292, on (the) 19th
8 σζβ', μηνὸς	(day) of (the) month
Ξανθοι ν κοῦ	Xanthikos,
θ',	on (the) 5th day
ἡμέρα Κυρίου ε'.	of (the) Lord (Thursday).
(peacock) + (peacock)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 6: a horizontal bar over the age numeral *lambda*; at the end of the line a fish is depicted (facing to the numeral) the Christian symbol for IXΘYC, i.e. the initials of the compendium Ἰ(ησοῦς) Χ(ριστός), Θ(εοῦ) Υ(ἰός), Σ(ωτήρ).

l. 7: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 8: the year numeral is crowned by an emphatical horizontal bar.

l. 10: the inverted month day numeral occupies the central part of the line and is flanked by a series of five decorative angular motifs, each one facing at the opposite direction.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: On Παῦλος see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

l. 2: The name Ζαννέος occurs also in a Late Roman inscription from 'Avdat (Negev 1978, p. 88, no. 1a read the name as Ζάμνος; J. Bingen in *SEG* 28 [1978], no. 1381 corrected it to Ζάννιος), and in a Jewish epitaph from Golan ('Ein Nashôt: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 93). It may be a variant of the Semitic name Ζάννος which is attested in a papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 76. 41: Ζάννος Ἀβδάλγου). A certain monk Ζάννος from Hebron is referred to by Cyril of Scythopolis as the founder of a coenobium near the Laura of Saint Sabas (*Vita Sabae* 42, pp. 132-133). The form Ζάννιος is found inscribed on three lamps from Beth Nettif (*SEG* 8 [1937], nos. 263, 264, 265). Like Ζάννος and Ζάννιος, the feminine Ζάνα is encountered also in Judaea: Jerusalem (Ch. of Theotokos, Mount of Olives: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 212) and Herodion (Ch. of Saint Michael: Di Segni 1990a, pp. 177-182, no. 1); in both cases the name refers to church benefactresses. The masculine Ζάννος is also documented in the hypocoristic form Ζονένιος (see below commentary of inscr. no. 120) and in the lengthened one Ζάναθος (fem. Ζαννάθη: Wuthnow 1930, p. 49, s.vv.). Ζάννος has been further considered as a variant of Τάννος (interchange of zeta with tau), a frequent name in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 628, 801<sup>6</sup>; Waddington, no. 2494; Dunand 1932, pp. 573-574, no. 115; cf. also Τάνενος: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 778, 779, 790 and Τάνιος; Dunand 1932, p. 565, no. 80). All the above mentioned versions of the name seem to derive from the root znn, "to be suspicious" (Negev 1991, p. 33, no. 510) or the Safaitic epithet znn, "ardent, jealous" (Sartre 1985, p. 240, s.v. Τάνηλος).

79. Tombstone of purple and yellow sandstone, rectangular in shape with rounded upper corners. Inv. no.: Z-355. Dimensions: 0.40x0.295x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the left and right sides. Traces of an engraved rectangular frame are discernible. Above the frame there is an outlined hollow cross flanked by two schematically depicted birds which are all engraved and bear traces of heavy red paint. Below the frame an engraved zigzag pattern is partially

preserved. The text as well as the preserved guide-lines are incised preserving remains of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are well cut and squeezed at the end of the last line. Height of letters: 0.008-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVII

Date: 16 Daisios 293 E.P.A. = 5 June AD 398.

	(bird) + (bird)	
	Μνημῖον νν	Monument of
	Οὐάρθας νν	Ouarthas,
	Οὐλπιανοῦ,	(son ?) of Ulpianus,
4	ἀπαθονόν-	who died
	τος ἐτῶν	(at the age) of
	δεκαέξ, νν	sixteen years,
	ἔτι σγγ', ννν	in (the) year 293, on the
8	μηνὶ Δεσί-	sixteenth (day) of (the) month
	ου ἕξ καὶ δε-	Daisios, on (the) 1st (day)
	κάτῃ, ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίουν	of (the) Lord (Sunday).
	α'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
	<ἀθάνατος>.	no one (is) (immortal).

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Οὐάρθας for Οὐάρθα: use of nominative in the place of genitive.

II. 4-5: ἀπαθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: transposition of the letters *omicron* and *alpha* in the second and third syllables.

I. 7: ἔτι for ἔται: omission of the preposition ἐν before this word.

II. 8-9: Δεσίου for Δαισίω: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular.

II. 9-10: ἕξ καὶ δεκάτῃ for ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ.

I. 10: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the first two letters, while the sacred name Κυρίου by the first and last letters.

I. 11: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

I. 12: the word ἀθάνατος was omitted by the letter-cutter probably because of lack of space.

#### Commentary

I. 2: *Οὐάρθας* is so far unparalleled in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. It could be a variant spelling of the Semitic name *Οὐάρδας*, -ης (for a commentary on this name, both in masculine and feminine form, see above inscr. no. 9). The accompanying participle ἀπαθονόντος suggests that *Οὐάρθας* may be a masculine name. However, the usual discrepancy between the gender of the deceased and that of the participle as well as the fact that *Οὐάρθας* could also be the genitive of the feminine *Οὐάρθα* cannot exclude the possibility of the name's femininity.

I. 3: Although the deceased bears a Semitic name, his patronymic is Latin. For the name *Οὐλπιανός* see inscr. no. 58.

80. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved around and chipped at the edges, especially at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-260. Dimensions: 0.46x0.30x0.04 m. The inscribed surface has been fairly smoothed. Above the text a sun-disc is outlined in heavy red paint. Below the inscription two heraldic birds are drawn in red paint; between them a cross - traces of which are still visible - was depicted also in red paint. The inscription (the sun-disc included) is surrounded in the upper, left and right sides by a red painted decoration consisting of a continuous wavy line in the concave parts of which are depicted small fruits; the pattern resembles a tendril with wild berries. The text is enclosed on three sides by an incised frame; it is also set between engraved guide-lines traces of which are discernible above the inscription. The whole text is engraved and red paint is preserved only in ll. 1,4,7,8. The script belongs to the round alphabet with small symmetrical letters, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IV

Date: 22 Apellaios 295 E.P.A. = 8 December AD 400.

	(sun-disc)	
	Μνημῖον Σίλα	Monument of Silas,
	᾽Ολέφου, Φαινουσ(ίου),	(son) of Olefos, from Phaino,
	ἀποθανόντος	who died (at the age)
4	ἐτῶν μβ', ν	of 42 years, in (the) year
	+ ἔτους σ'ε',	295, on (the) 22nd (day)
	μη(νός) Ἀπελλέου	of (the) month Apellaios,
	<i>vacat</i> βκ', <i>vacat</i>	on (the) 6th day of (the)
8	ἡμέρῃ νν Κυρίου ν ζ' νν	Lord (Friday).
	Θάρσει, Σίλα, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer, Silas,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	(bird) + (bird)	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 2: the letters ΦΑΙΝΟΥC probably stand for the abbreviation of the ethnic Φαινουσ(ίου).  
 l. 4: the age numeral is emphasized above by a horizontal bar, to the left side by three decorative serpentine lines and to the right by five similar lines.  
 l. 5: the line starts with a cross; the year numeral is decorated by three angular motifs to the left and two similar motifs to the right, all of which point to the left.  
 l. 6: the word μηνός is as usual abbreviated by a small *eta* above an elongated *mu*; Ἀπελλαίου.  
 l. 7: this line is occupied only by the inverted month day numeral in the middle.  
 l. 8: the abbreviation of Κυρίου consists of the first and the last letter and a horizontal bar above and is preceded by two decorative serpentine motifs; a horizontal stroke above the weekday numeral.  
 l. 9: Θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: On the name Σίλας, see above commentary of inscr. no. 77.  
 l. 2: For parallels of the popular name ᾽Ολέφος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 6.  
 The ethnic Φαινούσιος, which appears also in inscr. no. 268 in the form Φαινοῖσιος, most likely refers to Phaino. The ancient city of Phaino (Φαινών or Φινών in Eus., *Onom.*, 168.8; Φαινοῦς [gen.] in the imperial edict of Beersheba: Alt 1921, pp. 8-10, no. 2), situated between Zoora and Petra, has been identified with a site called Khirbet Finan in the Wadi 'Araba. The city was famous for its copper-mines and known as a bishopric since the first half of the fifth c. (for a detailed history of Phaino, see Sartre 1993, pp. 139-142). Although the ethnic related to Phaino is not so far directly attested (no example of this ethnic is known from Phaino itself; however, the ethnic [Φ]αινήσιος, accompanying the name of an architect in a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription from the sanctuary of Allat in Iram [E. of Aila: Sartre 1993, no. 141], has been proposed by some scholars to coincide with that of a native of Phaino) as is that of Phaina (modern Mismīyeh) in Hauran (for Phaina and its ethnic Φαινήσιος, see Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 178; Feissel 1982, pp. 337-338; Sartre 1993, p. 177 and nn. 52-58; cf. Sartre 1999, pp. 197-198, no. 1), it is more plausible that Φαινούσιος was used here to denote the inhabitant of Phaino in Wadi 'Araba because of the proximity of this city to Zoora (modern Safi).

#### The correct position for inscr. no. 2

81. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and broken at the upper left and right and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-269. Dimensions: 0.49x0.26x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped all around, especially at the right side. Above the text is depicted an outlined cross, in the interior of which a simple cross is incised. The text is set between carelessly carved guide-lines. The cross as well as the text are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters are of a rather good quality, clearly cut. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVII

Date: 23 Apellaios 298 E.P.A. = 9 December AD 403.

+	
Μνημῖον ν	Monument of
Θεοδώρα ν	Theodora,
Βίζζου, ἀπο-	(daughter) of Bizzos,
4 θανούσα νν	who died (at the age)
ἑτῶν κ', ννν	of 20 years, in the
ἐν ἔτους ν	year 298, on (the)
σζή', μηνός	23rd (day) of (the)
8 Ἀπελλέου	month Apellaios.
γκ'. Θάρσι, ν	Be of good cheer,
οὐδὶς ἀθά-	no one (is) immortal.
νατος.	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 2: Θεοδώρα for Θεοδώρας: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 ll. 3-4: ἀποθανούσα for ἀποθανούσης: same phenomenon.  
 l. 5: a horizontal bar above indicates the age numeral.  
 l. 6: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: genitive in the place of dative singular.  
 l. 8: Ἀπελλαίου.  
 l. 9: the month day numeral is inverted; θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

l. 2: The Christian name *Θεοδώρα* (and *Θεόδωρος*, see below commentary of inscr. no. 112) was common in Palestine and Arabia. The most numerous examples come from Moab and date between the sixth and seventh centuries AD (Canova 1954, indice onomastico, p. 421, s.v.: 13 cases). The name is also attested in the Negev (Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 174, no. 6; Kh. Be'er-shema': Tzaferis 1996, pp. 81-82\*, no. 9), at Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 132, no. 16), in Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, p. 264, no. 16.2; Negev 1977, no. 80), Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 142) and Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9229). It is to be noted that this theophoric name was borne as well by a Jewess in the cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 153). Noteworthy also is the mention of the empress *Θεοδώρα*, Justinian's wife, in two inscriptions in the Basilica of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, p. 262, no. 4).

l. 3: The name *Βίζζος* is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi, but it is known from two Jewish epitaphs from Jaffa (*CII* II, nos. 948, 949) and an unpublished one preserved at the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum at Jerusalem which reads: Μνημῖον/ τῶν Βίζζου./ \*Ενθα κίτε/ Ρεβέκκα, ἡ μή/τηρ Μάννου. Εἰρήνη (Shalom in Hebrew). It occurs also in the form *Βίζος* at Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9254). *Βίζος* was called a bishop of Seleucia at the Council of Side in AD 383, while a monastery of Mâr Bîzâ is known from the *Syndoctica* (*IGLS* II, p. 281, no. 509). The name, spelled either with one or two ζ, is encountered mainly in Northern Syria (*IGLS* II, nos. 509, 590, 673, 674) and in the area of Apamea (*IGLS* IV, no. 1412). Based on the frequent occurrence of *Βίζζος* in Northern Syria, Sartre places the name's origin in this region (Sartre 1985, p. 189, s.v. *Βίζος*). Wuthnow (1930, p. 36, s.vv. *Βίζζος*, *Βίζος* and p. 130) links *Βίζζος* to the Semitic root bzz, attested in Safaitic (for further bibliography on the name's etymology, see Sartre as above).

82. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved all around, chipped on the left side and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-168. Dimensions: 0.54x0.30x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in several parts, especially in the lower one. In the middle above the inscription there is a slightly engraved and red painted cross. Traces of red paint are discernible below the text. The text is set between guide-lines. These lines as well as the text itself are deeply engraved and painted over in red. The red paint is fainter in the first four lines. The script is of a mixed round-square alphabet. The letters are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVII

Date: 15 Dystros 298 E.P.A. = 29 February AD 404.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον <i>vacat</i>  'Αβδάλης <i>vvv</i>  Χρήσκου, ἀπο- ν  4 θανότος {με} <i>vv</i>  μετά καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  τος ἐν τ(ῷ)+ ν σήη',  μηνὸς Δύστρου ιε'.  8 Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά- ν  νατος. <i>vacat</i>  Ἡμέρα Ϟ Ἀρεως.</p>	<p>Monument of Abdalges,  (son) of Chreskes (Crescens),  who died having a good name  in the (year) 298, on (the)  15th (day) of (the) month  Dystros. Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.  (He died) on (the) day of  Mars (Tuesday).</p>
--	---

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: 'Αβδάλης for 'Αβδάλγου: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
l. 3: Χρήσκου for Κρήσκεντος: phonetic spelling and use of heteroclitc genitive (first decl. instead of third).  
ll. 3-4: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: omission of the letter *nu* before the *tau*.  
l. 4: the last two letters *mu*, *epsilon* are superfluous because they are repeated in l. 5.  
l. 6: the letters ENT with the abbreviation sign S stand for the abbreviation of the words ἐν τ(ῷ); a cross before the year numeral.  
l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.  
l. 10: in the middle of the line between the two words there is a *cross-rho* monogram.

## Commentary

- l. 2: For 'Αβδάλης, its etymology and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 12.  
l. 3: For the Hellenized Latin name *Χρήσκης*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 49.

**83.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper and right sides and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-163. Dimensions: 0.43x0.30x0.04 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped all around. The first line of the text is engraved and painted red except for the three last letters which are written only in red paint. The first letter of the second line is incised, while the rest of the line is written in black paint. The lines 3-7 are written partially in black and partially in red paint. The script is of the round form with a characteristic *alpha*. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IV

Date: 299 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 404 - 21 March AD 405(?).

<p>Μνημῖον Πέτρου Ἀσέμου,  ἀποθονόντος ἔτους δια-  κοσιοστοῦ ἐνινηκοστοῦ  4 ANHCATΟΥ ἐνάτου ANA  [ca. 7] IEAN. Θάρσει, οὐ-  δεῖς ἀθάνατ-  ος. + + +</p>	<p>Monument of Petros,  (son) of Asemos,  who died in (the)  two hundred and ninety-ninth  year.....Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
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## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: ἀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*.  
ll. 2-3: ἐνινηκοστοῦ for ἐνενηκοστοῦ: substitution of *epsilon* for *iota* in the second syllable.  
l. 4: the first eight and the three last letters are difficult to interpret.  
l. 5: in the beginning more or less seven letters are missing and the following four are readable but meaningless.  
l. 7: the line ends with three crosses painted black.

## Commentary

- l. 1: On the name *Πέτρος* see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.


The name \**Ἀσεμος* is documented for the first time in Ghor es-Safi. It is attested frequently in Hauran and especially at Umm el-Jimâl (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 284, 443) where it appears also in the variant \**Ἀσμος* (ibid., no. 367). The latter form occurs as well at Shakka (Waddington, no. 2153) and Djeneine (ibid., nos. 2189, 2191). Another variant \**Ἀσιμος* is recorded in an epitaph from Qaṣr el-Bâ'ik (*PAES* IIIA, no. 23<sup>1</sup>). Similar forms, such as \**Ἀσημος* and \**Ἀσημις* are encountered in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 60, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 57, s.v.) which have also yielded the interesting form \**Ἀσεμ* devoid of the Greek ending -ος (Preisigke 1922, as above s.v.). \**Ἀσεμος* may transcribe in Greek the Arabic name 'Asim, "the protector" or Hašim, "the smasher" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 26, 27, 136, 159; Preisigke 1922, pp. 506, 507; Negev 1991, p. 23, no. 320).

84. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken in the upper part. Inv. no.: Z-300. Dimensions: 0.35x0.26x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in several parts. Below the text an incised *cross-rho* monogram is flanked by two palm branches drawn in red paint. Traces of red painted angular motifs are discernible in the space between the central monogram and the right palm branch. The inscription is surrounded by a rectangular engraved frame, while guide-lines have been incised only under the lines 1,2 and 4. The inscription is engraved, but traces of red paint are preserved in ll. 1,5 and 6 as well as in the last guide-line and the frame. The script is of the round alphabet with letters roughly executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.023 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVII

Date: 18 Daisios 299 E.P.A. = 7 June AD 404.

Μνημιὸν Μαγδίου	Monument of Magdios,
Εὐφρασίου. Ἐκυ-	(son) of Euphrasios.
μέθε ἐτῶν δύο,	He died (at the age)
4 ἐν ἔτει ν σ'θ', νν	of two years, in the year
ν μηνὶ Δεσίου	299, on (the) 18th (day)
νν ηἰ'. ν Θάρσει, ν	of (the) month Daisios.
νν οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
8 ν <να>τος.	no one (is) immortal.
(palm (palm	
branch)  branch)	

#### Critical apparatus

Above the upper line of the frame there are traces of engraved letters which probably belong to the expression "εἰς Θεός", initial phrase of many epitaphs.

l. 1: μνημιον.

ll. 2-3: ἐκυμέθε for ἐκουμήθη: *upsilon* for the diphthong οι and substitution of *eta* for *epsilon* in the last two syllables.

l. 4: a horizontal bar above the year numeral.

ll. 5-8: in these lines there are uninscribed spaces in the left margin which follow a differently coloured patch of the stone.

l. 5: μηνί for μηνός: dative instead of genitive singular; Δεσίου is phonetic spelling for Δαισίου.

l. 6: the month day numeral is inverted and emphasized by a horizontal stroke above.

l. 7: οὐδείς.

ll. 7-8: the engraver failed to write the syllable να of the word ἀθάνατος.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The name *Μάγδιος* occurs as a patronymic in inscr. nos. 193 and 276. It is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic name Magd, "glory" which derives from the Semitic root mgd, "to be glorious" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 68, s.v. *Μάγδος* and p. 147; Negev 1991, p. 37, no. 607). It is encountered in the variants *Μάγδης* and *Μάγδης* in two Christian graffiti from Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 39, 164 respectively). In Hauran it occurs as *Μάγδος* at Burâk (*PAES* IIIA, no. 175) and in the hypocoristic form *Μόγεδος* mainly at Šabḥah (ibid., nos. 124, 131, 134, 137, 138, 145) and once at Têma (ibid., no. 754). For the feminine theophoric name *Μαγαδέλη* or *Μαγοδέλη*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 47.

l. 2: The patronymic *Εὐφράσιος* is a Greek name (*LGP*N II, p. 189, s.v.; *LGP*N IIIA, p. 181, s.v. *Εὐφρασία*) which survived in the Christian nomenclature thanks to two Saints bearing it: a bishop

and martyr commemorated Jan. 14, and a confessor at Eliturgis in Spain commemorated May 15 (Smith and Cheetham 1876, vol. I, p. 631, s.v. *Euphrasius*; cf. also *Euphrasia*, *ibid.*). In Palestine it is relatively rare since, apart from Ghor es-Safi, it is attested only in two Christian inscriptions: an invocation from the baths of Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 244, no. 59) and a dedication from a church at Kafr Kama (Lower Galilee: Saarisalo and Palva 1964, pp. 11-14 = Meimaris 1986, p. 211, no. 1056 = *SEG* 45 [1995], no. 1954) in which the name-bearer was a bishop.

ll. 2-3: In Christian funerary epigraphy the verb *κοιμάομαι* (Lampe, pp. 759-760, s.v.) is employed metaphorically designating death as a state of long sleep in anticipation of the resurrection (for a collection of epigraphical examples referring to the relation between *κοιμῶμαι*, *κοίμησις* and the resurrection, *ἀνάστασις*, see Feissel 1983, pp. 116-117, no. 119). The origin of this metaphor has already been placed in the words of Jesus about the death of Lazarus: "Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν κεκοίμηται" (*John* 11.11). Such a conception is also explicitly described by St. John Chrysostom when speaking of death: "ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς .... οὐκέτι θάνατος καλεῖται λοιπὸν ὁ θάνατος ἀλλὰ ὕπνος καὶ κοίμησις" (cited in Lampe, p. 760, s.v. *κοίμησις* 2) or of the cemetery: "διὰ ταῦτα ... ὁ τόπος κοιμητήριον ὠνόμασται, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι οἱ τελευτηκότες καὶ ἐνταῦθα κείμενοι οὐ τεθνήκασι ἀλλὰ κοιμῶνται" (*ibid.*, s.v. *κοιμητήριον* 1a).



In Palestine a predilection for the burial term *ἐκοιμήθη* in various orthographical and grammatical forms, is observed in epitaphs from the Negev (Rehovot: Tsafrir 1988, pp. 154-156, nos. 1,2; pp. 157-158, no. 5; p. 164, no. 15; p. 167, no. 20; Alt 1921, no. 89; Beersheba: *ibid.*, no. 17; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 175, no. 15; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, nos. 116,130). Sporadic examples are encountered at Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 63), Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 50, no. 95; pp. 94-95, no. 130), and also in the areas of Moab (Canova 1954, no. 410) and Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 575,731). However the great bulk of evidence, including all possible orthographic spellings or abbreviated forms of the verb *ἐκοιμήθη*, comes from the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery in the Judean Desert (Schneider 1931, pp. 317-329, *passim*). Such a frequent use of *ἐκοιμήθη* in this monastic community is consonant with the Christian belief on death as described above.

85. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken in the upper and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-248. Dimensions: 0.34x0.255x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in the upper part and the lower left corner. The inscription presents a red painted decoration on all sides, which is hardly discernible due to the faded colour; left and right it is flanked by two pairs of twisted lines, while above and below the same representation is depicted, consisting of a central *cross-rho* monogram within a circle flanked by two clusters of grapes. The inscription is set between incised guide-lines and inside an incised frame. The text is engraved, but ll. 1,4,7,10 are also decorated with red paint, while l. 9 is painted over in green paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVIII

Date: 3 Gorpaios 299 E.P.A. = 21 August AD 404.

(vine)  (vine)	Monument of Oleftha,
Μ ν ν ν ημῖ ν ον ν 'Ο ν λ- ν	(daughter) of Lampadon,
ἐ ν φθα Λαμπάδ-	who died (at the age)
ωνος, ἀποθαν-	of 10 years, on (the)
4 οὔσα ἐτῶν νν ι', ν	third (day ) of (the) month
ἐν μηνὶ Γυν α ν ρπι-	Gorpaios, in the year 299,
έο ν υ ν τρίτη, ν	on (the) 1st day of (the)
ἐν ἔτι ν σζθ', ν	Lord (Sunday).
8 ν ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου α'.	Be of good cheer,
Θάρσει, οὐ νν δεις	no one (is) immortal.
ἀθάνατος. νν	
(vine)  (vine)	

Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 1-2: 'Ολέφθα for 'Ολέφθας: nominative instead of genitive.



- ll. 3-4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης; the aorist participle is placed in the nominative instead of the genitive singular following the name.
- ll. 5-6: Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίω; substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*, phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular; due to carving difficulties on the surface of the stone at this point there is a gap between the first and the second letter of the month name.
- l. 6: the line ends with a series of decorative angular motifs facing right.
- l. 7: ἐν ἔτει; at the end of the line there are seven motifs similar to those of l. 6 facing left.
- l. 9: two uninscribed spaces left between the first and the second syllable of οὐδεὶς are due to the same problem described in l. 5.
- l. 10: at the end of the line there are three decorative angular motifs facing towards the text.

#### Commentary






- ll. 1-2: For the Hellenized Semitic name Ὀλέφθα, see above commentary of inscr. no. 32.
- ll. 2-3: The genitive *Λαμπάδωνος* presupposes a nominative *Λαμπάδων*. This Greek name is better known in the forms *Λαμπαδίων* (LGN I, p. 282, s.v.; Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 768, s.v.) and *Λαμπάδιος* (LGN IIIA, p. 267, s.v.; Pape and Benseler, as above, s.v.; Preisigke 1922, col. 192, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 177, s.v.). Among the distinguished bearers of the latter name (for officials, see PLRE I, pp. 492-494, s.v. *Lampadius* 1-6; PLRE II, pp. 654-656, s.v. *Lampadius* 1-7) was the consul *Lampadius* who is mentioned along with his partner *Orestes* (consuls from AD 530-533, see Bagnall et al. 1987, pp. 594-600) in a dedicatory inscription found in the diaconicon of the basilica of the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo (Di Segni 1998, pp. 429-430, no. 6 with full bibliography; cf. also Meimarīs in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 355-356, no. 46). A martyr of Antioch was also called *Lampadius* whereas a hermit of Irenopolis, whose memory is commemorated on July 4, bears the name *Lampadus* (Smith and Cheetham 1980, vol. II, p. 918, s.vv.).

86. Tombstone of white sandstone with light purple and white stripes, almost rectangular in shape and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-3. Dimensions: 0.49x0.39x0.12 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the lower part which is rough. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised and red painted frame. In the space between the upper line of the frame and the first line of the text are three engraved *cross-rho* monograms in a row painted over in red. Below the text the following symbols are drawn in red paint from left to right: a *cross-rho* monogram with four small serpentine motifs at its corners; a central *cross-rho* monogram decorated with four dots at its corners and flanked by the symbolic letters *alpha-omega*; another *cross-rho* monogram with the letters *alpha-omega* placed on either side of the upper part of *rho*. The whole text is engraved, but lines 1,2,4,6,8,10 are also decorated with red paint. Above the frame to the left a *cross-rho* monogram is depicted in red paint. Below the frame traces of red painted letters are visible. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters, which vary in size (in the last three lines they are bigger), are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.014-0.022 m.




Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVIII

Date: 11 Hyperberetaios 299 E.P.A. = 28 September AD 404.



  
 Εἰς Θεός.   
 Μνημῖον τοῦ μακα-  
 ρίτου Ἀττικοῦ,  
 4 διακόνου, ἀπο-  
 θανάντος ἐν μηνί  
 Ὑπερβε(ε)ρ(ε)ται(α)ῖοις, ἐν ἡμ(ε)ρα  
 Κυρίου ε', ἐν ἔτι σϛθ'.

One (is) the God.  
 Monument of the blessed  
 Attikos (Atticus), the  
 deacon, who died on (the)  
 11th (day) of the month  
 Hyperberetaios, on the 5th day  
 of (the) Lord (Thursday),  
 in the year 299. Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal. He died  
 (at the age) of 50 years.

8 Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀ-  
 θάνατος. Ἐτῶν  
 ν' ἐτελεύτησεν.  
 Α  Ω 

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the expression εἰς Θεός is flanked by two red painted *cross-rho* monograms.  
 l. 2: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 4-5: ἀποθανάντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*.  
 l. 5: a small *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of the dative μῆνι.  
 l. 6: the abbreviation of Ὑπερβερεταίῳ consists of the first five letters, the consonant *rho* and the abbreviation sign S; ἡμέρᾱ is abbreviated by the common *mu* above *eta*.  
 l. 7: the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter with a horizontal bar above them; the same bar appears over the weekday numeral *epsilon*; ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral is denoted by an oblique stroke to the upper right of the hundreds figure, by a small horizontal bar to the upper right of the tens and by two parallel oblique strokes to the upper right of the units figure.  
 l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.  
 l. 9: the last letter of the word ἐτῶν is written in a smaller scale at the upper right part of *omega*.  
 l. 10: the letters ΕΤΕΛΕΥΤ with the abbreviation sign S stand for the verb ἐτελεύτησεν (3rd singular person of the aorist indicative).

## Commentary

- l. 1: For the common religious acclamation "εἰς Θεός", see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.  
 ll. 2-3: The epithet μακαρίτης, applied to the deacon Ἀττικός, is also attested in inscr. no. 282. Being a derivative of μάκαρ (*DELG*, p. 659, s.v.), blessed, it was known already in the Classical period, but it became frequent in later writers (*LSJ*, p. 1074, s.v.; *Lampe*, p. 824, s.v.) and also in the Christian epitaphs from Egypt (*IGA V*, p. xxxi; cf. also *SEG* 41 [1991], no. 1675; *ibid.* 43 [1993], no. 1111), especially those from Alexandria (Bernand 1992, p. 165, no. 112). In Palestine the only epigraphic parallel comes from the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery in the Judaeen Desert and is applied to a monk who had been a native of Greece (Schneider 1931, p. 317, no. 1: + ἐκοι[μῆθη] ὁ μακαρίτης Οὐ... Ἑλαδ(ικός)...). Syria (*SEG* 20 [1970], no. 378; cf. also *SEG* 40 [1990], no. 1747) has also yielded a few examples of μακαρίτης. For similar words see also μακάριος in inscr. nos. 260, 262 and μακαριώτατος in no. 264.  
 l. 3: On the name Ἀττικός and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 57.  
 l. 4: The ecclesiastical office of the deacon held by Attikos, was the lower of the three main orders of the Christian ministry. It is attested in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 136) referring equally to men and women (for the deaconesses, see commentary of inscr. no. 175). For the deacon, his various duties and the relevant epigraphical evidence from Palestine and Arabia, see Meimarīs 1986, pp. 162-175, nos. 807-884 (of these, nos. 847-850 from Ἐvron have been published by Tzaferis 1987, p. 39\*, no. 2; p. 41\*, no. 4; p. 42\*, no. 5; p. 44\*, no. 7; p. 45\*, no. 8; no. 866 from Carmiel by Tzaferis 1992, p. 132, no. 7; p. 133, nos. 8, 12; and no. 877 from Petra by Sartre 1993, no. 63). For recent occurrences of διάκονος, see Piccirillo 1994, pp. 244-246, no. 2; p. 249, no. 5d; Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 22, 80, 172; Gatier 1998, pp. 384-385, no. 72; p. 387, no. 76; Saliou 2000, p. 407, no. 17.

87. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, flaked off at the sides. Inv. no.: Z-146. Dimensions: 0.36x0.31x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Below the text is depicted a *cross-rho* and *chi* monogram flanked by the symbolic letters *alpha-omega* and two snakes. To the left traces of an unidentified decorative motif are preserved. Only the last five lines of the inscription are almost intact but faded. The preserved text and the symbols are in red paint. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are well drawn and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. V

Date: 25 Apellaios 2[11] - 25 Apellaios 2[99] E.P.A. = 11 December AD 316 - 11 December AD 404. A date in the late fourth-early fifth centuries seems more likely in view of the rich symbolic decoration.

[ - - - - - ]  
 [ - - - - ] OC  
 [ - - - - ] A  
 4 [ - - - - - ]  
 [--]OT[--]  
 ἔτους σ[.], με-

..... in (the) year 2...,  
 on (the) 25th (day) of (the)

νός Ἀπελλέου εκ',  
8 ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης.  
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ὁθά-  
νατος. (palm branch)

A ✱ ω

month Apellaïos, on (the)  
day of Venus (Friday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- ll. 1-5: around five lines are missing from the beginning of the text as is indicated by the traces of some isolated letters visible here and there.  
l. 6: the last two figures of the year numeral are lost.  
ll. 6-7: μενός for μηνός: substitution of *eta* for *epsilon*.  
l. 7: Ἀπελλαίου; a horizontal bar above the inverted month day numeral.  
l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.  
ll. 9-10: ὁθάνατος for ἀθάνατος; substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*.  
l. 10: a palm branch in horizontal position decorates the end of this line.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-5: The name of the deceased, his patronymic and his age were most likely included in these damaged lines.

**88.** Tombstone of white and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners, broken at the lower left side, at the bottom and chipped at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-192. Dimensions: 0.43x0.31x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed and is flaked off in several parts. The inscription is framed by a red painted decoration: above a horizontal line, engraved and painted, separates the text from the heavily painted motifs, a sun-disc and below it four small squares filled with red paint; below traces of smaller squares and triangles filled with red paint are discernible; left and right of the text two snakes in vertical position. The text is engraved with the exception of the last letter of l. 4, which is written in red paint. In addition ll. 1,4,7,8 are painted over in red. The script is of the round form with small, mostly symmetrical letters, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVIII

Date: 15 Artemisios 300 E.P.A. = 5 May AD 405.

(sun-disc)

Μνημίαν Κύρα ν  
Πέτρου, ἀποθα-  
νοῦσα ἐτῶν α',  
4 μηνῶν ζ', ἔτους  
τ', μηνός Ἀρτεμίου  
εἰ, νῆμ(έρα) Κυρίου ν α'. ν Θάρ-  
σει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
8 νων τος.

Monument of Kyra, (daughter)  
of Petros, who died (at the age)  
of 1 year (and) 6 months, in (the)  
year 300, on (the) 15th (day) of (the)  
month Artemisios, on (the) 1st (day)  
of (the) Lord (Sunday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημίαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of *ει* and substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*; Κύρα for Κύρας: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
ll. 2-3: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative instead of genitive, attracted by the nominative of the personal name.  
l. 3: ἐτῶν α' for ἔτους α': the age numeral α' (= 1) requires a genitive singular ἔτους and not a genitive plural ἐτῶν.  
ll. 3-4: the year and the months of the age numeral are not connected by the conjunction καί (*asyndeton*); the numerical figure referring to the months is flanked by two pairs of red painted angular motifs.  
l. 5: abbreviation of μηνός with the small *eta* above a large *mu*.  
l. 6: the month day numeral is inverted; the abbreviation of ἡμέρα is as usual formed by a small *mu* over an elongated *eta*; the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter.  
ll. 6-7: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

l. 1: On the frequent occurrence of the name *Κύρα* in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 22.

l. 2: On the most common name *Πέτρος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.

89. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around, especially at the vertical sides and the lower part. Kept in a private collection in Italy. Inv. no.: Z-175. Dimensions: 0.51x0.38x0.12 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and slightly hollowed in order to receive the inscription. Above the text traces of red paint are discernible. Below the inscription a sun-disc outlined in heavy red paint is depicted, while small triangles filled with red paint are scattered in the area around the disc. The text is flanked by two vertical lines to which are attached small triangles, some of them filled with red paint and some just outlined. Left and right of this pattern four snakes are depicted vertically one touching the tail of the other. The inscription is enclosed within a frame, which above is engraved and at the other three sides engraved and painted red. The text is also set between incised guide-lines, some of them painted. It is engraved and lines 1,2,7,8,13,14 are in addition painted red. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are small, symmetrical and elegant with serifs, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m. Bibl.: Unpublished. *Colour photo Pl. V*

Date: 1 Daisios 300 E.P.A. = 21 May AD 405.

Μνήμα σκηνώ- ματος ἀποθέσε- ως Ὀμμαβίης	Monument for the deposition of the corpse of Ommabie, (daughter) of Neilos. (Her body) lies here, while (her) soul departed for (the) Lord. Having then
4 Νίλου ἐνθάδε κί- ται, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ πρὸς Κ(ύριον) ἀποίχεται. Ἔτη οὖν ὁ' ἐν ὀσιότη-	completed 70 years of life in holiness, she withered away (died) in the year 300, on (the) 1st (day) of (the)
8 τι ἐν βίῳ πλήσασα, ἀπέσκλη ἐν ἔτι τ', μη(νὸς) Δεσίου ἁ', ἡμέ(ρα) Κυρίου	month Daisios, on (the) 1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday). Thus, let each one, who reads (this epitaph), pray
ἁ' . Πᾶς τις οὖν ἀναγι-	earnestly to the Lord,
12 νώσκων, δεέσθω πρὸς Κ(ύριον) ἔσεσθαι αὐ- τὴν ἐν μοναῖς ἁγίων. (sun-disc)	so that she be placed in the dwellings of the Saints.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 1-3: the correct word order for these lines should be: μνήμα ἀποθέσεως σκηνώματος.

l. 4: Νείλου.

ll. 4-5: κεῖται.

l. 6: the accusative of the sacred name Κύριος is abbreviated by the first and the last letter and a horizontal bar above them; ἀποίχεται for ἀπώχεται: the third person singular of the imperfect indicative of the verb ἀποίχομαι is given here without the temporal augment, a form that appears also in Herodotus (*LSJ*, p. 1211, s.v. *οἶχομαι*).

l. 8: πλήσασα is the nominative singular of the feminine aorist participle of the verb πίμπλημι, "fill"; the subject of πλήσασα is meant to be Ὀμμαβίη.

l. 9: ἀπέσκλη: third person singular of the second aorist indicative of the rare verb ἀποσκέλλω; Ὀμμαβίη is also the subject of ἀπέσκλη; ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral *tau* is emphasized by a decorative serpentine motif on each side.

l. 10: usual abbreviation of μηνός formed by the superscription of a smaller *eta* over a *mu*; Δαισίου; the month day numeral *alpha* is flanked by the same motifs as that of the year numeral; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the first two letters and the third letter *epsilon* above the second letter *mu* (rare type); abbreviation for Κυρίου formed by the first and last letter with a horizontal stroke over them.

l. 11: the weekday numeral is decorated by similar motifs to those of the numerals above; πᾶς τις is the subject of the third person of the present imperative δεέσθω and of the present participle ἀναγιγνώσκων.

ll. 11-12: ἀναγιγνώσκων is later form for ἀναγιγνώσκων.

I. 13: accusative of Κύριος abbreviated by the first and last letter with a horizontal bar above them; ἔσεσθαι is future infinitive of the verb εἰμί.

II. 13-14: αὐτήν is the subject of the infinitive ἔσεσθαι in accusative case because there is a two-subject structure (see above I. 12 for the main sentence).

#### Commentary

I. 1: This is the only example of the word μνήμα in Ghor es-Safi, in the funerary epigraphy of which μνημεῖον is of almost exclusive use. In Palestine and Arabia the term μνήμα is employed alternatively with μνημεῖον (see above commentary of inscr. no. 1) for the designation of burial monuments. As in the case of μνημεῖον, μνήμα is especially frequent in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, index V, p. 474: 10 instances; Waddington, index VIII, p. 15, s.v.; Sartre 1982, nos. 9413, 9417, 9418, 9429; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 643, no. 8; pp. 695-696, no. 164; p. 699, no. 173) where it is usually attested in funerary epigrams (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 262, 735, 796<sup>1</sup>; Waddington, nos. 2036, 2122, 2145, 2177, 2190, 2325?, 2381, 2465?; Sartre 1982, no. 9429). Such a use of μνήμα was common in antiquity (Peek 1955, pp. 20-21 of Verzeichnis). Jerusalem has also yielded numerous examples of μνήμα (Thomsen 1921, index I, p. 152, s.v. μνήμα: 14 instances). This burial term appears as well at Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 492, no. 354), in a bilingual Greek-Nabataean inscription from Madaba in which μνήμα designates a subterranean cavity and the funerary monument above it (Gatier 1986, no. 118), and in the Negev (Beersheba: Alt 1921, no. 25; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 119). In the Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim the word μνήμα occurs twice (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 11, 200); the first instance refers to the entire hall of a catacomb. The only case of non-funerary use of μνήμα is encountered at Wadi Umm-Sideira in S. Sinai (Lifshitz 1971, pp. 151-152, no. 1). In a rock graffito at this site the word μνῆμα is employed as the equivalent of ὑπόμνημα, "remembrance, commemoration".

II. 1-3: The correct and meaningful word order in these lines would be: μνήμα ἀποθέσεως σκηνώματος Ὀμμαβίης. A similar phraseology, "σῆμα καταθέσεως σόματ(ος) τῆς τοῦ Χρ[ι]στοῦ δούλης Ἀναστασίας" is employed in a much later (AD 616) epitaph from Gaza (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 272 = Glucker 1987, pp. 132-133, no. 17; for other examples from Gaza, see *SEG* 8 [1937], nos. 295, 298; and from Nessana, see *Nessana* 1, no. 130; cf. also the poetic expression used in an epitaph from the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim: "Καρτερίης τόδε σῆμα ἔλψανον φέρει φθιτόν...", Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 183). It is noteworthy that the expression "ἡ ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός μου" is already used by Peter in his *2nd Epistle* (1.14). The word ἀπόθεσις, which in a funerary context denotes the "deposition of the dead, the burial" (Lampe, p. 192, s.v., no. 4), is so far unique for Palestine where the term κατάθεσις is more common (e.g. Gaza: Glucker 1987, as above; Negev: *Nessana* 1, no. 130; *SEG* 8 [1937], nos. 295, 298; Figueras 1985, p. 26, no. 18 with the previous bibliography). It is interesting that ἀπόθεσις is employed in the same sense in a pagan epitaph (after AD 212) from Termessos of Pisidia (*SEG* 41 [1941], no. 1288). The related verb ἀποτίθημι was also in use in Christian funerary epigraphy (see for example, Feissel 1983, no. 123).

The word σκῆνωμα expressing the notion of the body as the "tent" in which the soul resides is found in the New Testament (2 *Pet.* 1.13, 14) and in the Patristic literature (Lampe, pp. 1237-1238, s.v.). This metaphorical use gradually lost ground so that σκῆνωμα came to mean merely "body" and more specifically "corpse" (Lampe, as above; cf. also *NDIEC* 4 [1987], p. 172, no. 85). This is evident in a number of fourth c. AD epitaphs from Macedonia, containing prohibitions against violation of the grave, where the word σκῆνωμα meaning "corpse" is not confined to Christian texts (Feissel 1983, nos. 123, 231) but it appears as well in pagan ones (*ibid.*, no. 232; *SEG* 45 [1995], no. 795A). A Christian epitaph from Gaza (AD 467: Germer-Durand 1905, p. 12, no. II) speaking of the death of a presbyter uses the expression "ἀπεγένετο τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ὑμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου)". In a much later (AD 800) epitaph from Egypt (*SEG* 43 [1993], no. 1175) it is clearly stated that the σκῆνωμα, i.e. the body of the deceased woman, was placed in the grave until the resurrection of the dead: "τὸ σκῆνωμα αὐτῆς ἐτέθη ἐνταῦθι ἄχρι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν νεκρῶν...".

On the Semitic name Ὀμμαβίη and its various spellings met in Ghor es-Safi and elsewhere, see above commentary of inscr. no. 34.

I. 4: The name Νίλος, a false writing for Νεῖλος, appears also in inscr. no. 190. It is a name richly documented in Egypt in both spellings in inscriptions (*SEG* 33 [1983], no. 1322 [*Νεῖλος*]; *ibid.* 30 [1980], no. 1718; *ibid.* 32 [1982] no. 1567; *ibid.* 35 [1985], no. 1659 [*Νίλος* dubious]; *ibid.*, index of vols. 36-45, p. 140, s.v. *Νίλος*) but mainly in papyri (Preisigke 1922, col. 227, s.v. *Νεῖλος*; *ibid.*, col. 235, s.v. *Νίλος*; Foraboschi 1967, pp. 203-204, s.v. *Νεῖλος*; *ibid.*, p. 209, s.v. *Νίλος*). In

Palestine the name, always in the spelling *Nēλος*, occurs at Hebron (el-Khalil: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 240 = Meimaris 1986, no. 547) borne by a marmararius, at the Wadi el-Qilt Monastery as a monk's name (Schneider 1931, p. 327, no. 185), in three mosaic inscriptions from Mampsis referring to the same person probably the benefactor of the West Church (Negev 1981, nos. 81, 83, 85 = *SEG* 31 [1981], nos. 1411, 1413, 1415) and lately in the island Geziret Faraoun, Sinai (Gulf of Aqaba: *SEG* 44 [1994], no. 1365). Cyril of Scythopolis mentions a certain *Nēλος*, presbyter of the Monastery of Saint Euthymios (*Vita Euth.* 48, p. 68, l. 27). An eminent person named *Neilos* was the Ascetic, theologian and Saint who, according to the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*, served as an eparch of Constantinople under Theodosios I and then left for Sinai together with his son Theodoulos (Delehay 1902, cols. 390-391; cf. also *ODB*, p. 1450, s.v. *Neilos of Ankyra*).

ll. 4-5: For the burial expression ἐνθάδε κεῖται, see above commentary of inscr. no. 76.

ll. 1-6: The Orphic and Platonic conception of the body-soul separation at the time of death reflected in these lines was a frequent theme in pagan and later in Christian funerary epigrams (for the former see Peek 1955, nos. 1754-1777; for the latter see Lattimore 1942, pp. 304-306). In a Christian context this notion is already implied in the comment of Paul "ἐκδημῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημῆσαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον" (2 *Cor.* 5.8), is laconically stated in the funeral service for the monks "πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ σκηνώματος" (Goar 1730/repr.1960, p. 446) and is described in detail by the Church Fathers (Lampe, p. 1547, s.v. ψυχή, no. 4). In Palestine the closest parallels to the body-soul dichotomy and the soul's destination to God is encountered in a mid-fifth c. epitaph from Gaza: "Ἐνθα κεῖται τὸ λίψανον τρισμακαρίο[υ] καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις π(α)τρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρεσβ(υτέρου), τὸ δὲ πν(εύ)μα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ..." (Glucker 1987, pp. 121-122, no. 4), in a beautiful metrical inscription of AD 496 from the Church of Saint Theodore at Gerasa: "... σῶμα γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ, ψυχὴ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, ἀγγελικῆς μετὰ πότμον αἰεὶ μετέχουσα χορείης..." (Welles 1938, pp. 477-478, no. 300) and in another epigram of uncertain date (2nd/3rd or 5th/7th century AD) from Galilee (Belvoir: Lajtar 2000, pp. 53-55 with correction of the text of the *editio princeps*): "Σῶμα Φοιβαδίου θίου τόδε σῆμα καλύπτει ψυχὴ [δ'] οὐρανὸν εἶκε φίλη μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν".

The Homeric verb ἀποίχομαι, which normally means "to be gone, to have departed", acquired later the metaphorical sense "to be dead and gone" when referring to persons. Thus the participle ἀποιχόμενος came to mean "the deceased" (*LSJ*, p. 200, s.v. ἀποίχομαι, no. 3).

ll. 7-9: The phrase ἐν ὁσιότητι, describing an essential virtue in a Christian's life (Lampe, p. 976, no. 3), occurs as well in other epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (nos. 22, 61, 95).

The expression "ἐτη... ἐν βίῳ πλήσασα" finds some parallels in funerary epigrams from Hauran: "γλυκεροῦ πλησάμενος βίῳ" (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9419), "πλήσαντα λιπαρῶς κύκλου ἐτῶν ἑκατόν" (Busr el-Hariri: Waddington, no. 2473). Similar phrases are encountered in epitaphs from the Negev: "οὐκ ὄλον ἔτος... πληρ[ώ]σασα" (Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 174, no. 6) and "διατρίψας ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ πέντε καὶ δύο ἔτη" (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 57).

Ἀπέσκλη is the second aorist of the verb ἀποσκέλλω whose original meaning is "to be dried up, to wither" (*LSJ*, p. 217, s.v. ἀποσκληῖναι) or "to be hard" (Lampe, p. 207, s.v. ἀποσκέλλω). In this epitaph the verb is employed in the metaphorical sense of "die" (*Hesychius*, p. 236, s.v. ἀπέσκλη = ἀπέθανεν and p. 257, s.v. ἀποσκληαίη = ἀποξηραίνωτο, ἀποθάνοι), a use already met in Lucian (*Dmort.* 27.7). In the Church Fathers ἀποσκέλλω is metaphorically used to characterize sin, truth or ascetic life as hard (Lampe, as above).

ll. 11-14: The final lines of this epitaph are an exhortation addressed to the passer-by, requesting him to pray to the Lord for the repose of Ommabie in paradise (for similar exhortations to pray for the deceased from Egypt, see *IGA* V, nos. 15, 51, 231). The latter word is denoted in the epitaph by the phrase "ἐν μοναῖς ἁγίων". The word μονή, originally meaning "abode, lodging" (Lampe, p. 880, s.v. μονή, no. 1) is used metaphorically either in singular or in plural by the ecclesiastical writers as a designation for "heaven" (Lampe, *ibid.*, no. 1c). The notion of paradise, being a dwelling place of the saints, is reflected in a Byzantine epitaph from Egypt which reads: "ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς μετὰ ὁσίων κ(αὶ) δικαίων..." (*SEG* 43 [1993], no. 1175; cf. Bernand 1992, no. 112) and in another one from Gaza: "... μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων Σου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Σου τῶν οὐρανῶν" (*SEG* 37 [1987], no. 1984). The expression "ἐν μοναῖς ἁγίων" is mentioned in the funeral services for the monks: "...τὸν μεταστάντα ἀξιώσον, καὶ κατασκήνωσον, ἐν σκηναῖς Δικαίων, ἐν μοναῖς Ἀγίων Σου..." (Goar 1730/repr. 1960, p. 439), and for the priests: "...ἵνα, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκοπίασεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ διὰ τὸ ὄνομά Σου, λάβῃ πλουσίαν τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν ἐν ταῖς μοναῖς τῶν Ἀγίων Σου" (*ibid.*, p. 452), while in that for the lay the phrase "ἐν αὐλαῖς Ἀγίων" is met: "... ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς Ἀγίων ἀνάπανσον..." (*ibid.*, p. 430). Similar expressions for the repose of the deceased "among the Saints" are attested in

epitaphs from the Negev, as for example "Κύριε, ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων Σου" ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 18) or "ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος" (Shivta: *ibid.*, nos. 59, 60, 63). Phrases of this kind are also encountered in funerary inscriptions from Egypt: e.g. "ὁ Θεὸς ἀναπαύσῃ... ἐν σκηναῖς ἁγίων or δικαίων" (*IGA V*, nos. 621, 660 respectively) or the prevalent phrase in this area "ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ... εἰς κόλπους (or ἐν κόλποις) Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ" (*ibid.*, p. xxx).


Some special characteristics of this tombstone, such as the rich symbolic decoration, the careful and nice lettering and above all the distinctive and elaborate phraseology of the epitaph, containing even a few archaisms, testify that the aged Ὁμαβίη was not an ordinary woman, but probably a distinguished and well respected member of the local Christian community.

90. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper right and lower left corners and chipped at the right side. Inv. no.: Z-9. Dimensions: 0.405x0.265x0.065 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed especially in the area used for the text. Above the inscription an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram is flanked by two incised crosses. The text is enclosed within an engraved frame, the lower line of which is also painted red. Incised guide-lines are preserved below the lines 1-3 (the second guide-line is also painted red). The whole text is engraved; lines 1,3,5,7 preserve in addition red paint, while the three first letters of l. 6 green paint. The script is of the oval form. The letters are clearly cut and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.028 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XVIII

Date: 25 Panemos 300 E.P.A. = 14 July AD 405.

+  +	Monument of
Μν<η>μῖον	Abdalges, (son)
Ἀβδάλγου	of Themosis, who
Θέμου, (palm branch)	died (at the age)
4 ἐν ἔτ(ει) τ,	of 9 years, in the
μη(νός) Πανέμ(ου)	year 300, on (the)
κε', ἐτ(ῶν) θ' θα-	25th (day) of (the)
νών. +	month Panemos.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον: the engraver failed to incise the third letter *eta*.
- l. 3: the line ends with a vertical palm branch.
- l. 4: the word ἔτει is abbreviated by its first two letters.
- l. 5: the abbreviation for μηνός consists of the two first letters and a small sign S; Πανήμ(ου) for Πανέμ(ου): the word is abbreviated by the first five letters and the sign S.
- l. 6: the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first two letters and a tiny oblique stroke slanting to the right; a horizontal bar above the age numeral.
- ll. 6-7: θανών for θανόντος: nominative instead of genitive singular of the aorist participle; this participle should normally follow after the patronymic.
- l. 7: the line ends with a red painted cross.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: At Ghor es-Safi the common name Ἀβδάλγης has been commented on above in inscr. no. 12.
- l. 3: The name Θέμος is according to Sartre (1985, pp. 204-205, s.v. *Θαιμος*) "l'un des plus fréquents dans l'Orient sémitique". It is the Greek transcription of the Semitic tym, meaning "slave", and the equivalent of the Arabic name Taim (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 54, 175; *PAES IIIA*, p. 65, no. 72; Canova 1954, p. 31, no. 2; Sartre 1985, p. 204). In Palestine and Arabia the bulk of the epigraphical material related to this name originates from the region of Hauran, while Moab and Negev have also contributed a number of examples. In these areas the name is attested principally in the variants *Θάιμος*, which is the prevailing one (Hauran: Wuthnow 1930, pp. 52-53, s.v.; Waddington, index I, p. 5, s.v.; *PAES IIIA*, ind. I, p. 459, s.v.; *AAES III*, p. 340, s.v.; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 645, no. 13; p. 679, no. 109; Dunand 1932, p. 406, no. 26; Dunand 1934, pp. 48-49, no. 74 = Sartre-Fauriat 2001, pp. 256-257, no. 12 (two persons); Mittmann 1970, no. 47; Milik 1959-1960a, p. 357, no. 9; Sartre 1982, nos. 9240, 9319; Moab: Canova 1954, no. 2 [el-Kerak]; Riha: Gatier 1998, p.

407, no. 134) and *Θέμος* (Hauran: Wuthnow 1930, p. 54, s.v.; Waddington, as above, s.v.; *PAES* IIIA, as above, s.v.; *AAES* III, as above, s.v.; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 653, no. 28; p. 656, no. 42; Dunand 1939, p. 565, no. 268; p. 566, no. 273; Moab: Canova 1954, nos. 99, 229; Negev: Negev 1981, nos. 48, 52, 65 [Shivta]; *Nessana* 3, pap. nos. 31.43, 79.11; Khirbet es-Samra: Gattier 1998, p. 369, no. 11). The form *Θείμος* occurs only once at Umm el-Jimâl (*PAES* IIIA, no. 367). In addition the variants *Θέμης* (Cumont 1926, p. 363, no. 8b) and *Θαίμαϊος* (Waddington, no. 2612) are known from Dura Europos and Palmyra respectively. The name *Θέμος* appears in combination with Nabataean divine names forming compound theophoric names such as: *Θεμάλας* (on this name see below commentary of inscr. no. 108), *Θεμάλλαθος*, *Θαίμάρσος*, *Θαίμοάμεδος*, *Θεμοδουσάρης*, *Θαμάλλα*, *Θέμβηλος*, or with names of deified Nabataean kings like *Θαίμομάλεχος*, *Θεμοόβδης* (for the bibliographical documentation of these names, see Sartre 1985, p. 205, s.v. *Θαίμος*).

ll. 6-7: For the funerary participle *θανών* see commentary of inscr. no. 76.

91. Tombstone of purple sandstone with goldish stripes, almost rectangular in shape and broken in the upper left and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-237. Dimensions: 0.44x0.27x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is broken and flaked off in various parts and badly weathered, especially in the inscribed area. At the lower part of the inscribed surface salt crystals are observed. Above the text in the middle a *cross-rho* monogram, to the left a simple cross and to the right an outlined cross. Below the inscription is depicted to the right a cross with triangular serifs and a *chi*-sign in its centre standing upon a horizontally placed palm branch and to the left a bird facing left and stepping on a similar palm branch. The text as well as the symbols are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters, most of which are worn, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIX

Date: 12 Hyperberetaios 300 E.P.A. = 29 September AD 405.

<p>+ ϣ +  Μνημῖον Ἀν-  νῆς Σαββινι-  ανοῦ, παυσά-  4 μένου ἐτῶν  ἐγενήκοντα  ἐνὸς μετὰ κα-  λοῦ ὀνόματος  8 καὶ καλῆς πίσ-  τεως, τοῦ ἔτους  τ', μεγὸς Ὑπερ-  βερετέου ιβ',  12 ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου υ' ζ'.  Θάρσει, οὐδὶς  ἀθάνατος.  (bird) +  (palm branch) (palm branch)</p>	<p>Monument of Annes (or  Anna), (son or daughter)  of Sabbinianus (?),  who died (at the age)  of ninety-one years,  having a good name  and good faith, in the  year 300, on (the)  12th (day) of (the)  month Hyperberetaios,  on (the) 6th day of  (the) Lord (Friday).  Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: the last seven letters are faintly preserved.

l. 10: μεγός for μεγός: substitution of *eta* for *epsilon*.

l. 11-12: Ὑπερβερεταίου.

ll. 12: abbreviation of Κυρίου formed by its first and last letters; the weekday numeral is decorated to the left by two serpentine motifs and to the right by one angular motif facing left.

l. 13: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: Ἀννῆς is probably a masculine name in nominative despite the participle in genitive παυσαμένου (for this confusion of cases common in Ghor es-Safi, see chapter on Syntax). This



name is known from papyri found in Egypt and presenting a double genitive Ἀννέους and Ἀννήτος (Preisigke 1922, col. 32, s.v. Ἀννῆς; Foraboschi 1967, p. 34, s.v. Ἀννῆς). According to Preisigke Ἀννῆς is the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic, Hebrew or old-Arabic name Ḥannai (1922, col. 517, s.v. Ἀννεός, Ἀννῆς, cf. also Wuthnow 1930, p. 142). Ἀννῆς (Preisigke 1922, col. 33, s.v.), Ἀννέος, Ἀνναῖος, Ἀννος, Ἀννίος (Wuthnow 1930, p. 23, s.vv.) are plausibly variant forms of Ἀννῆς. All these names derive from the common Semitic root ḥnn, "to be benevolent" (Wuthnow 1930, *ibid.*). The possibility, however, that Ἀννῆς is the genitive of the feminine name Ἀννα, cannot be excluded since it coincides with the genitive case of the participle πανσαμένου which, albeit masculine, could also refer to a woman (for this phenomenon at Ghor es-Safi, see chapter on Syntax; for Ἀννα see commentary of inscr. no. 131).

II. 2-3: The restoration of the name Σαββινιανός is highly conjectural, since only faint traces of the first seven letters are discernible. Σαββινιανός, the Latin *Sabinianus*, is epigraphically attested in the neighbouring Moab (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 399), at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 369, no. 9), but mainly in Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2124, 2188, 2190; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 176, 559). Among the bearers of the name worth noting are: an ἡγεμών from Bostra (*PAES* IIIA, no. 559 = Sartre 1982, no. 9091), probably identified with the general who commanded the army sent against the Persians in AD 359 (*Amm. Marc.* XVIII, 5.5 and XIX, 3); a διοικητής, local magistrate from Djeneine (Waddington, no. 2188) and a διάκ(ονος) and οἰκονόμος, responsible for the erection of the Church of St. Sergius at Eitha (el-Hit: Waddington, no. 2124).

II. 4-6: Ἀννῆς is one of the most long-lived persons mentioned in the epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi.

II. 6-9: The phrase "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως" appearing in these lines is a common theme in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi which deserves special attention (for the high frequency, the variations and the chronological span of this expression, see chapter on Burial terms and phrases). Its interest lies in the fact that it provides an affirmation of Christian belief expressed in a singular way at least in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia (the epitaph on a stele, published by M. Piccirillo [1989, p. 118, no. 19] after a photo shown to him and bearing the phrase "μετὰ πίστεως Κ.ΛΗΧ" [possibly "κ[α]λῆ<ς>"], presents many affinities to the sepulchral texts of Ghor es-Safi which is most likely the place of its provenance).

Moreover, although the second part of this formula unequivocally declares the Christian faith of the deceased, the meaning of the first component "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος" is not promptly comprehensible. In its literal sense it could mean the "good reputation" gained as a crown of virtuous life. However, its constant occurrence in the epitaphs, either as the introductory part of a formula including reference to the Christian faith (85 instances) or quite often as an independent phrase (61 cases) leads to a more "religious" interpretation. According to it the term "καλὸ ὄνομα" could be taken as the equivalent of the name of Christian, "Χριστιανός", thus revealing the Christian identity of his bearer. Such an interpretation is supported by phrases like "τὸ καλὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὄνομα τοῦ σωτῆρος" (Lampe, p. 698, s.v. *καλός* B3) or "τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἐξαιρετὸν ὄνομα Χριστιανός" or "... ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανός, καὶ φορῶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο" employed already in literary sources of the first Christian centuries (Lampe, p. 965, s.v. *ὄνομα* A4) and by the usually accompanying phrase "καλῆς πίστεως" which emphatically confirms its Christian character. One may go even further and suggest that the formula "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως" may express the notion of the baptized Christian, since these two qualities, Christian "Χριστιανός" and faithful "πιστός", were considered to be acquired at baptism as is eloquently described for example in the Catechisms on baptism of John Chrysostom: "Τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα σου τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥς καὶ τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι συναπαρκετεῖσθαι (*sic*) καὶ εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν σοι συναποδημεῖν ζωὴν. Τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; Χριστιανός ἀκούεις λοιπὸν διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ πιστός. Ἴδου οὐχ ἓν ἀξίωμα ἀλλὰ δύο..." (*Catech.* I in Wenger 1957, p. 131, § 44), or of Cyril of Jerusalem (AD 348-387): "... Λαμβάνεις ὄνομα καινόν, ὃ πρότερον οὐκ εἶχες. Πρὸ τούτου κατηχούμενος ἦς, νῦν δὲ πιστός κληθήσῃ..." (*Catech.* I, PG 33, p. 373.IV).

These two epithets "Χριστιανός" and "πιστός" (as well a number of similar phrases: on these see Mentzou-Meimari 1994, p. 32), encountered either together or individually, are employed in epitaphs from various parts of the Byzantine Empire to denote that their bearers were baptized members of the Christian Church (for a thorough study on the meaning of the epithet "πιστός" in the Early Christian epigraphy, including a collection of the relevant attestations, see Mentzou-Meimari 1985, pp. 1203-1209; for "Χριστιανός" in epitaphs see *ibid.*, pp. 1203-1204 and nn. 2-4; cf. also Lampe, p. 1087, s.v.; Guarducci 1978, pp. 431-434, no. 1, especially p. 433).

In Palestine the baptized Christians were also styled either "Χριστιανοί" (e.g. "[κα]λὴ ἡ πόλις Χρισ[+τι]ανῶν" in an inscription from Emmaus: Guarducci 1978, p. 444, no. 2 with all the

previous bibliography) or "πιστοί" (e.g. "Βρασιδία πιστή" in an epitaph from Caesarea Maritima: *JECM* V, no. 197; cf. also the appellation "πιστός" applied to the Christians of the city of Gaza in the Life of Saint Porphyrios: Marc. Diac., *Vita Porph.*, ch. 29.1-2; 65.16-17; 70.12; 87.1-2 etc.).

The practice of declaring the Christian identity in the early Byzantine epitaphs seems to start around the third or fourth century and ends in the seventh century, a period compatible to the Ghor es-Safi evidence. Finally it should also be pointed out that the formula "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως" is occasionally applied to children over 3 years old (cf. for examples nos. 154, 250 [4 years old]; no. 259 [5 years old] which possibly means that they were baptized. Infant baptism was not an unknown custom in the Church of Palestine (Mentzou-Meimari 1985, p. 1215).

92. Tombstone of white sandstone almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken at the upper part. Inv. no.: Z-319. Dimensions: 0.50x0.30x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the edges. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame and set between guide-lines. The text, the guide-lines and the frame are all engraved. Below the inscription there are two more guide-lines drawn in charcoal which are probably remnants of the original drawing of the text before the incision. The script is of the round alphabet with nice symmetrical letters, very well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIX

Date: 15 Artemisios 301 E.P.A. = 5 May AD 406.

	Μνημῖον ν	Monument
	Φασήλης Ἀ- ν	of Fasele, (daughter)
	μριλίου, ἀπο-	of Amrilios, who
4	θανοῦσα με-	died having a
	τὰ καλοῦ ὀ- ν	good name
	νόματος ἐτ-	(at the age) of
	ῶν ξβ', ἐν ἔτι	62 years, in the
8	τριακοσσιασ-	three hundred and
	τοῦ πρώτου,	first year,
	ἐν μηνί) Ἀρτεμ-	on the 15th (day) of
	εσίου ν εἰ', ἐν	the month Artemisios,
12	ἡμέρᾳ) ν Κυρίου) ζ'. Θάρσει,	on the 7th day of (the)
	οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-	Lord (Saturday). Be of
	τος. <i>vacat</i>	good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: the final *sigma* of the genitive Φασήλης is squeezed between the letters *eta* and *alpha* as if it were an afterthought of the engraver.

ll. 3-4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης; nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 7: after the age numeral follows a decorative oblique line flanked by two dots; ἐν ἔτει.

ll. 8-9: τριακοσσιαστοῦ πρώτου for τριακοσιοστῷ πρώτῳ: genitive for dative.

l. 10: the word μηνί is abbreviated by the first two letters, an *eta* above *mu*.

ll. 10-11: Ἀρτεμείου for Ἀρτεμίδω: substitution of *iota* for *epsilon* and use of the genitive instead of the dative singular; the month day numeral is inverted and followed by the same decorative element as in l. 7.

l. 12: usual abbreviation of ἡμέρᾳ with a small *mu* above a large *eta*; Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter; the weekday numeral is also followed by the same decorative motif as in ll. 7 and 11; θάρσει.

l. 13: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The feminine name Φασήλη is common in Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 147) mainly in the form Φασέλη (inscr. nos. 116, 210, 225 and 296). Both variants are Greek transcriptions of a Semitic theophoric name consisting of the verb *fs'* and the divine name 'El and translated as "El has released, set free" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 117, 162; Sartre 1985, p. 242, s.v. Φασέλη, where the name is given in various Semitic dialects). Such a name probably alludes to the help offered by the divinity during a first birth or a difficult delivery or more generally to the salvation granted by God

(Caquot 1962, p. 246c). In the neighbouring Moab the name is recorded twice in the form *Φασιήλη* (Canova 1954, nos. 166, 342). Hauran has yielded the most numerous examples of this name in many different spellings: *Φασαιέλη* (Waddington, no. 2445 [‘Ahire]; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 792 [Djrên], 800<sup>3</sup> [Dâmit el-‘Alya]; Dunand 1932, p. 579, no. 132 = Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 666, no. 72 [Rama]), *Φασεέλη* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 210 [Umm el-Qutîên]), *Φασεήλη* (Sartre 1982, no. 9308 [Bostra]), *Φασηέλη* (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 57 [el-Bezâyiz], 372, 383, 469 [Umm el-Jimâl]; Sartre 1982, nos. 9256, 9307, 9363 [Bostra]; Dunand 1950, p. 152, no. 334), *Φασηήλη* (Sartre 1982, no. 9257 [Bostra]; *PAES* IIIA, no. 178 ([Kfêr]), and *Φασηίλ*, possibly a transliteration of the Semitic name without the addition of the usual Greek ending (*PAES* IIIA, no. 426 [Umm el-Jimâl]). A daughter of the Nabataean king Aretas IV bore also this name according to some Nabataean graffiti from Petra (Milik and Starcky 1975, pp. 112-115; cf. Sartre 1985, p. 242). The masculine name is less frequent and occurs in the variants *Φασεέλος* in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 803<sup>2</sup> [Sha‘ârah]) and *Φασαήλος* in Palmyra (*AAES* III, no. 352), Petra (de Vogüé and Lagrange 1898, p. 173) and on a Jewish ossuary from Jerusalem (Rahmani 1994, pp. 186-187, no. 490, who considers the dead either a Palmyrene or a Nabataean married to a Jewish woman). In addition it was a common name in Herod the Great's family since one of his sons, his brother and his nephew were called *Φασαήλος* (*RE* XIX. 2 [1939], col. 2545, s.v. *Phasael*). A city N. of Jericho was named *Φασαηλίσ* after Herod's brother (ibid., col. 1874, s.v. *Phasaelis*; Tsafir, Di Segni and Green 1994, pp. 202-203, s.v. *Phasaelis*).

ll. 2-3: The patronymic *Ἀμρίλιος* transcribes in Greek a common Semitic theophoric name deriving from an original *‘mr’l* which could be translated as "order of ‘El" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 20, 126; Sartre 1985, p. 176, s.v. *Αμρειλιος*; for the less possible etymology *‘mr’l*, see ibid.; cf. also Di Segni 1998, p. 463, n. 109; for the Semitic roots *‘mr* and *‘mr*, see above commentary of *Ἀμηρος* in inscr. no. 1). Apart from Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 109 and 189), the name is attested frequently in Palestine and Arabia, particularly in Hauran and Moab, in a number of spelling variations: *Ἀμρίλιος* at Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9411), Ghâriyeh esh-Sharkiyeh (Dunand 1939, p. 574, no. 300), Deir el-Meyâs (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 186, no. 61), Imtân (ibid., p. 173, no. 37) and Khirbet es-Samrah in Hauran (Gatier 1998, p. 367, no. 1), at ‘Ayun Musa on Mount Nebo (Di Segni 1998, p. 454, no. 62; p. 457, no. 72), at Ader (Canova 1954, no. 205) and Maḥaiy (ibid., no. 408) in Moab, at Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 175, no. 15) in the Negev; *Ἀμρείλιος* at Bostra (Sartre 1982, nos. 9084, 9104, 9234), ‘Ayun (Waddington, no. 1984a) and Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 408-409, no. 74); *Ἀμρίλις* at ‘Ormân (*PAES* IIIA, no. 704); *Ἀμρέλις* at ‘Akraba (Ewing 1895, p. 52, no. 30); *Ἀμβρίλιος* at Ezra’ (Waddington, no. 2485) and Salchad (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 156, 157; Dunand 1934, p. 105, no. 215) in Hauran and el-Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 47); *Ἀμβρείλις* at Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9028); and *Ἀμείρηλος* at Der’a (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 697, no. 166).

93. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken at the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-93. Dimensions: 0.355x0.355x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is broken at the lower left corner and flaked off at the lower part. The left side of the inscription is occupied by a large incised palm branch, rendered in a naturalistic way, maybe the best example of its kind in the Ghor es-Safi inscriptions. The lower half of the text is flanked by two red painted snakes, of which the left is entangled in the palm leaves. Below the inscription a cross is drawn in red paint flanked by two also red painted birds of which only the left one has been partially preserved. The text is engraved and red paint is preserved mainly in the left half of the inscription. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters are small - with the exception of the first line which was emphatically written in large characters - fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIX

Date: 17 Panemos 302 E.P.A. = 6 July AD 407.

Εἷς Θεός.  
Μνημῖον Ἀμαλάθη  
Ζεβίνα, παυσομένη  
4 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  
τος ἐτῶν κέ, ἔτους  
τβ', νη(νός) Πανέμου  
ζί', ν ἡμ(έρῃ) Κ(υρίο)υ Κρόνου.

One (is) the God. Monument  
of Amalathe, (daughter) of  
Zebinas, who died having a  
good name (at the age) of  
25 years, in (the) year 302,  
on (the) 17th (day) of Panemos,  
on the day of the Lord,

8 Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνα-  
vacat τος. vacat  
(bird) + [bird]

(day) of Saturn (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 2: μνημεῖον; Ἀμαλάθη for Ἀμαλάθης: nominative for genitive.
- l. 3: παυσομένη for παυσαμένης: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron* and use of the nominative instead of genitive singular.
- l. 6: μηνός is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*; Πανέμου for Πανήμου: substitution of *eta* for *epsilon*.
- l. 7: the month day numeral is inverted and followed by an uninscribed space; a small *mu* above a large *eta* stands for the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; the abbreviation of the sacred name Κυρίου is formed by the first and last letter.
- l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: The name of the deceased woman Ἀμαλάθη is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi and so far epigraphically unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia. It may be the feminine form of the Semitic masculine name Ἀμέλαθος encountered twice in Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2393 [Deir el-Leben], 2416 [Breikeh]). Ἀμέλαθος is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Ḥamalat, which derives from the Semitic root ḥml, "to carry" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 19, s.v. and p. 142; Negev 1991, p. 30, no. 465).
- l. 3: For the name Ζεβίνας and its parallels, see above inscr. no. 45.
- l. 7: For the weekday expressed according to the Christian and the planetary system, see chapter on Date of death, pp. 48-51

94. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken at the upper right and lower left and right corner. Inv. no.: Z-40. Dimensions: 0.50x0.385x0.105m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped at the edges and weathered in the middle. Traces of incised guide-lines are discernible. The text is also engraved. The script is basically round with the exception of a square *omicron* (l. 2) and *sigma* (l. 6). The letters are nice (some of them bear serifs), symmetrical, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XIX

Date: 15 Apellaios 302 E.P.A. = 1 December AD 407.

Μνημῖον Κα-  
λαπόρνου, ἀπο-  
θανόντος μετὰ  
4 καλοῦ ἀνόματος  
ἐτῶν ν νά, vacat  
ἔτους ν τβ', μη(νός)  
Ἀπελλέου ν ιε',  
8 ἡμ(έρα) ν Κ(υρίο)ν ν α'. vacat  
Θάρσι, Καλαπόρ-  
νι, οὐδὶς ἀθά-  
νατος.

Monument of Kalaporni(o)s  
(Calpurnius), who died  
having a good name  
(at the age) of 51 years,  
in (the) year 302, on  
(the) 15th (day) of (the)  
month Apellaios, on (the)  
1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday).  
Be of good cheer,  
Kalaporni(o)s,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.
- ll. 1-2: Καλαπόρνου for Καλπουρνίου.
- l. 4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *omicron* replaced by *alpha*.
- l. 5: the uninscribed spaces before and after the age numeral probably serve to emphasize it.
- l. 6: an uninscribed space is also used here (see l. 5) to stress the year numeral, the units figure of which is a dubious *beta*; a small *eta* above a large *mu* stands for the abbreviation of μηνός.
- l. 7: Ἀπελλαίου; the characteristic empty space is left before the month day numeral.

l. 8: a small *mu* over an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters; uninscribed spaces are left on either side of the weekday numeral as in l. 5.

ll. 9-10: θάρσει; Καλαπόρνη for Καλπούρνη; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The name of the deceased is a local Greek transcription of the Latin name *Calpurnius*. The present form with the anaptyctic vowel *a* between *lambda* and *pi* (see chapter on Phonetics, p. 62) appears as well in Asia Minor (cf. Καλαπούρνιος; *MAMA* VIII, no. 255 and *Hellenica* XIII [1965], p. 45). The use of the contracted form Καλπούρνης evidenced in ll. 9-10 is also encountered in inscr. no. 297.

95. Tombstone of purple sandstone with red and yellow stripes, chipped at the upper and lower sides. Inv. no.: Z-51. Dimensions: 0.57x0.40x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed mainly in the area occupied by the inscription, is chipped at the right side and especially at the lower part, flaked off at various places and weathered. Above the text is depicted an outlined red painted sun-disc, while below an outlined engraved cross painted over in red. The inscription is flanked by two series of snakes in vertical position drawn in red paint. The text is engraved and red paint is preserved only in the word ΔΥΤΡΟΥ in l. 7 and the day numeral Α in l. 8. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters are small, symmetrical, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XX

Date: 2 Dystros 302 E.P.A. = 16 February AD 408.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Ῥούφου Σαμράβ-  
βου, πρεσβυτέρου, παυσάμε-  
νος ἐγ' ὁσιότητι μετὰ κα-  
4 λοῦ ἀνόματος καὶ καλῆς  
πίστεως ἐτῶν ξζ', *vacat*  
ἔτους τβ', ννν μην(νός) *vacat*  
Δύστρου δευτέρῃ, ν ἡμ(έρα) νν  
8 (tabula ansata) Κ(υρίο)υ *vacat* α'. *vacat*  
Θάρσι, Ῥούφε, ν οὐδὶς ἀθά-  
*vacat* νατος. *vacat*

+

Monument of Rufus, (son) of Samirabbos,  
(the) presbyter, who died in holiness  
having a good name and good faith  
(at the age) of 66 years, in (the)  
year 302, on the second (day)  
of (the) month Dystros,  
on (the) 1st day of (the) Lord  
(Sunday). Be of good cheer,  
Rufus, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: use of the nominative παυσάμενος instead of the genitive παυσάμενου.

l. 3: ὁσιότητι for ὁσιότητι: substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*.

l. 4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος; the same phenomenon.

l. 5: after the age numeral the line is left empty.

l. 6: uninscribed spaces after the year numeral and after the abbreviation of μηνός formed by the *eta* above *mu*.

l. 7: the month day is an ordinal numeral, while all the other numerals are given in numerical signs; a small *mu* above an elongated *eta* is the abbreviation for ἡμέρα.

l. 8: in the beginning of the line a red painted rectangular frame (probably a tabula ansata without the dovetails); the letters KY stand for the abbreviation of Κ(υρίο)υ; the week day numeral *alpha* is flanked by a long uninscribed space to the left and a shorter one to the right.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: Ῥούφος is a frequent name in Ghor es-Safi (see above commentary of inscr. no. 29). This presbyter *Rufus* is likely to be brother of the archdeacon Karponios mentioned in no. 104 as implied not only by their patronymic but also by their age and time of death.

ll. 1-2: On the name Σαμίραββος and its popularity in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

l. 2: This is the only attestation of the ecclesiastical office of *πρεσβύτερος* in Ghor es-Safi, if we except the earlier mention (AD 387/8) of an *ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος*, also called *Rufus* (see above commentary of inscr. no. 55). *Πρεσβύτερος* was the officer of the second order in the three-fold Christian ministry and was ordained by the bishop. His duties were religious and administrative within the city or country community in which he served. For more information on his functions as well on the epigraphical evidence concerning this office in Palestine and Arabia, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 184-201; for recent epigraphical material on *πρεσβύτερος*, see Piccirillo 1994, pp. 242-243, no. 1a; p. 251, no. 8a; pp. 258-259, no. 14; Di Segni 1990, p. 153, no. 1; pp. 153-155, no. 2; pp. 157-159, nos. 5,6,7; Di Segni 1990b, pp. 265-271, nos. 1-5; Piccirillo and Alliata 1990, pp. 398-400 and 406-407; Tzaferis 1996, p. 80\*, no. 8; pp. 81-82\*, no. 9; Gregg and Urman 1996, ind. B, p. 355, s.v. [8 cases]; Saliou 2000, pp. 392-393, no. 1; pp. 400-401, no. 10; pp. 401-405, nos. 12,13,14).

l. 3: On the phrase *ἐν ὁσιότητι*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 89.

**96.** Tombstone of white sandstone, broken at the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-226. Dimensions: 0.64x0.48x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the upper and left sides. The inscription is flanked by two series of snakes in a vertical position (one touching the tail of the other). Above the text in the upper part is depicted a series of small triangles and in the centre an outlined radiant sun-disc. At the upper part of the sun-disc an oblique tangent line in red paint is visible. Below the text a series of five squares and beneath them in the centre a cross and to the right a few triangles, all filled with red paint. Traces of incised guide-lines are discernible. The text is engraved and traces of red paint are preserved in ll. 1,2 (the last 8 letters), 4 (the first 9 letters), 5 (the last 5 letters), 9 (the first 10 letters), 10 (the last 3 letters). The script is of the round form with small symmetrical letters with serifs, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. V

Date: 8 Audynaioi 304 E.P.A. = 24 December AD 409.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Κυρίλλου  
Αἰνίου, ὑποδιάκονος,  
παυσόμενος μετὰ κα-  
4 λοῦ ἀνόματος καὶ κα-  
λῆς πίστεως ἑτῶν  
κη', ἔτους τδ',  
μη(νός) Αὐδωνέου νν η', νν  
8 νν ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου νν ζ'. ννν  
Θάρσει, Κύριλλε, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος. *vacat*

+

Monument of Kyrillos,  
(son) of Aeneas, (the) subdeacon,  
who died having a good name  
and good faith (at the age)  
of 28 years, in (the) year 304,  
on (the) 8th (day) of (the)  
month Audynaioi, on (the) 6th day  
of (the) Lord (Friday).  
Be of good cheer, Kyrillos,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: *μνημεῖον*; *Κυρίλλου* for *Κυρίλλου*: the two last letters *upsilon* and *sigma* are connected forming a kind of ligature; *Κυρίλλου* could either be a heteroclitic genitive of *Κυρίλλος* (cf. *Πονέμου*; no. 61) or the nominative of this name according to the local pronunciation.

l. 2: *Αἰνίου*; *ὑποδιάκονος* for *ὑποδιακόνου*: use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 3: *παυσόμενος* for *παυσαμένου*: same phenomenon as above and *omicron* in the place of *alpha*.

l. 4: *ἀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος*: substitution of the initial *omicron* for *alpha*.

l. 6: the age numeral is flanked by three decorative serpentine motifs, while the year numeral by a pair of similar motifs.

l. 7: abbreviation of *μηνός* by an *eta* above *mu*; *Αὐδωνέου* for *Αὐδυναίου*; the month day numeral is emphasized by two uninscribed spaces left and right.

l. 8: *ἡμέρα* is abbreviated by the common *mu* over *eta*; the abbreviation of the word *Κυρίου* (KY) is flanked by two angular motifs both facing the abbreviation; the weekday numeral is also flanked by a series of three motifs as those of l. 6.

l. 9: *θάρσει*; *οὐδείς*.

## Commentary

I. 1: *Κύριλλος* is a Greek name, well documented in Palestine and Arabia both in the pagan and Christian epigraphical material. The pagan examples, which date between the late second and the late third centuries AD, come from Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 106, 206), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 412, no. 85; p. 422, no. 134), and Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, nos. 9108, 9109 referring to the same person, an ex-equestrian *Ιούλιος Κύριλλος*). The name *Κύριλλος* was also in use among the Jews of Palestine since it is mentioned in two inscriptions from Jaffa (*CII* II, nos. 922, 934) and in three epitaphs from the cemetery at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 9 [*Κύριλος*], 10, 107). The Christian occurrences are encountered mainly at Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 16), Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 1, no. 38, where a saint or a monk, ἁββᾶς *Κύριλλος*, is recorded) and Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 109). In the Hauranian Dur a certain *Οὐάρος*, son of *Κύριλλος*, and his son *Κύριλλος*, appear to have financed the erection of a church in honour of Saint Leontios (Waddington, no. 2142, AD 565/6).

According to literary sources (Lib., *Epist.*, 686, 690, 755), *Κύριλλος* was the name of a governor (*consularis*?) of Palaestina Prima in the year 361/2. He is probably identified with the governor banished by the emperor Julian because he had punished Gaza for anti-Christian riots (*RE* XII. 1 [1924], col. 175, no. 4; *PLRE* I, pp. 237-238, s.v. *Cyrillus* 1).

Two ecclesiastical personalities from Palestine bearing the name *Κύριλλος* are worth noting: a. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (AD 313/315-386), known for his 24 *Catechisms* on various Orthodox dogmatic issues (Smith and Cheetham 1876, vol. I, p. 523, s.v. Cyril, no. 2) and b. Cyril of Scythopolis, a monk and hagiographer (ca. AD 525-after 559?), who wrote eight biographies of important Palestinian monks (Euthymios, Sabas, St. John the Hesychast, Theodosios the Coenobiarch, Kyriakos, Theognios, Abramios and Gerasimos) and intended to produce a corpus of *Vitae* of Palestinian Saints (*ODB*, vol. 1, p. 573, s.v. *Cyril of Scythopolis*).

For the feminine *Κυρίλλα*, see commentary of inscr. no. 266.

I. 2: *Αἰνίας* (correct spelling *Αἰνείας*) is a frequent name in Ghor es-Safi. For its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 17.

The office of ὑποδιάκονος or ὑποδιάκων (subdeacon), appearing also in inscr. nos. 149, 150, 163, 184, 212, 240, was a minor clerical order created to serve particular needs of the Christian community. His main task was to assist the deacon in preparing and presenting the Holy offerings and in keeping the congregation in order during the service. Gradually he was assigned some duties usually performed by the deacons (for a detailed description of his duties, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 182-183). This epitaph adds the earliest example so far in the rather limited list of the subdeacon's office from Palestine (for this list, see *ibid.*, pp. 183-184, nos. 905-912; of these, nos. 906-908 from 'Evron have been published in the meantime by Tzaferis 1987, p. 40\*, no. 3; pp. 42-43\*, no. 5 [four ὑποδιάκονες mentioned]; p. 44\*, no. 7 [two subdeacons mentioned], while nos. 910-911 from Karmiel also by Tzaferis 1992, p. 132, no. 6; p. 133, no. 10).

97. Tombstone of red sandstone of which the lower half is preserved, broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-335. Dimensions: 0.35x0.40x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Below the text there are engraved from left to right an outlined cross with the letter *chi* in its centre, two simple crosses, another outlined cross and *chi-rho* monogram. The script is of the oval form, with letters well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.011-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XX

Date: 15 Xanthikos 306 E.P.A. = 5 April AD 411.

[ - - - - - ]  
[ - - - - - ]  
[... ἀποθανόν]-  
4 τος ἔτην οὐ  
ἐν ἔτι τς, μηνός  
Ξανθικοῦ ιε',  
ἡμέρα Κυρίου δ'.  
8 Θάρσει, οὐδεὶς  
ἀθάνατος.  
+ + + + ✕

..... who died  
(at the age) of 75 years,  
in the year 306, on (the) 15th (day)  
of the month Xanthikos,  
on (the) 4th day of the Lord (Wednesday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 4: at the end of the line four or five faded decorative angular motifs.  
 l. 5:  $\xi\tau\iota$  for  $\xi\tau\epsilon\iota$ ; only the hundreds figure of the year numeral bears a horizontal bar above.  
 l. 6: after the month day numeral there are four decorative angular motifs facing right.

## Commentary

An approximate number of three lines are missing from the beginning of the text which might have included the word  $\mu\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu$ , as well as the name and the patronymic of the deceased.

98. Tombstone of yellow sandstone, broken in the upper and lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-4. Dimensions: 0.45x0.345x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the upper right corner. The text is set between incised and red painted guide-lines and enclosed within an incised frame bearing red paint only in the upper and left sides. A second engraved frame line is visible in the upper and right sides. In the space between the first and the second upper frame line is depicted a small incised cross. A red painted symbolic decoration appears on the three margin of the text: in the left two crosses in vertical row filled with red paint; in the right a similar cross, while in the lower seven small upright snakes in a row. The script is of the square alphabet, with well cut and aligned letters. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XX

Date: 28 Xanthikos 306 E.P.A. = 18 April AD 411.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Εἷς Θεός. Μ{η}νεμῖ-          ον Κέλσου Μιλίχου,          ἀναπαὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ {το}          4 βίου μητὰ καλοῦ ἀ-          + νόματος καὶ καλῆς          πίστεως ἡτὼν πεν-          τέκοντα ν', ἡτοῖς          8 τριακοσσιωστοῦ          + ἔκτου ζ', μηνὸς Ξαν- +          θικοῦ ηκ', ἡμέρα Κυ-          ρίου τετάρτη δ'.          12 Θάρσι, Κέλση, οὐδὲς          ἀθάνατος.          (7 snakes)</p>	<p>One (is) the God. Monument          of Celsus, (son) of Milichos,          who came to rest from this          life having a good name          and good faith (at the age) of          fifty years, in the three hundred          and sixth year, on (the) 28th (day)          of (the) month Xanthikos, on the          fourth day of (the) Lord          (Wednesday).          Be of good cheer, Celsus,          no one (is) immortal.</p>
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## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: Θεός.  
 ll. 1-2:  $\mu\{η\}$ νεμῖον for  $\mu\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ : a superfluous *eta* between *mu* and *nu*, *epsilon* for *eta* in the first syllable and the usual phonetic spelling of the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$ .  
 l. 3: ἀναπαὼν (the correct form of the masculine second aorist passive participle is ἀναπαεῖς: for this form see Alt 1921, nos. 22, 25; cf. also ἀναπαέντες: Glucker 1987, pp. 136-138, no. 23) for ἀναπαέντος: use of the nominative in the place of genitive singular; the two last letters of the line, *tau* and *omicron*, are either superfluous (i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου) or are connected to the previous syllable forming the demonstrative pronoun τούτου (the last *upsilon* is missing); in the second case the correct expression would be: ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου τούτου.  
 l. 4: μητὰ for μετά: substitution of *epsilon* for *eta*.  
 ll. 4-5: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*.  
 l. 5: καλῆς for καλῆς: substitution of *eta* for *epsilon*.  
 l. 6: ἡτὼν for ἑτῶν: *eta* in the place of *epsilon* and phonetic spelling of *omega*.  
 ll. 6-7: πεντέκοντα for πεντήκοντα: *epsilon* instead of *eta*.  
 l. 7: after the ordinal age numeral follows the sign of the same numeral (*nu*) preceded by three decorative serpentine motifs in red paint; ἡτοῖς for ἔτους: *eta* instead of *epsilon*, while the diphthong  $\omicron\upsilon$  is given as  $\omicron\iota$ .  
 l. 8: τριακοσσιωστοῦ.  
 l. 9: the units figure of the year numeral is given both in ordinal and in numerical sign (see also l. 7).



l. 10: the month day numeral is inverted.

l. 11: the weekday is repeated twice, both as ordinal and as a numerical sign (see also ll. 7,9); the latter is decorated left by one serpentine motif and right by three similar motifs in red paint.

l. 12: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The deceased *Κέλσος*, despite his Latin name (*Celsus*), would have been a native as indicated by his patronymic. The vocative *Κέλση* in l. 12 suggests a nominative *Κέλσης* according to the first declension, while the correct form is *Κέλσος* (see genitive *Κέλσου* in line 2) according to the second declension (voc. *Κέλσε*; see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 644, s.v. *Κέλσος*). This name is not attested as yet elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia, but it appears in the form *Κέλσος* in inscriptions and papyri of the Roman period from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 170, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 162, s.v.). Two governors (*consulares*) of Syria of the years AD 363/4 and 387 respectively were known by this name (*PLRE* I, pp. 193, 194, s.vv. *Celsus* 3 and 5). The former was a pupil of Libanius and a fellow student of St. Basil and Julian at Athens.

*Μίλιχος*, which appears also in inscr. nos. 270 and 275, has been considered by Canova (1954, p. 125, no. 128) of Semitic origin. It is plausibly a variant of the common name *Μάλεχος* (see above commentary of inscr. no. 65). Littmann (*PAES* IIIA, p. 380, no. 785<sup>1</sup>) has proposed a Greek origin for the name *Μείλιχος* from the adjective *μειλίχιος*, "gentle, meek". It is attested in Moab and mainly in Hauran in the following spellings: *Μίλιχος* (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, nos. 128, 129; Dâmit el-'Alya: *PAES* IIIA, nos. 800<sup>5</sup>, 800<sup>7</sup>), *Μείλιχος* (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 785<sup>1</sup> [Nedjrân], 786 [Smêd]), *Μιλίχιος* (Savignac and Abel 1905, p. 603, no. 14). The name *Μίλχος*, recorded in a funerary epigram of Salchad (*PAES* IIIA, no. 160), is most likely a contracted form of *Μίλιχος*. On the other hand the masculine *Μιλιχιάνης* and the feminine *Μιλιχιανή*, appearing in two epitaphs from Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 283, 127), seem to be lengthened forms of *Μίλιχιος*.

ll. 3-4: The burial expression "ἀναπαὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου" is also encountered slightly differentiated, "ἀποθανὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου", in inscr. no. 130. The phrase "παυσόμενος, -ένη τοῦ βίου" seems, however, to be more common in Ghor es-Safi (for the relevant examples, see inscr. no. 114). But the true sense of this kind of formulae, "to rest from troubles of life", given already in the New Testament (*Rev.* 14.13: "... μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι. ναί, λέγει τὸ Πνεῦμα, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν"), is better conveyed in two sixth-century expressions: "πέπαυμε μόχθου βίου" recorded in an elaborate epitaph from Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 63), and "ἀνεπάη ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ μόχθων" included in two epitaphs from Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 126-127, no. 11; p. 134, no. 19).

99. Tombstone of pink and yellow sandstone, broken at the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-334. Dimensions: 0.47x0.37x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped in the lower left corner and is badly damaged. Above the inscription is partially preserved a heavy outlined sun-disc in red paint. The text is engraved and traces of red colour are visible all over the inscribed surface. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions. The letters are small, rather symmetrical, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XX

Date: 1 Audynaioi 306 E.P.A. = 17 December AD 411.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Σεούδα Θα-  
δδέου, παυσαμένη με-  
τὰ καλοῦ ἀγόμα[τος]  
4 καὶ καλῆς πίστε[ως]  
ἐτῶν ν μ', *vacat*  
ἔτους νν τς', νν μη(νός)  
Αὐθονέου ν α',  
8 ἡμ(έρα) ννν Κ(υρίο)ν νν β'. ννν  
Θάρσι, Σεούδα, οὐδὶς.  
[ἀθάνα]τος.

Monument of Seouda, (daughter)  
of Thadaios, who died  
having a good name  
and good faith  
(at the age)  
of 40 years, in (the) year 306,  
on (the) 1st (day) of (the) month Audynaioi,  
on (the) 2nd day of the Lord (Monday).  
Be of good cheer, Seouda,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον; Σεούδα for Σεούδας; nominative for genitive.

- ll. 1-2: Θαδδέου for Θαδδαίου; the patronymic is badly preserved except for the first letter.  
 l. 2: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης; nominative for genitive singular.  
 l. 3: ἀγόμα[τος] for ὀγόμα[τος]; the initial vowel is written as *alpha* instead of *omicron*; the last three letters are lost.  
 l. 4: the last two letters are missing.  
 l. 5: the age numeral is flanked by uninscribed areas.  
 l. 6: the year numeral is also emphasized by two uninscribed spaces on each side; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*.  
 l. 7: from the genitive Αὔδονέου only the ending -ου is clearly visible; an uninscribed space before the month day numeral.  
 l. 8: faint traces of a *mu* above *eta* indicate that this is the abbreviation for the word ἡμέρα; after three uninscribed spaces follows the abbreviation KY which stands for the genitive Κυρίου; the weekday numeral is flanked by empty spaces.  
 l. 9: most of the letters of this line are faded; θάρσι for θάρσει; οὐδίζ. for οὐδείς.  
 l. 10: only the last three letters of the adjective ἀθάνατος have been preserved.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The name *Σεούδα* appears also in inscr. no. 110. It is attested so far only once at Shaqra in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2509) in the form *Σεουάδα*. The latter is the feminine form of *Σεουάδος*, the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Sawad, meaning "blackness" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 108, 169; *PAES* IIIA, p. 165, no. 294). *Σεουάδος* is frequently encountered at Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 297, 457, 481, 519). The form *Σαουάδος*, which corresponds better to the Arabic Sawad, is also common in Hauran (Râma: Waddington, no. 2236; Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 522; Deir edj-Djuwâni: *ibid.*, nos. 801<sup>1</sup>, 801<sup>4</sup>; Tarba: Dunand 1932, pp. 573-574, no. 115). Umm el-Jimâl has yielded as well the form *Σαουάδος*, possibly a wrong spelling for *Σαουάδος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 462). The lengthened form *Σαουάδνης* (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 106, 169) is finally recorded at Ḥebrân (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 251, no. 29) and at Burâk (Waddington, no. 2537a).

ll. 1-2: The restoration of the patronymic is highly conjectural, since only the first letter is clearly visible. The spelling *Θαδδέος* is found in the apse mosaic of St. Catherine's Monastery basilica as the name of one of the twelve Apostles (Weitzmann 1964, pp. 341-352 = Meimaris 1986, p. 103, no. 602). This Apostle is written *Θαδδαῖος* in *Matthew* (10.3) and *Mark* (3.18). The form *Θαδδαῖος* appears also as a patronymic in an inscription on a Jewish ossuary of the 2nd century AD from Kefar Barukh (Yezre'el Valley) published by Rahmani (1994, p. 114, no. 145) who considers this name as a transliteration of the Hebrew Tadaï, a contracted form of the Greek names Theodotos or Theodoros. The further contracted form *Θάδδα* appears in Bagatti and Milik 1958, p. 74.

**100.** Tombstone of light purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in several places in the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-115. Dimensions: 0.40x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at the edges with concentration of salt crystals. Above the inscription is depicted an outlined sun-disc in heavy red paint; in its interior a *chi-rho* monogram with green paint in the empty spaces around it. Below the inscription another outlined sun-disc in heavy red paint. The whole text is engraved and red paint is preserved in ll. 1,4 (except in the age numeral), 7 (only the abbreviation KY) and 9. The script follows the round alphabet with letters carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.019 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. V

Date: 18 Dystros 306 E.P.A. = 3 March AD 412.



(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Πέ- ν  
 τρος Ἀλφίου,  
 ὀποθονόντος  
 4 ἐτῶν α', ἔτους  
 νν τς, ν μινός  
 Δίστρου ν η', νν  
 ἡμέρα ν Κ(υρίο)υ ν δ'.

Monument of Petros,  
 (son) of Alphios,  
 who died (at the age)  
 of 1 year, in (the)  
 year 306, on the 18th  
 (day) of (the) month Dystros,  
 on (the) 4th day of (the) Lord

8 Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἄ-  
θόνατος. ννν  
(sun-disc)

(Wednesday). Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
ll. 1-2: Πέτρος for Πέτρου: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
l. 3: ὀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: replacement of *alpha* with *omicron* in the first and third syllables; the participle is correctly given in genitive although the name of the deceased is in nominative singular.  
l. 4: ἐτῶν α' for ἔτους α'; the age numeral is flanked by two angular motifs.  
l. 5: the year numeral is enclosed above and below by two horizontal bars; μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* instead of *eta*.  
l. 6: Δίστρου, iotacism of Δύστρου; the month day numeral is inverted.  
l. 7: KY is the abbreviation of the sacred word Κυρίου; the weekday is decorated by a red painted horizontal bar above and below (see also l. 5).  
l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.  
ll. 8-9: ἄθόνατος for ἄθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the second syllable.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-2: The name Πέτρος has been thoroughly commented on above in inscr. no. 40.  
l. 2: For the high frequency of Ἀλφίος in Ghor es-Safi, its variants and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.  
l. 7: The divergence of three days between the weekday indicated in the text (Wednesday) and that reached by modern computation (Sunday) could be eliminated if we assume that the stonecutter confused the weekday numeral A with Δ (see chapter on Date of death, p. 51).

**101.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on the upper left and right corners and in the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-299. Dimensions: 0.555x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped all around, flaked off at the edges and weathered on the upper half. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame, the upper line of which is only engraved, the left and the lower lines engraved and painted over in red and the right line drawn only in red paint. The text is engraved and red paint is preserved in ll. 1 (only traces), 3,5,7,9,11. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut with a descending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXI

Date: 28 [Artemisios or Apellaios] 307 E.P.A. = 18 [May] or 14 [December] AD 412.

+ Εἰς Θεός, ὁ π-  
άντων Δεσπό-  
της. Μνημῖον  
4 Τάβθα ....CE  
ΟΥ, ἀποθαγοῦσ-  
α μετὰ καλοῦ ὄν-  
όματος καὶ καλῆ-  
8 ς πίστεως ἐτῶν  
λ', τοῦ ἔτους τζ',  
ἐν μηνὶ <Ἀρτεμισίῳ> or <Ἀπελλαίῳ>  
κη', ἡμέρᾳ  
Κυρίου ζ'. Θάρσι, ο-  
12 ὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.  
Monument of Tab(i)tha, (daughter) of.....,  
who died having a  
good name and  
good faith (at the age)  
of 30 years, in the year  
307, on (the) 28th  
(day) of the month (Artemisios  
or Apellaios),  
on (the) 7th day of (the)  
Lord (Saturday). Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line begins with a small simple cross.  
l. 3: μνημῖον.  
l. 4: Τάβθα for Τάβθας: nominative instead of genitive singular; the next four letters, forming the first two syllables of the patronymic, are illegible.

II. 5-6: ἀποθαγοῦσα for ἀποθαγούσης: nominative instead of genitive following the personal name.

I. 7: the last seven letters are faded.

I. 9: the age as well as the year numeral are crowned with a horizontal bar.

I. 10: the name of the month has been inadvertently omitted (see comm. below); a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; ἡμήρῳ for ἡμέρῃ: *eta* instead of *epsilon* in the second syllable.

I. 11: the weekday numeral is also emphasized by a horizontal stroke; θάρσει.

II. 11-12: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

II. 1-3: The religious acclamation "Εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης", which seems to succeed chronologically that of "Εἰς Θεὸς" in Ghor es-Safi, reaches its peak in the second half of the fifth century AD (on both formulae, see chapter on Acclamations). The epitaph consists the earliest mention of this acclamation in Ghor es-Safi.

I. 4: The feminine *Τάβθα*, which occurs also in inscr. no. 181 as a deaconess' name, is most likely a contracted form of *Ταβιθά* (Tabita), an Aramaic name (Wuthnow 1930, p. 143) borne in the *Acts* (9.36) by a Christian woman in Joppe resurrected by Peter the Apostle. Her name is translated in Greek as *δορκάς*, "gazelle", and her memory is commemorated on October 25 (Delehay 1902, p. 164 and col. 1169). The form *Ταβιθά* is found also in Byzantine papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 404, s.v. *Ταβιθα*). The name is attested frequently in Hauran where it appears in the variants *Ταβιάθη* (Greek equivalent of the Arabic *Ṭabyat*, "gazelle": *PAES* IIIA, p. 90, no. 151), *Ταβειάθη*, and in the diminutives *Τοβαιάθη*, *Τοβεάθη*, *Τοβιάθη* (for the bibliographical references, see Sartre 1985, p. 241, s.vv. *Τοβαιαθη*, *Τοβεαθη*).

II. 3-4: A tentative restoration for the patronymic would be [*Σαμα*]σέου or [*Κασι*]σέου.

I. 10: The letter-cutter inadvertently omitted the month name which should be completed either as Artemisios or as Apellaios in order to comply with the other dating elements, i.e. era year and weekday.

#### The correct position for inscr. no. 216

**102.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper and lower sides. Inv. no.: Z-218. Dimensions: 0.34x0.26x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly chipped in the upper part and in the upper right and lower left corners. Concentration of salt crystals is also visible here and there. Below the inscription a schematically drawn bird facing to the left is flanked by two crosses; the left one is a simple outlined cross with a *chi* in its centre, while the right one is an outlined cross with serifs. The inscription and the symbols are enclosed in a rectangular frame, of which the upper and right sides are lost. The text is also set between guide-lines. The text, the symbols, the preserved frame and the guide-lines are all engraved. The script is of the round alphabet with the exception of an oval *omicron* (l. 2) and a square *sigma* (l. 8). The letters, which are mostly symmetrical, are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXI

Date: 19 Xanthikos 308 E.P.A. = 9 April AD 413.

+ Ε[ἰς Θεός.]  
Μνημῖον +  
Σίλθα Σαμά-  
4 κωνος, παυ-  
σαμένη ἐτ(ῶν)  
κβ', ἔτους τη',  
μη(νός) Ξαν(θικοῦ) θι'.  
8 Θάρσι, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος.  
+ (bird) +

O[ne (is) the God].  
Monument of  
Siltha, (daughter) of Samakon,  
who died (at the age) of  
22 years, in (the) year  
308, on (the) 19th (day)  
of (the) month Xanthikos.  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: from this line only an outlined cross with serifs and traces of the first letter *epsilon* of the expression εἰς Θεός have been preserved.  
 I. 2: μνημεῖον; the line ends with a simple outlined cross.  
 I. 3: Σίλθα for Σίλθας: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 II. 4-5: παυσσαμένη for παυσσαμένης: same mistake as above; the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign S.  
 I. 6: a horizontal bar above the year numeral.  
 I. 7: the common abbreviation of μηνός with *eta* above *mu*; the month's name is abbreviated by the first three letters and the sign S; the month day numeral is inverted and crowned by a horizontal bar; the line ends with the Christian monogram *iota-chi* (initials of Ἰησοῦς Χριστός).  
 I. 8: θάρσει; οὐδέεις.

## Commentary

- I. 1: The common religious formula "εἰς Θεός" is to be restored in this line. On this expression, see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.  
 I. 3: The popular feminine name Σίλθα in Ghor es-Safi is discussed above in commentary of inscr. no. 13.  
 II. 3-4: On the Hellenized Semitic name Σαμάκων, its variants and its origin, see above commentary of inscr. no. 23.

**103.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-326. Dimensions: 0.535x0.345x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Above the inscription in the middle there are traces of an oval-shaped decorative motif in red paint. The whole text is engraved, but II. 1,3,5 (except for the year numeral), 7,9 are in addition painted in red. The script is mainly of the oval form with letters fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXI

Date: 24 Xanthikos 308 E.P.A. = 14 April AD 413.

Μνημῖον νν	Monument
Παῦλον Ἄρα- ν	of Paulus, (son) of
βιονοῦ, ὀποθα-	Arabianus, who died
4 νόντος ἐτῶν	(at the age) of 60 years,
ξ', ἔτους {ξ} τη', ν	in (the) year 308, on (the)
μηνός Ξανδι-	24th (day) of the month
<κ>οῦ κδ', ἡμέρα	Xandikos, on (the) 2nd day
8 Κ(υρίο)υ β'. Θάρσει, οὐ-	of (the) Lord (Monday). Be of
δεις ἀ<θ>άνοτος.	good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; at the end of the line two decorative angular motifs facing right.  
 I. 2: Παῦλον for Παύλου: accusative instead of genitive.  
 II. 2-3: Ἄραβιονοῦ for Ἀραβιανοῦ: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 II. 3-4: ὀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: the first letter *alpha* is replaced by *omicron* (see also II. 2-3).  
 I. 5: a superfluous *xi* after ἔτους (probably repetition of the age numeral *xi* at the beginning of the line).  
 II. 6-7: Ξανδιτοῦ stands for Ξανδικοῦ.  
 I. 7: ἡμέρα for ἡμέρα: *eta* for *epsilon*.  
 I. 8: ΚΥ stands for Κυρίου; θάρσει.  
 II. 8-9: οὐδέεις.  
 I. 9: ἀ<θ>άνοτος for ἀ<θ>άνατος: substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*; the middle horizontal stroke of the second letter *theta* has not been carved by the engraver, so that the letter looks like an *omicron*.

## Commentary

- I. 2: For discussion on the common name Παῦλος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

ll. 2-3: 'Αραβιονοῦ must be a local spelling for 'Αραβιανοῦ (for similar replacement of *alpha* with *omicron*, see ll. 3-4 ὀποθανόντος, l. 9 ἀ<θ>άνοτος). 'Αραβιανός is a lengthened form of 'Αράβιος or 'Αραβίων, names attested in Egypt also in the variant forms 'Αραβᾶς, 'Αραβος, 'Αραβῶς (Preisigke 1922, cols. 43-44; Foraboschi 1967, p. 45; Wuthnow 1930, p. 25). 'Αραβος and its variants are the Greek equivalents of 'Arab (Wuthnow 1930, p. 160; Preisigke 1922, col. 506). The name 'Αραβιανός occurs rather frequently in Roman inscriptions from Hauran (el-Hît: Waddington, no. 2116; el-Mushennef: *ibid.*, no. 2228; Msêkeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 795<sup>5</sup>) and Golan (Baniâs: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 238). 'Αραβος could be restored as well in an epitaph from Rîmet el-Luhf in Hauran (*CIG* III, no. 4589).

ll. 6-7: Worthy of mention is here the rare use of the pure Macedonian month name Ξανδικός (instead of the common Ξανθικός: see also no. 2) which is known only from a few inscriptions from Gerasa and Gaza (Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, index 8, p. 414; cf. Meimaris 1989, p. 112, n. 34).

**104.** Tombstone of white limestone, rectangular in shape, slightly chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-43. Dimensions: 0.56x0.265x0.115 m. The inscribed surface has been perfectly smoothed and is flaked off at the three corners except for the upper right one. Above the text is depicted a big outlined radiant sun-disc outlined in heavy red paint. Traces of a similar motif are discernible below the text. The inscription is flanked by two pairs of vertically placed snakes drawn in red paint. The whole text is engraved, while red paint is completely preserved in ll. 7,9,11 and partially in the remaining lines. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are small, mostly symmetrical, well cut and aligned with the exception of the last two lines which are slightly ascending. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXI*

Date: 29 Xanthikos 308 E.P.A. = 19 April AD 413.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Καρπωνίου Σαμράββου, ἀρχη- δι(ακόνου), πανσόμενος	Monument of Karponios, (son) of Samirabbos, (the) archdeacon, who died
4 μετὰ καλλοῦ ἀνόμα- τος <καί> καλῆς πίστεως ἔτων νν ξά', <i>vacat</i> ἔτους ννν τη', <i>vacat</i>	having a good name and good faith, (at the age) of 61 years, in (the) year 308, on (the) 29th (day) of
8 μη(νός) Ξανθικοῦ ν θκ', νν ἡμ(έρα) <i>vacat</i> Κυρίου ννν ζ'. <i>vacat</i> Θάρσι, Καρπώνιε, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	(the) month Xanthikos, on (the) 7th day of (the) Lord (Saturday). Be of good cheer, Karponios, no one (is) immortal.

Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: ἀρχιδι(ακόνου); the abbreviation of this word is expressed through the first six letters and the sign S; the second letter *rho*, originally forgotten by the engraver, was later added hastily a little higher between the first and third letter.

l. 3: πανσόμενος for πανσαμένου: participle in nominative instead of genitive singular, although the name of the deceased is in genitive.

l. 4: καλλοῦ for καλοῦ: dittography.

ll. 4-5: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος; the conjunction καί is required after ἀνόματος in order to combine it with καλῆς πίστεως (*asyndeton*).

l. 6: the age numeral is stressed through uninscribed spaces on each side.

l. 7: the year numeral is also emphasized through uninscribed areas left and right.

l. 8: abbreviation for μηνός formed by *eta* above *mu*; empty spaces before and after the inverted month day numeral.

l. 9: a small *mu* above an elongated *eta* stands as abbreviation for ἡμέρα; the abbreviated word Κυρίου and the weekday numeral lie at a certain distance from each other and from the word ἡμ(έρα).

l. 10: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

ll.1-2: There is a strong possibility that the archdeacon Karponios was brother of the presbyter Samirabbos referred to in inscr. no. 95. The name *Καρπώνιος*, which occurs also in inscr. nos. 210 and 161 (in the shortened form *Καρπώνης*), is hitherto unparalleled in Palestine and Arabia. The name in the spelling *Καρπούνης* is recorded in papyri from Egypt (Foraboschi 1967, p. 160, s.v.). *Καρπώνιος* may be a derivative of the Greek name *Κάρπος* which is richly documented in Athens (*LGP* II, p. 256, s.v.). Two ecclesiastical persons are known by the name *Κάρπος*: a. a man mentioned in 2 *Tim.* 4.13, who is said by the hagiographers to have been one of the 70 disciples of Christ, bearer of the epistles of Paul and bishop of Beroia in Thrace (Delehay 1902, ind., col. 1110, s.v.), and b. a bishop of Thyateira who suffered martyrdom together with Papylos and Agathonike probably under Decius (AD 249-251) (Eus., *HE*, 4.14, 48).

l. 2: For discussion on the compound Semitic name *Σαμίραββος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

ll. 2-3: This is the second mention of an archdeacon in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi. On this office and the relevant epigraphical evidence, see above commentary of inscr. no. 24.

**105.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-245.

Dimensions: 0.37x0.27x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the edges. Above the text a big sun-disc is depicted with a thick red painted outline. On either side of the inscription two series of snakes in vertical position is drawn also in heavy red paint. The text is engraved, but ll. 1 (only the word *μνημείον*), 2 (except for the first syllable of *Παύλου*), 4,7,9 (only the first 7 letters) are also emphasized with red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are small, almost symmetrical, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXII

Date: 15 Apellaios 308 E.P.A. = 1 December AD 413.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Σεουη-	Monument of Seouerina (Severina),
ρῖνα Παύλου, παυ-	(daughter) of Paulus, who died
σαμένη μετὰ κα-	having a good name
4 λοῦ ἀνόματος ν	(at the age) of 15 years,
ἐτῶν νν ιε', ννν	in (the) year 308, on (the)
ἔτους νν τη', ννν	15th (day) of (the) month
μη(νός) ν Ἀπελλέου ν εἰ',	Apellaios, on (the)
8 νν ἡμέρα νν Κυρίου ν δε[υτέρα].	second day of (the) Lord (Monday).
Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθά- νν	Be of good cheer,
νατος. <i>vacat</i>	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: *μνημείον*.

ll. 1-2: *Σεουηρῖνα* for *Σεουηρίνας*: nominative instead of genitive singular.

ll. 2-3: *παυσαμένη* for *παυσαμένης*: same phenomenon as above.

l. 4: *ἀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος*: *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 5: the age numeral is flanked by uninscribed areas for emphasis.

l. 6: the same emphasis is given to the year numeral.

l. 7: *μηνός* is abbreviated by *eta* above *mu*; *Ἀπελλαίου*; inverted month day numeral.

l. 8: abbreviation for *ἡμέρα* with *mu* above *eta*; the genitive *Κυρίου* is abbreviated by the first and last letter; from the ordinal *δευτέρα* are preserved only the first two letters.

l. 9: *θάρσει*; *οὐδεῖς*.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: *Σεουηρῖνα* is the Greek transliteration of the common Latin feminine name *Severina* (masc. *-inus*) (Kajanto 1963, pp. 62, 64; id. 1965, p. 257), which is a derivative of *Severa* (*-us*), *Σεουῆρα*. So far the only known parallel of *Σεουηρῖνα* in Palestine and Arabia is inscribed on a bronze bracelet from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 121, no. 207). More common is the simple name *Σεουῆρα* which is attested in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 235\* [*Σευῆρα*]), Hauran (el-Umta'iyeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 50; Umm el-Jimâl: *ibid.*, no. 306<sup>1</sup>; Dûma: *ibid.*, no. 757 [*Σευέρα*]), and Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 151). Exceptional is the mention of the empress *Severa*

(*Σεουήραν Σε[βα]στίν*), in a dedicatory inscription from Shuhba (Philippopolis) (AAES III, no. 400, AD 244-249). The masculine *Severinus*, *Σεουηρίνος*, is known as the name of a third century (286-293) lawyer at Berytus who was a native of Arabia (PLRE I, s.v. *Severinus* 1). For the common name *Σεουήρος*, see below commentary of inscr. no. 228.

l. 2: For discussion on the popular name *Παῦλος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.

106. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner and curved in the lower left and upper right corners. Inv. no.: Z-239. Dimensions: 0.395x0.28x0.105 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the upper left side and flaked off mainly at the edges. Above the inscription a cross is depicted filled with red paint. The text is basically engraved; red paint has been added in ll. 1,4,7,10 and green paint in ll. 2,5,8. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The text begins with large, widely spaced letters and ends (ll. 8-11) with small and crowded letters. The characters, although deeply engraved, are not of the best quality and alignment. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXII

Date: 28 Audynaiois 308 E.P.A. = 13 January AD 414.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Κα-          ἰόμου Σίλα, ἀ-          ποθονάντος          4 ἔτων με', ἐν ἔτι          τη', μη(νός) Ἀδ&lt;α&gt;νέου          κη' μετὸ καλοῦ          ἀνόματος ἡκυ-          8 &lt;μ&gt;ήθη. Θόρσι, οὐδὶς          ἀθάνοτος. &lt;Κ&gt;(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησ)οῦ          ἀνάπ&lt;α&gt;(υσον), ἀπαντ&lt;ε&gt;ς τε-          λ&lt;ευ&gt;τᾶμεν.</p>	<p>Monument of Kaiomos,          (son) of Silas, who died          (at the age) of 45 years,          in the year 308, on (the)          28th (day) of (the) month          Audynaiois; he died (fell asleep in death)          having a good name.          Be of good cheer,          no one (is) immortal.          Lord Jesus give (him) rest,          we all die.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημῖον.

ll. 2-3: ἀποθονάντος for ἀποθανόντος: transposition of the vowels *alpha* and *omicron* in the third and fourth syllables.

l. 4: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; ἔτει.

l. 5: the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal line above it; the word μηνός is abbreviated not only by the *eta* above *mu* but also by a horizontal bar above *eta*; Ἀδλνέου for Αὐδυναίου: the engraver omitted the *upsilon* of the initial diphthong *au*, carved a *lambda* (an incomplete *alpha*) in the place of the fourth letter *upsilon* and wrote phonetically the diphthong *ai*.

l. 6: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal stroke; μετὸ for μετά: *omicron* instead of *alpha*.

l. 7: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* instead of *omicron*.

ll. 7-8: ἡκυνήθη for ἐκοιμήθη: *eta* instead of *epsilon*, *upsilon* in the place of diphthong *oi*, while *nu* was carved in the place of *mu*.

l. 8: θόρσι for θάρσει: *omicron* for *alpha* and phonetic spelling of *ει*; οὐδείς.

l. 9: ἀθάνοτος for ἀθάνατος: *omicron* instead of *alpha*; TE is probably the abbreviation of the vocative Κύριε, with *tau* carved in the place of *kappa*; the three last letters *iota*, *omicron*, *upsilon* with a horizontal bar above comprise the abbreviation of the vocative Ἰησοῦ.

l. 10: ΑΝΑΠΑ may stand as abbreviation of the aorist imperative ἀνάπαυσον on the condition that the fifth letter was carved as *lambda* instead of *alpha*; the middle bar of *epsilon* in ἀπαντες is omitted (see also l. 11).

ll. 10-11: ΤΕΛΕΤΑΜΕΝ for τελευτῶμεν: the engraver failed to carve the middle bar of *epsilon* (so the letter looks like a *sigma*) and omitted the *upsilon* of the diphthong *ev*; he also replaced *omega* by *alpha* in the third syllable.



## Commentary

II. 1-2: *Καϊόμος* may stand for *Καϊάμος*, since the substitution of *alpha* for *omicron* is common throughout the text. On the name *Καϊάμος*, frequent in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 69.

I. 2: For the evidence concerning the name *Σίλας*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 77.

II. 7-8: The burial verb *ἐκοιμήθη*, its use and its parallels, is discussed above in inscr. no. 84.

II. 9-11: The invocation to Jesus Christ for the repose of the dead or of his soul, a common theme in Christian epitaphs, is inadequately represented at Ghor es-Safi (see inscr. nos. 116, 129; cf. also a similar formula expressing a wish in inscr. no. 28 and its commentary). This kind of prayer is also documented at Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 124-125, no. 9; pp. 135-136, no. 21), in the Negev ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 18; Shivta: *ibid.*, no. 53; Rehovot: Tsafir 1988, pp. 157-158, no. 5), but especially in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, nos. 19, 29, 40, 66, 107, 166, 171; el-Mote: *ibid.*, no. 315).

The ending phrase "ἅπαντ<ε>ς τελ<ε>υτᾶμεν" is in fact a repetition of "οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος" mentioned just above. This double reference to death as common destiny to all mortals (on this theme see commentary of inscr. nos. 2, 11, 33) is probably intended here to offer additional consolation. The synonymous phrase "πάντες θνητοὶ" is recorded as well in inscr. no. 148.

107. Tombstone of dark purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right corner and chipped in the lower part. Inv. no.: Z-314. Dimensions: 0.52x0.32x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in several places but especially in the lower part. Above the inscription an outlined sun-disc in heavy red paint is preserved almost complete. To the right of the inscription appears a decorative motif consisting of vertically placed interlaced snakes drawn in red paint. Traces of slightly incised single and double guide-lines are visible which continue even below the text for two lines. The text is engraved and preserves traces of red and yellow paint in lines 1-6. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions (*omicron* and *sigma*). The letters are small in size, rather symmetrical, well cut, but with a descending alignment (left to right) from l. 6 to the end. Height of letters: 0.01-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXII

Date: 18 Artemisios 310 E.P.A. = 8 May AD 415.

(sun-disc)	
Μνημῖον Σύβελλα	Monument of Sybella (Sibylla),
Ἀρρενίου, παυσομένη	(daughter) of Arrenios (Arrenius),
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-	who died having a good name and
4 τος καὶ καλῆς πίστε-	good faith (at the age) of 29 years,
ως ἑτῶν νν κθ', ννν	in (the) year 310, on (the) 18th (day)
ν ἔτους ννν π', <i>vacat</i>	of (the) month Artemisios,
μη(νός) Ἀρτεμισίου ννν ηῖ,	on (the) 7th day of (the)
8 ννν ἡμ(ε)ρ(α) ν Κυρίου νν ζ'. <i>vacat</i>	Lord (Saturday).
Θάρασι, Σύβελλα, οὐ-	Be of good cheer, Sybella,
δεῖς ἀθάνατος. νν	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: *μνημεῖον*; Σύβελλα for Σιβύλλης; *upsilon* for *iota* in the first syllable, *epsilon* for *upsilon* in the second one and use of nominative instead of genitive.

I. 2: *παυσομένη* for *παυσαμένης*; *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative in the place of genitive singular.

II. 3-4: ὀνόματος for ὀνόματος; *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 5: the age numeral is pointed out by uninscribed spaces on each side.

I. 6: the year numeral is flanked by a pair of decorative angular motifs in red paint.

I. 7: the usual *eta* above *mu* abbreviation for *μηνός*; the month day numeral is isolated at the end of the line.

I. 8: the mention of the weekday occupies the whole line; a rare abbreviation of the word *ἡμέρα* occurs here, with the first and fourth letters *eta*, *rho* in ligature and the second letter *mu* above *eta* (see also inscr. no. 149); *Κυρίου* is as always abbreviated by the first and last letter.

I. 9: θάρασι; Σίβυλλα.

II. 9-10: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

l. 1: The occurrence of the prophetic name *Σίβυλλα* at Ghor es-Safi is so far unique for Palestine and Arabia. For discussion on this name and the Sibyllic tradition related to it, see above commentary of inscr. no. 5.

l. 2: Despite the double occurrence of *Ἀρρένιος* at Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 159), this name seems to be unknown in Palestine. *Ἀρρένιος* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 143, s.v.) is most likely the Greek transliteration of the Latin gentilicium *Arrenius* (Solin and Salomies 1988, p. 22, s.v.; cf. also *RE* II.1 [1895], cols. 1226-1227, s.v.).

108. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, broken in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-265. Dimensions: 0.46x0.32x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped and flaked off. Above the inscription in the centre there is an outlined incised cross. The text is enclosed within a frame and set between guide-lines. Both are incised and preserve traces of red paint. The text is engraved and ll. 1,4,7,9,11 are additionally painted red. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXII

Date: 17 Gorpaios 310 E.P.A. = 4 September AD 415.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Θεμάλλου Οὐλιανοῦ, 4 ἀποθανάν- τος ἐν ἔτι τι, ἐτῶν ν ιε', (palm branch) ἐν ν μην(νι) Γορπι- 8 εῖον ν ζι' (palm branch), ἐν ἡμ(έρα) Κ(υρίο)υ ν ζ'. (palm branch) Θάρσι, Θεμάλλα, οὐ- δὲς ἀθάνα- 12 τος. + +</p>	<p>Monument of Themallas, (son) of Ulpianus, who died in the year 310, (at the age) of 15 years, on (the) 17th (day) of the month Gorpaios, on the 7th day of (the) Lord (Saturday). Be of good cheer, Themallas, no one (is) immortal.</p>
--	---

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 4-5: ἀποθανάντος for ἀποθανόντος: substitution of *omicron* for *alpha*.

l. 5: ἔτι, iotacism for ἔτει.

l. 6: to the left of the age numeral an uninscribed space, while to the right an engraved palm branch in oblique position.

l. 7: an empty space before the abbreviation of μηνί which is expressed by the small *eta* above *mu*.

ll. 7-8: Γορπιαίου; the month day numeral is emphasized by an uninscribed space to the left and the same oblique palm branch as in l. 6 to the right; the usual *mu* above *eta* abbreviation for ἡμέρα.

l. 9: Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter; the empty space to the left and the palm branch to the right characterizes also the weekday numeral; θάρσει.

ll. 10-11: οὐδεὶς.

l. 12: at the end of this line appear two engraved and preserving traces of red paint crosses which occupy also part of the next uninscribed line; the first cross bears four small circles above and below its horizontal bar.

## Commentary

l. 2: *Θεμάλλας*, appearing also in inscr. no. 146, transcribes in Greek a Semitic theophoric name: its first component is the word *tym*, "slave", employed as a proper name in the Greek transcription *Θάιμος* or *Θέμος* (see commentary on *Θέμος* in inscr. no. 90), whereas the second element is the divine name 'lh, "Allah" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 175; for the Arabic origin of *Θαῖμάλλας* and its attestation in other Semitic dialects, see Sartre 1985, p. 204, s.vv. *Θαιμαλας*, *Θαιμαλλας*).

Apart from Ghor es-Safi the name occurs once at Khirbet es-Samra in the form *Θαῖμάλας* (Gatier 1998, p. 371, no. 20), but it is especially common in Hauran in a variety of spellings: *Θαῖμάλλας* (Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 661, no. 58; *PAES* IIIA, no. 204; Dunand 1933, p. 251,

no. 222; Mittmann 1970, p. 200, no. 41; Sartre 1982, no. 9331; Atallah and Al-Jibour 1997, pp. 463-464, no. 2); *Θαιμάλας* (PAES IIIA, nos. 318, 682; Sartre 1982, no. 9028); *Θεμάλας* (PAES IIIA, no. 456; Waddington, no. 2020; CIG III, no. 4636); *Θεμάλας* (Sa'ed 1998, p. 26, no. 2 [Wadi el-Butum]); *Θειμάλλας* (Sartre 1982, no. 9207). The name *Θεμέλλας*, borne by an Arab chieftain (*Strabo* XVI, p. 753), may be a variant of *Θεμάλλας* (PAES IIIA, p. 171, no. 318). According to Sartre (1985, p. 204) the name *Θαίμηλος*, recorded at Umm er-Rummân (Waddington, no. 2054), should not be confused with *Θαιμάλλας* because its second component -ηλος derives from 'l, "El" and not 'lh, "Allah".

l. 3: On the frequency of the name *Ούλλιανός* at Ghor es-Safi and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 58.

**109.** Tombstone of brown sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped on the lower side. Inv. no.: Z-24. Dimensions: 0.46x0.31x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and presents accumulations of salt crystals in the upper part. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised frame of which the upper and the left lines are preserved. Traces of incised guide-lines are discernible throughout the inscription especially in the upper part. The text is engraved; the lines 7,10,11,13 are in addition painted red, while ll. 1,2,4,5,8 preserve only traces of red paint. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are small, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIII

Date: 13 Audynaïos 310 E.P.A. = 29 December AD 415.

+	
Μνημῖον Οὐάλεν-	Monument of Ouales (Valens),
τος Ἀμριλίου, ἀγα-	(son) of Amrilios,
παυσάμενος	who died having a
4 μετὰ καλοῦ ἀ-	good name and good
νόματος καὶ κα-	faith (at the age)
λῆς πίστεως	of 28 years,
ν ἐτῶν νν κη', νν	in (the) year 310,
8 ἔτους ν τί', ν	on (the) 13th (day)
μη(νός) Αὐδονέου	of (the) month Audynaïos,
ν γί', <i>vacat</i>	on (the) 4th day of
ν ἡμ(έρα) νν Κ(υρίο)υ ν δ' νν.	(the) Lord (Wednesday).
12 Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
ν νατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: ἀγαπαυσάμενος for ἀγαπαυσάμενου: nominative instead of genitive singular although the personal name is in genitive.

ll. 4-5: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for the initial *omicron*.

l. 7: uninscribed spaces before and after the age numeral.

l. 8: the same spaces are left before and after the year numeral.

l. 9: abbreviation for μηνός with *eta* above *mu*; Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναίου: *omicron* instead of *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι..

l. 10: the whole line is occupied only by the inverted month day numeral.

l. 11: a *mu* over an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; KY stands as usual for the abbreviation of Κυρίου.

l. 12: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: *Οὐάλης* (-εντος) is normally the Greek transliteration of *Valens*, a common Latin cognomen. In this epitaph the name is followed by a Semitic patronymic, while in two other inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (nos. 230, 282) it is accompanied by Greek names. *Οὐάλης*, usually encountered in the genitive *Οὐάλεντος*, was abundantly attested in Palestine and Arabia with examples from Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 141, 257, 312, 344, 365, 366, 375, 411), the Negev and especially Nessana (*Nessana* 1, nos. 17 (?), 75 (?) 126; *Nessana* 3, nos. 18.6; 22.6, <7>; 24.3, 13;

26.6; 32.7, 20; 37.17, 19, 38; 76.58; 135.2; cf. also an example from 'Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 44d), S. Sinai (Lifshitz 1971, p. 154, no. 8), Golan (Khisfin: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 80), Hauran (Waddington, nos. 1959, 1989, 2017, 2042, 2045, 2218, 2374c, 2548; PAES IIIA, nos. 358, 387, 412, 693; Sartre 1982, nos. 9182, 9258, 9278, 9337, 9383) and Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 413, nos. 94, 95, 99, 100; p. 455, no. 229). It is worth noting that, with the exception of the Bostran occurrences (see Sartre 1982, as above) in which *Ουάλης* is certainly a Roman cognomen and a few other cases where its origin is obscure, the great majority of the people who bear this name are indigenous (for specific examples from Hauran and Nessana, see Sartre 1985, p. 226, s.v.). Sartre, in his effort to explain the popularity of *Ουάλης* among the native people, argued for an assimilation between the Semitic names *Ουάλος* (w'l) and *Ουάελος* (w'l) on one side and the Hellenized Latin name *Ουάλης* on the other side (Sartre, *ibid.*, pp. 226-227 with a detailed commentary on this assimilation).

I. 2: On the Semitic theophoric name *Ἀμρίλιος*, its etymology and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 92.

II. 2-3: For the use of the participle "ἀναπαυσάμενος" see chapter on Burial terms and phrases.

- 110.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, badly chipped in the lower part and curved in the upper left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-15. Dimensions: 0.51x0.26x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Above the inscription an outlined radiant sun-disc in heavy red paint is depicted. Above and around the sun-disc small triangles filled with red paint are visible. The inscription is flanked by two series of snakes vertically placed (one touching the tail of the other) and drawn in red paint. There are double guide-lines incised and painted red every two lines of the text. The whole text is engraved and line 6 is completely painted over in red. A great part of ll. 1,2,4,5,7,8,9 preserves red paint, while l. 10 is painted over in green towards the end; l. 3 does not preserve any colour. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are small, quite symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.014 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. VI*

Date: 29 Peritios 310 E.P.A. = 13 February AD 416.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Σεούδα Ἀ-	Monument of Seouda, (daughter)
λέσου, παυσομένη	of Alesos, who died having a
μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνόμα-	good name and good faith
4 τος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	(at the age) of 35 years,
τεως ν ἐτῶν νν λε',	in (the) year 310, on (the)
ἔτους νν τί, ννν μη(νός) ν	29th (day) of (the) month
Περιτίου νν θκ', νν	Peritios, on (the) 1st day
8 (tabula ansata) ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου ν α'. νν	of (the) Lord (Sunday).
Θάρσι, Σεούδα,	Be of good cheer, Seouda,
οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημῖον; Σεούδα for Σεούδας: nominative instead of genitive.

I. 2: παυσομένη for παυσαμένης: *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative instead of genitive singular following the nominative of the personal name; in the second syllable the engraver carved an imperfect *alpha* and then he painted it over as *omicron*.

II. 3-4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* in the place of *omicron*.

I. 5: the age numeral is preceded by uninscribed spaces.

I. 6: uninscribed spaces are left before and after the year numeral; *eta* above *mu* stands for the abbreviation of μηνός.

I. 7: the units figure *theta* of the inverted month day numeral is written in oblique position; the numeral is flanked by uninscribed spaces.

I. 8: the beginning of the line is decorated by a red painted tabula ansata, of which only the left dovetail (*ansa*) has been preserved; common abbreviation of ἡμέρα with *mu* above *eta*; the first and last letter forms the abbreviation of Κυρίου.

I. 9: Θάρσει.

I. 10: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

I. 1: For the rather infrequent feminine name *Σεούδα* in Palestine, see above commentary of inscr. no. 99.

II. 1-2: The name *\*Αλεσος*, found as patronymic also in inscr. no. 160, transcribes in Greek a Semitic name which derives from the root *hls*, "to have been saved" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 17, s.v.; Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 47, s.v.). According to some scholars (Preisigke 1922, col. 505, s.v.; *PAES* IIIA, p. 78, no. 112) *\*Αλεσος* is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic *Khalis*, while Canova (1954, p. 319) considers it a transliteration of the Nabataean name *hlsw*, "pure, clear, someone who has been saved". A Greek proper name, having a similar meaning to that of *\*Αλεσος* is *Σωζομενός*. The name *\*Αλεσος* is particularly frequent in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2413e; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 112, 632, 741; Dunand 1932, p. 403, no. 12; Mittmann 1970, no. 39). It appears also in Moab (el-'Amaqa: Canova 1954, nos. 334, 336), Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 148 and Dhiban (ibid., no. 182). The variant form *\*Αλεισέος* occurs as well at Dhiban (ibid., no. 181), while the names *\*Αλέσις* and *\*Αλισος* are attested in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 19, 20, s.vv.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 26, s.vv.). The variants *\*Ολασος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 443), *\*Ολεσος* (ibid., no. 314; Canova 1954, no. 11) and *\*Ωλεσος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 81) are probably diminutive forms of *\*Αλεσος*. The name is recorded also in Hauran in the lengthened form *\*Αλάσαθος* (Waddington, nos. 2042, 2047; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 299, 313, 405, 803<sup>2</sup>; Dunand 1932, pp. 409-410, no. 40; Atallah 1995, pp. 391-392, no. 1) and the feminine *\*Αλεσάθη* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 330). The feminine form of *\*Αλεσος*, *\*Αλασα*, is mentioned once in Hauran (Šabḥah: *PAES* IIIA, no. 131).

111. Tombstone of white, grey and purple sandstone, rectangular in shape with a nicely curved bottom. Inv. no.: Z-252. Dimensions: 0.52x0.38x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed especially in the area of the text and is flaked off on the right side. Salt crystals and lichens are spread all over the surface. Above the inscription an outlined sun-disc is depicted and around it traces of small triangular rays all in red paint. Below the text there are six small squares filled with red paint; underneath traces of red colour are visible. The inscription is flanked by two snakes vertically depicted also in red paint. The text is all engraved; II. 4,7 are additionally painted red and II. 1,2,5,6,9 are partially painted red, while II. 3 and 8 do not preserve any colour. The script is of the round form with small letters, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIII

Date: 9 Artemisios 311 E.P.A. = 29 April AD 416.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Ζωσειμᾶς  
 Σελαμάνου, παυσόμενος  
 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  
 4 τος ἔτων νν κε', ννν  
 ἡτους νν ταί', ννν (tabula ansata)  
 μη(νός) Ἀρτεμισίου ν θ', νν  
 ν ἡμ(έρα) νν Κ(υρίου) ν α'. vacat  
 8 Θάρσι, Ζώσειμε, οὐ-  
 δις ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Zossimas,  
 (son) of Selamanos, who died  
 having a good name  
 (at the age) of 25 years,  
 in (the) year 311, on (the) 9th (day)  
 of (the) month Artemisios,  
 on (the) 1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday).  
 Be of good cheer, Zossimas,  
 no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: *μνημεῖον*; *Ζωσειμᾶς* for *Ζωσιμᾶ*: nominative instead of genitive; use of the diphthong *ei* instead of *iota*.

I. 2: the genitive ending *-ου* of the patronymic, forgotten originally by the engraver, was later added above the first letter *pi* of the next word; *παυσόμενος* for *παυσαμένου*: *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative instead of genitive singular.

II. 3-4: *ὀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος*: *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 4: the age numeral is flanked by empty spaces.

I. 5: *ἡτους* for *ἐτους*: *eta* for *epsilon*; an empty space after the word *ἡτους*; the tens and units figures are inverted in the year numeral after which follows an uninscribed area and then a decorative tabula ansata in red paint.

I. 6: abbreviation for *μηνός* formed by an *eta* above *mu*; empty spaces before and after the month day numeral.

I. 7: the words ἡμέρα and Κυρίου are abbreviated in the common way; the abbreviations and the weekday numeral are written at long intervals.

I. 8: θάρσει: the first letter *theta* of this word is engraved horizontally; Ζώσιμε.

II. 8-9: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

I. 1: Ζωσιμάς, the name of the deceased, appears in this epitaph also in the second declension form Ζώσιμος (vocative Ζώσιμε in I. 8; for the confusion in the declension of the names, see chapter on Morphology). The Greek name Ζωσιμάς is epigraphically attested since the Imperial period in Greece and Cyprus (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 449; *LGPN* I, p. 197, s.v.; II, p. 196, s.v.; IIIA, p. 190, s.v.). In Palestine and Arabia only the form Ζώσιμος (Pape and Benseler 1911, pp. 449-450, s.v.) has been so far recorded. An *illustris* appearing in a dedicatory inscription in the "Kyria Maria" Monastery in Scythopolis (Beth Shean: FitzGerald 1939, pp. 13-14), a deacon in an epitaph from the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery (Schneider 1931, p. 325, no. 151), a keeper of a cook shop, προπινάριος, from Caesarea mentioned in a dedicatory inscription from the Church of Theotokos on Mount Gerizim (Di Segni 1990d, pp. 347-348, no. 5), and a builder, οἰκοδόμος, from Hauran (el-Mushennef: Waddington, no. 2235) are some of the bearers of the name. The feminine Ζωσίμη is encountered in a Christian epitaph from Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 158), as well as in a second century AD funerary epigram found in Caesarea where the deceased was a native of Italy (Lifshitz 1977b, p. 509).

I. 2: The patronymic, derived from the name of an ancient Semitic divinity venerated in Syria (Canova 1954, p. lxxxvii), seems to be one of the Greek transliterations of the well known Arabic name Salman which means "safe, unhurt" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 171; Negev 1991, p. 64, no. 1150; cf. also *PAES* IIIA, p. 65, no. 73). Epigraphically it is attested in a variety of spellings. It appears in the genitive Σελαμάνου in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 123 [el-Kerak], 325 [el-'Araq]) and the Negev (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 50; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 82). The nominative Σελαμάνης occurs also in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 150; Corbo 1963-1964, p. 236, no. 1 [mistakenly considered as a feminine name]). In Madaba it is encountered as Σελαμάν, an Arabic form devoid of the Greek ending (Gatier 1986, no. 118b), and at Nessana as Σελαμίνος and Σελμίνας (*Nessana* 1, no. 30j). Σελαμάνης and Σελαμάνος are the most common variants recorded in the areas of Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 140, 174, 185, 218), Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2147, 2262, 2337, 2412i; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 724, 727; *AAES* III, no. 410a; Dunand 1932, p. 403, no. 14; Dunand 1933, p. 235, no. 140), Moab ('Ayun Musa, Mount Nebo: Di Segni 1998, pp. 452-453, nos. 60, 61; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1992, p. 221, no. 72d; Canova 1954, nos. 147 [el-Kerak], 272 [eth-Thaniyyeh], 299 [Maḥaiy], 320 [el-Mote], 326 [el-'Araq]) and the Negev (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 65). A number of variant forms are also attested in these areas: Σελαμάνιος (Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 142), Σελμάνος (Hauran: Waddington, no. 2005; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 412, 717; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 372, no. 25) and Σελαμάν, a close transcription of the Arabic Salman (Sa'ed 1998, pp. 21-22).

In *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* is mentioned a certain solitary *Salamanes* whose memory is commemorated on February 17 (see Delehaye 1902, col. 471).

I. 5: The unusual order of the year numeral (hundreds-units-tens) appears to be a common phenomenon in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi dated during the decade τ'α'-τ'ιθ' (311-319 E.P.A.: see also inscr. nos. 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 122, 127, 128). Such an order, which is probably influenced by the inverted rendering of the tens and units according to the ordinal numerals, is known also by a few inscriptions from Hauran ('Ormân: *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1178; el-Ghâriyeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 197; cf. Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 154).

112. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-322. Dimensions: 0.56x0.33x0.12 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the right side and at the lower part. Salt crystals are accumulated in the upper part and the lower right corner. The decoration, which surrounds the inscription, is all in red paint: above a sun-disc with a heavily painted outline and several small triangles filling the space around it; left and right two series of snakes one touching the tail of the other in upright position; below between the tails of the snakes a decorative motif consisting of interlaced small snakes in horizontal position. The inscription is enclosed within an incised frame on the three sides except for the lower one. Faint incised guide-lines are discernible throughout the inscription and even below it (for four more lines). The whole text is engraved, while red paint is preserved fully in II. 7 and 10 and partially in II.

1,2,4,5,8. The script follows the round alphabet with small letters, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VI

Date: 5 Audynaïos 311 E.P.A. = 21 December AD 416.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Σεουηριανοῦ  
 Θεοδώρου, παυσόμε-  
 νος μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-  
 4 ματος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-  
 τεως ν ἑτῶν νν νε', ν  
 ἔτους ννν ταί', ν (tabula ansata)  
 μηνὸς Αὐδωνέ(ου) ν ε', ν  
 8 (tabula ansata) ν ἡμ(έρα) ν  
 Κυρίου ν δ'. νν  
 Θάρσει, Σεουηριανέ,  
 οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Severianus,  
 (son) of Theodoros, who died  
 having a good name  
 and good faith (at the age)  
 of 55 years, in (the) year  
 311, on (the) 5th (day) of  
 (the) month Audynaïos,  
 on (the) 4th day of (the)  
 Lord (Wednesday).  
 Be of good cheer, Severianus,  
 no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 2-3: παυσόμενος for παυσαμένου: *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative instead of genitive (despite the genitive of the personal name).

II. 3-4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 5: the age numeral is flanked by uninscribed spaces.

I. 6: between ἔτους and the year numeral an uninscribed area; the year numeral follows the same unusual order as in inscr. 111 (hundreds-units-tens); the line ends with a decorative empty tabula ansata in red paint.

I. 7: ΑΥΔΩΝΕ stands for the abbreviation of the genitive Αὐδυναί(ου): *omega* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι; the month day numeral is stressed by an uninscribed space on either side.

I. 8: the line begins with a tabula ansata painted in red; ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the *mu* above *eta*; usual abbreviation of Κυρίου formed by its first and last letter; the weekday figure is placed between uninscribed spaces.

I. 9: θάρσει.

I. 10: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

The preparation of the tombstone in order to receive the inscription (e.g. the smoothing of the front surface, the engraved horizontal and vertical guide-lines throughout the text and below) is clearly visible and shows the work of a professional scribe.

It seems that a distinction is made between the Upper World symbolized by the sun-disc at the top of the tombstone and the Underworld symbolized by the snakes in the lower part of the funerary stele.

I. 1: The name Σεουηριανός, transcription of the Latin *Severianus* (Kajanto 1963, p. 63), appears for the first time at Ghor es-Safi. *Severianus* was the nomen of the Roman governor of the province of Arabia in AD 193/4 mentioned in Latin inscriptions from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 464, nos. 261-263) and Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9069). For relevant names see commentary of inscr. nos. 105 (Σεουηρίνα) and 228 (Σεουήρος).

I. 2: Θεόδωρος, a popular pagan theophoric name, survived in the Christian nomenclature acquiring a new "Christian" meaning (Kajanto 1963, p. 103). In Ghor es-Safi it is represented by nine examples, a high rate, and is accompanied by names of Latin or Greek origin. A high frequency of the Θεόδωρος occurrences is also observed in other parts of Palestine and Arabia where the name appears in pagan, but mostly Christian context. The great majority of the relevant examples has been concentrated in the areas of Hauran (Waddington, index I, p. 5, s.v.: 9 cases; PAES IIIA, nos. 43, 109, 669, 796<sup>1</sup>; AAES III, nos. 383, 435; Sartre 1982, nos. 9126, 9228, 9229, 9286, 9298), Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 128, 138), Moab (Canova 1954, p. 421, s.v.: 17 cases; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, pp. 384-385, no. 72; pp. 387-388, nos. 76,77; pp. 388-389, no. 79; pp. 390-392, no. 81; see also p. 416, s.v.; Mt. Nebo: Di Segni 1998, pp. 433-434, no. 14; p. 455, no. 64; Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 124; Deir: ibid., no. 175; Shuneh: ibid., no. 66), Negev (Nessana:

*Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 337, s.v.: 9 cases; *Nessana* 1, nos. 45, 150?) and Judaea (Choziba Monastery, Deir el-Qilt: Schneider 1931, p. 330: 13 examples; Jerusalem: Thomsen 1921, p. 52, no. 99). Theodoros is also recorded in inscriptions from Decapolis (Gerasa: Welles 1938, index D, p. 595: 10 cases; Scythopolis: Avi-Yonah 1963, pp. 325-326; Di Segni 1999, p. 635), and once from Lod (ancient Diospolis: Di Segni 1999, p. 627) and Kafr Kama in Lower Galilee (*SEG* 45 [1995], no. 1954). Sartre suggests that the popularity of the name *Θεόδωρος* in the Semitic Orient may be partly due to the fact that it is the Greek equivalent of Semitic names having the same meaning, such as *Αυσάλλας*, *Ζαβδάλλας*, *Ουαβάλλας* (Sartre 1985, p. 206, s.v.)

There is a great number of Saints under the name Theodoros (see Delehay 1909, pp. 127-201). Inscriptions mentioning Saint Theodoros in Palestine and Arabia have been encountered at Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 477-478, no. 300; p. 487, no. 336), Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 133), 'Avdat (Negev 1981, nos. 17, 26, 31a, 44d), Abud (NW. of Ramallah), Bir el-Qutt (near Bethlehem), Deir el-Qilt, Aqaba, St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai (for the relevant examples in these areas, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 130-132; for a recently published inscription kept in the Department of Antiquities of Jordan in Amman, see Gatier and Villeneuve 1993, pp. 4-5, no. 1 and p. 7, n. 13).

For the feminine *Θεοδώρα*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 81.

113. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left and right corners and mended from two fragments. A third piece, that of the lower right corner, is missing. Inv. no.: Z-282. Dimensions: 0.51x0.36x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around. Salt crystals have accumulated in the lower right part of the inscription. The text is surrounded by the same red painted symbolic decoration as that of inscr. no. 112, i.e.: above, the outlined sun-disc; left and right the continuous series of snakes in upright position; below the motif of interlaced small snakes in horizontal position. The inscription is set within an incised frame and double incised and red painted horizontal guide-lines. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,2,4,5,6,7,9 are also partially painted red. The script is of the round alphabet with a few square *sigmas*. The letters are small, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VI

Date: 14 Xanthikos 312 E.P.A. = 4 April AD 417.

(sun-disc)

Μνημίαν Φασιφάη  
Διονυσίου, παυσά-  
μένη μετὰ καλοῦ {ἄ}  
4 ἀνόματος καὶ καλῆς  
πίστεως ἐτῶν ζ',  
ἔτους τβι', (tabula ansata)  
μη(νός) Ξανθικοῦ νν δι', (tabula ansata)  
8 (tabula ansata) ἡμ(έρα) ν Κυ(ρίο)υ ν δ{τ'}. ννν  
Θάρσι, Φασιφάη, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Pasiphae,  
(daughter) of Dionysios, who died  
having a good name and good  
faith (at the age) of 90 years,  
in (the) year 312, on (the)  
14th (day) of (the) month  
Xanthikos, on (the) 4th day of  
(the) Lord (Wednesday).  
Be of good cheer, Pasiphae,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: *μνημίαν* for *μνημεῖον*: phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει* and *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable; *Φασιφάη* for *Πασιφάης*: nominative instead of genitive; the use of *phi* in the place of the initial letter *pi* is probably a sign of aspiration common in the area (see chapter on Phonetics, p. 63).

ll. 2-3: *παυσάμένη* for *παυσάμένης*: nominative in the place of genitive singular.

l. 3: the *alpha* at the end of the line is superfluous since it is repeated in the beginning of the next line.

l. 4: *ἀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος*: *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 5: the age numeral is flanked by a pair of decorative red painted angular motifs facing it.

l. 6: in the year numeral the units figure precedes that of the tens; the numeral is enclosed within two pairs of angular motifs in red paint; also red painted is the decorative tabula ansata at the end of line.

l. 7: the usual *eta* above *mu* abbreviation for *μηνός*; the inverted month day numeral is in a distance of two spaces from the month and then follows the same painted tabula ansata as that of l. 6.

l. 8: the line opens with a similar decorative tabula ansata (see ll. 6,7); *mu* above *eta* is the common abbreviation of *ἡμέρα*; KY stands for the abbreviation of *Κυρίου*; the weekday is expressed in two



numerical figures, the second of which (*iota*) is superfluous and was probably engraved under the influence of the same month day numeral written just above it.

l. 9: θάρσει; Φαισφάη for Παισφάη; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: *Φαισφάη* is most likely a vernacular form of the Greek name *Παισφάη* deriving from the adjective *παισφαής*, "shining on all" (*LSJ*, p. 1346, s.v.). According to Greek mythology Pasiphae was the daughter of Helios and wife of king Minos of Crete. She was a lunar deity and her cult is attested in Crete and Lacedaemon where she was worshipped as a prophetic goddess (*RE* XVIII. 4 [1949], cols. 2069-2082, s.v. *Pasiphae* [Karl Scherling]; Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1144, s.v. *Παισφάη*). As a personal name *Παισφάη* is so far unparalleled not only in Palestine and Arabia but also in other parts of the Greek speaking world. The unique mention of *Παισφάη* in this epitaph may conceal a name indicative of a profession dealing with astrology.

l. 2: *Διονύσιος* is a popular Greek theophoric name which survived - of course with less frequency - in the Christian nomenclature until the fifth-sixth centuries AD despite its pagan nature (Kajanto 1963, p. 87 who says that in Rome the name is attested until AD 498). In Ghor es-Safi it appears also in inscr. no. 317 in the shortened form *Διονύσις* (cf. *AAES* III, no. 244). The pagan parallels of this name from Palestine and Arabia are encountered in inscriptions from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2144, 2309, 2412f; *AAES* III, nos. 150, 241; *PAES* IIIA, no. 787<sup>8</sup> [*Διόνυσος*]), Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 385-386, nos. 20, 22; p. 399, no. 52; p. 439, no. 186), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 152, no. 42/18) and Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 59). The Christian epigraphic occurrences of *Διονύσιος* originate in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 157), and Petra (AD 447, Sartre 1993, no. 63: epitaph referring to a deacon of the Church of Jerusalem). Two papyrological instances of the name Dionysios from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, nos. 90, 91) testify to the name's survival until the sixth-seventh centuries AD. The feminine *Διονυσία* is recorded in a commemorative inscription from a church at Horvat Be'er-shema' (SW. Negev: Tzaferis 1996, pp. 77-78\*, no. 3), and in an epitaph from Kafr Hârib in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 2).

The names *Διονύσιος* and *Διονυσία* were also in use among the Jews of Palestine as is evidenced by an inscription from Tiberias, mentioning an *Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος Ἰουδέους Τιβεριήνσις* (*CIJ* I, no. 680), and an epitaph from the Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim which reads: *Εὐμύρι Διονυσία* (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 52).

l. 5: Pasiphae died at an extreme old age. For other long-lived persons in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, see inscr. nos. 91, 223 and chapter on the Age and causes of death.

114. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape with curved corners, broken in several places at the right side. Inv. no.: Z-351. Dimensions: 0.64x0.26x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all over. Traces of painted guide-lines are visible throughout the inscription. The text is engraved and painted over in red in oval script. The characters of the first line are sparse, while those of the last line are very crowded. Height of letters: 0.008-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIII

Date: 8 Artemisios 312 E.P.A. = 28 April AD 417.

	Εἷς Θεός.	One (is) the God.
	Μνημῖον Ἀμά-	Monument of Amatha,
	θα Ὀγέζωνος, ν	(daughter) of Ogezōn,
4	τοῦ βίου πανσο-	who ceased to live
	μένη μετὰ κα- ν	having a good name
	λοῦ ὀνόματος ν	(at the age) of 15 years,
	ἐτῶν ιε', ἐν ἔτι	in the year 312, on the
8	τιβ', μη(νὸς) Ἀρτεμ(ισίου) η'. ν	8th (day) of (the) month Artemisios.
	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: *μνημεῖον*.

ll. 2-3: Ἀμάθα for Ἀμάθας; nominative in the place of genitive.

ll. 4-5: *πανσομένη* for *πανσαμένης*; *omicron* for *alpha* and use of nominative in the place of genitive singular.

l. 7: the age numeral is emphasized by an elongated horizontal bar above; ἔτι for ἔτει.

l. 8: both the year and the month day numerals are denoted by horizontal strokes above them; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by the usual *eta* above *mu*, while the month name by the first five letters and the sign S.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδείς; only the left half of the dotted *nu* and part of the right slanting stroke of the dotted *alpha* are preserved.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The feminine Ἀμάθα presents so far no epigraphic parallels in Palestine and Arabia. It is most likely the Greek transliteration of the Arabic 'amat, "female servant" (Al-Khaysheh 1986, pp. 39-40), which appears as first element in the compound theophoric names Ἀμαθάλας (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 241), Ἀμαθάλλα (Nessana 3, nos. 92.33 [masc.], 115.2 [fem.]), Ἀμαθαλλάθης (Wuthnow 1930, p. 18, s.v.), Ἀμαθάλη (CIG III, no. 4643b), Ἀμαθβαβέα (AAES III, nos. 241, 243, cf. also no. 263), Ἀμάθησος (see above inscr. no. 61). The name Ἀμάτ, attested in a papyrus from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 23, 506), seems to be closer to the Arabic spelling.

l. 3: The genitive Ὀγέζωνος (see also inscr. no. 196) indicates that the nominative should read Ὀγέζων. This is paralleled by the Hellenized Semitic name Ὀγεζος which varies only in the Greek ending. Ὀγεζος is recorded once in a fourth century (AD 397) inscription from Harrân in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2462). Both names are plausibly Greek transliterations of the Arabic 'Ugaiz, derived from the Semitic root 'gz, "to grow old" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 86, s.v. Ὀγεζου).

ll. 4-5: "Τοῦ βίου πανσομένη" is inverted form of the burial phrase "πανσομένος, -ένη τοῦ βίου" attested in several other epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 148, 152, 154, 291; for similar expressions see commentary of inscr. no. 98). A funerary inscription from Gaza preserves the similar in meaning but rather unusual expression "τὸν βίον ἀποθεμέν<η>" (Glucker 1987, p. 133, no. 18).

**115.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with white stripes, rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-221. Dimensions: 0.50x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been perfectly smoothed, is chipped especially in the lower left half. The inscription is enclosed within a faintly preserved incised frame on three sides except for the bottom. Left and right of the inscription (outside the frame) two snakes in vertical position are drawn in red paint. Just below the inscription are depicted several small squares in a row filled with red colour. The text is only engraved in a round script. The letters are small (those of l. 1 are smaller than the other), carefully cut, but not so well aligned (especially in ll. 1,2,9,10). Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIII

Date: 13 Daisios 312 E.P.A. = 2 June AD 417.

Μνημῖον Σελουανός ν  
Οὔδι, ἀναπαυσάμενος  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  
4 τος καὶ καλῆς<ς> πίστε-  
ως ν ἐτῶν νν κέ', ννν  
ἔτους νν τβί', *vacat*  
ννν μην(νός) ν Δισίου ν γί', ν  
8 ννν ἡμ(έρα) ν Κ(υρίο)ν νν ζ'. νν  
Θάρσει, Σελουανέ, οὐ-  
δὶς ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Selouanos (Silvanus),  
(son) of Oudi, who died having  
a good name and good faith  
(at the age) of 25 years,  
in (the) year 312, on (the)  
13th (day) of (the) month  
Daisios, on (the) 7th day  
of (the) Lord (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer, Selouanos,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημῖον; Σελουανός for Σιλουανοῦ: *epsilon* for *iota* and nominative instead of genitive.

l. 2: ἀναπαυσάμενος for ἀναπαυσάμενου: nominative in the place of genitive singular.

ll. 3-4: ὀνόματος for ὀνόματος.

l. 4: the last letter *sigma* of the word καλῆς has been inadvertently engraved as *epsilon*.

l. 5: left and right of the age numeral there are uninscribed spaces.

l. 6: in the year numeral the tens and units figures are inverted; this numeral is also flanked by uninscribed areas.

l. 7: the line opens with an empty area; the partially preserved letters *eta* above *mu* form the usual abbreviation of μηνός; Δισίου for Δαισίου: *iota* in the place of the diphthong αι; the month day numeral is inverted and flanked by an uninscribed space.

l. 8: the beginning of this line is also left uninscribed; usual *eta-mu* abbreviation for ἡμέρα and *kappa-upsilon* for the genitive Κυρίου; the weekday numeral follows at a distance decorated to the left by an engraved angular motif.

l. 9: θάρσει; Σελουανέ for Σιλουανέ: *epsilon* for *iota*.

ll. 9-10: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The deceased, although a native as revealed by his patronymic, bears the name Σελουανός which is an unusual Greek transcription of the Latin *Silvanus*. The most common transliteration Σιλουανός appears in inscr. nos. 247, 261. The name is frequently attested in Roman inscriptions from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2047, 2070h, 2085; PAES IIIA, nos. 165, 420, 689, 696; Sartre 1982, no. 9302; Atallah 1995, pp. 395-396, no. 5). In a Christian context the name Σιλουανός occurs in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 182, 201), in an epitaph from the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery at Wadi el-Qilt (Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 73) and as a native's name in a papyrus from Nessana in the Negev (Nessana 3, no. 79.61). In two fifth century church dedicatory inscriptions from 'Evron two spellings, Σιλβανός and Σιλουανός, are employed to refer to a deacon (Tzaferis 1987, pp. 41-42\*, nos. 4,5). The same double spelling is used for the scholasticus *Silvanus* who is mentioned in two commemorative inscriptions found in Beth Shean (Scythopolis) and dated in the time of Anastasios (Di Segni 1999, pp. 638-639). Finally, interesting is the use of the name Σιλουανός by a Jew at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 211).

l. 2: The patronymic may transliterate in Greek the Arabic name Hud, "splendour, rigour, majesty" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 135). Οὔδι is obviously a genitive case but the name is attested as well in the genitive Οὔδου in an epitaph from Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 463). In the first case either a nominative Οὔδης (Οὔδι being a wrong spelling for Οὔδη) or Οὔδι(ο)ς is required, while in the second Οὔδης or Οὔδος would equally be possible. The differentiation in the declension may be attributed to local usage. The name appears as ʾQδ in the Old Testament (1 Chr. 7.37) referring to a man of the tribe Asher.

**116.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and right sides and the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-70. Dimensions: 0.49x0.285x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around and especially in the bottom and flaked off in several places. The inscription is enclosed within a red painted frame. Above the upper line of the frame is depicted a cross inside a vault, both drawn in red paint. The text is all engraved but ll. 1,4,7,12 are also decorated with red paint; ll. 6,9,10 are partially painted in green. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions. The letters are fairly well cut with a slightly ascending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.08-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIV

Date: 10 Dystros 312 E.P.A. = 24 February AD 418.

+

Εἷς Θεός.  
Μνημῖον  
Φασέλη  
4 Παρθεγίου,  
ἀποθανοῦ-  
σα ἐτῶν θ',  
ἐν ἔτι τιβ',  
8 ἐν μη(νὶ) Δύσ-  
τρου ι', ἐν  
ἡμ(έρα) Κ(υρίου) α'.  
Χ(ριστ)έ, ἀνάπ-  
12 αυσσον.

One (is) the God.  
Monument of Fasele,  
(daughter) of Parthenios,  
who died (at the age)  
of 9 years, in the year 312,  
on (the) 10th (day) of (the)  
month Dystros,  
on (the) 1st day of  
(the) Lord (Sunday).  
Christ, give (her) rest.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 2: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 3: Φασέλη for Φασέλης: nominative for genitive singular.  
 ll. 5-6: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: same phenomenon as above.  
 l. 6: after the age numeral there is a decorative oblique line flanked by two dots.  
 l. 7: ἔται; the year numeral is followed by the same oblique dotted line as in l. 6.  
 l. 8: the dative μνηί is abbreviated by the *eta* above *mu*.  
 ll. 8-9: Δύστρον for Δύστρω: genitive instead of dative singular.  
 l. 9: the month day numeral *iota* bears a trema at its top and is followed by the oblique dotted decorative line mentioned above (ll. 6,7).  
 l. 10: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated as usual by the superscription of *mu* over *eta*; a red painted horizontal bar above the letters *kappa*, *upsilon* indicates the abbreviation of the genitive Κυρίου; after the weekday numeral appears again the oblique dotted decorative line (see also ll. 6,7,9) which seems to serve as a division line between each time component.  
 l. 11: the letters *chi* and *epsilon* stand for the abbreviation of the vocative Χριστέ.

## Commentary

- l. 3: On the common feminine name *Φασέλη*, found also as *Φασήλη* in Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 92, where the masculine *Φασαήλος* is discussed as well.  
 l. 4: On the name *Παρθένιος* and its occurrences in Palestine and Arabia, see discussion in inscr. no. 67.  
 ll. 11-12: On the invocation to Christ for the repose of the deceased and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 106.

117. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape, is broken in the upper left corner, on the upper right side, in the lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-228. Dimensions: 0.30x0.23x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered in the centre, chipped and flaked off all around, but mainly on the upper left side with loss of text. Deeply incised guide-lines are visible which continue even below the inscription. The whole text is also deeply engraved and ll. 2,4,6,8,10,12 are additionally decorated with red paint. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are carelessly cut at times with their vertical strokes projecting at the upper part or their horizontal strokes coinciding at the guide-lines. The latter are badly aligned so that the letters have an ascending tendency from left to right. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIV

Date: Panemos (?) 313 E.P.A. = 20 June-19 July (?) AD 418.

	[Εἷς Θεός. Μνη]-	[One (is) the God].
	[μῆ]ον Ὀεβάν-	Monument of Oebannos,
	ν γος Ζάβδα,	(son) of Zabda(s),
4	[ἀ]ποθονόν - ν	who died (at the age)
	[τ]ος ἑτῶν πέν-	of five years,
	[τ]ε, ἔτους τρια- ν	in the three hundred
	κοσσιαστροῦ ν	and thirteenth year,
8	τρῖς καὶ δεκά-	in the running fourth
	του, μηνὸς ἀ-	month (Panemos?).
	ν γομένον τε-	Be of good cheer,
	τάρτο{τ}υ.	no one (is) immortal.
12	ν Θάρσι, οὐδὶς	
	ν ἀθάνατος.	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: this line has been restored on the basis of the usual phraseology of these epitaphs and the number of letters in each line of the text.  
 l. 2: the first two letters are lost.  
 ll. 2-3: Ὀεβάνγος for Ὀεβάνγνου: nominative instead of genitive.  
 l. 4: the first letter is lost; the vertical strokes of the three *omicrons* are projecting to the level of the guide-line.

- l. 5: the first letter is missing and of the second only the right half is preserved; the middle vertical stroke of *omega* is higher than the other two.  
 l. 6: the first letter is eroded.  
 ll. 6-7: τριακοσσιαστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ: *alpha* for *omicron* and dittography of *sigma*.  
 ll. 8-9: τρῖς καὶ δεκάτου for τρίτου καὶ δεκάτου.  
 l. 11: the letter *tau* between *omicron* and *upsilon* is superfluous.  
 l. 12: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The Hellenized Semitic name *Ῥοβάννος*, which occurs also in inscr. no. 252 in the form *Ῥοβαβάν<ν>ης*, is a variant of the masculine *Ῥοβαβάνης*, Arabic Wahban (Wuthnow 1930, p. 136; Negev 1991, p. 24, no. 343). The latter name is recorded in an epitaph from Mdjêdil in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 787<sup>9</sup>) as *Ῥοβαβάνης* which according to the editors is "a lengthened form of the name *Ῥοβαβός*". *Ῥοβάβος*, Greek transcription of the Arabic Wahb, "gift" (Negev 1991, p. 24, no. 335), is found twice in Hauran, at Simdj (PAES IIIA, no. 100) and Umm el-Jimâl (ibid., no. 316). From the latter site comes also the name *Ῥοαβός* which has been taken as a mistake for *Ῥοβάβος* (PAES IIIA, no. 393; cf. Wuthnow 1930, p. 85, s.v.). The form *Ῥοβάβω*, encountered in an inscription from Busân (Waddington, no. 2245), could be the dative of *Ῥοβάβος* (Wuthnow 1930, p. 91, s.v.) or plausibly the feminine of *Ῥοβάβος*. The name *Ῥοβάβος* is used frequently as the first element of compound theophoric names like *Ῥοβαβάλλας*, *Ῥοβαβάλλαθος*, *Ῥοβάβηλος* etc. (Wuthnow 1930, p. 91, s.vv.).

l. 3: On the Semitic name *Ζάβδας*, its variants and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 24.

ll. 9-11: Since all the dated epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi make use of the Graeco-Arabic calendar (see chapter on Date of death, p. 47) which begins with Xanthikos (22 March), the fourth month, mentioned in these lines, could be no other than Panemos which corresponds to 20 June-19 July. This is the first time that a numbered month is epigraphically attested in Palestine and Arabia. However, such a numerical month nomenclature is already employed by Josephus (AJ I. 80: ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δὲ ὑφ' Ἑβραίων, cited by Samuel 1972, p. 142, n. 5).

118. Tombstone of white sandstone almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around and especially in the upper right corner and lower left side. Inv. no.: Z-79. Dimensions: 0.52x0.32x0.04 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off mainly on the lower right side and weathered. Accumulations of salt crystals are spread in the surface. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame, the upper part of which forms an oblong decorative band. In the centre of this band is depicted a square, in the upper two-thirds of which there is a cross. This square is flanked by two rectangles filled in with a trellis pattern. At the edges of the band there are two squares each one divided by two intersecting lines. The frame with its decorative band is all engraved and traces of red paint are visible in it mainly in the left side of the band. The whole text is engraved; l. 6 is additionally painted red as is the first letter of l. 5. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.04 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIV

Date: 4 Artemisios 314 E.P.A. = 24 April AD 419.

<p>+</p> <p>Μνημῖον          Βεσαμέας          Γερμανοῦ,          4 ἐτῶν κζ',          ἔτους τιδ',          μηνὸς Ἀρ-          τεμῆσι-          8 [ου] δ'.</p>	<p>Monument of          Besameas(s),          (son or daughter) of Germanus,          (who died at the age) of 27 years,          in (the) year 314,          on the 4th (day) of          (the) month          Artemisios.</p>
--	---

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and below.

- I. 5: the year numeral is emphasized also by a double horizontal bar as in I. 4.  
 II. 7-8: only faint traces of the second to the seventh letters of the month name have been preserved, while the genitive ending -ου is lost.  
 I. 8: below the month day numeral a horizontal bar is visible.

#### Commentary

I. 2: *Βεσαμέας* could be either the nominative of a masculine name (given the frequent inconsistency in which the word *μνημεῖον* is followed by a name in nominative instead of genitive) or the genitive of a feminine *Βεσαμέα*. Omission of a participle, such as *ἀποθανόντος* (-ούσης), which would elucidate the gender of the deceased, leaves the question open. Two masculine names attested in Egypt and Syria could be related to *Βεσαμέας*. The first one, *Βεσιμᾶς*, is recorded in a Roman papyrus (AD 176-180) from Fayoum (Grenfell and Hunt 1897, p. 81, no. 50d cited by Preisigke 1922, col. 74, s.v.), whereas the second one, *Βασσιμᾶς*, appears in a funerary inscription from Ruwêha (AAES III, no. 263). The latter name, according to Nöldeke, may be the Greek equivalent of "the Syriac *bassima* = lovely" (AAES III, p. 222; cf. also Preisigke 1922, col. 518, s.v. *Βεσιμᾶς*, who classifies it under the Aramaic names).

I. 3: The patronymic *Γερμανός*, Greek transliteration of the Latin cognomen *Germanus*, was a well known name in the East. In Palestine and Arabia it was especially popular in the areas of Hauran (Waddington, nos. 1910, 1984b, 2220, 2292, 2339, 2385, 2402, 2433, 2520; PAES IIIA, nos. 44, 189, 631, 652 [= *ibid.*, no. 2413f], 688 (= Waddington, no. 1984c), 795<sup>11</sup>, 803; AAES III, nos. 371, 413A; Sartre 1982, nos. 9111 [= PAES IIIA, no. 547], 9208) and Negev (\*Avdat: Negev 1981, nos. 16, 19, 46; Beersheba: Alt 1921, no. 25; Elusa: *ibid.*, nos. 65, 70; Nessana: *Nessana* 3, nos. 37.19; 91.3, 10). Sporadic epigraphic examples of *Γερμανός* are also attested at Evron (SEG 37 [1987], nos. 1511, 1512, 1514, 1516), Sukeik in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 171), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 413, no. 102; pp. 451-452, no. 219), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 198-199, no. 11), Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, p. 243, no. 1b; p. 247, no. 4 = SEG 37 [1987], nos. 1552, 1555), Wadi el-Qilt (Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 83) and Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 61 [el-Kerak], 392, 401 [Mahaiy]). The name was recorded as well twice at the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 100, 206). The high frequency of *Γερμανός* among the indigenous population of these areas urged some scholars (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 40-41, s.v.; Negev 1981, p. 29, no. 16; Sartre 1985, p. 193, s.v.; Piccirillo 1994, p. 243, no. 1b) to assume that under this name the Semitic grm, Arabic Djarman, transliterated as *Γάρμος*, *Γάραμος*, is concealed (for its etymology as well as its attestations in simple and compound form in Greek and in various Semitic dialects, see Sartre 1985, p. 193; cf. also Di Segni 1997, p. 199 with full bibliography on this Semitic name).

The popularity of the name *Γερμανός* among the Christians of these regions (it should be noted here that, with the exception of the examples from Hauran and Gerasa, all the other occurrences are Christian) could also be attributed to Saint Germanos, who was martyred in Caesarea together with Antoninus, Zabinas and Nikephoros, in the time of Maximian (AD 286-305: Delehay 1902, p. 221.10). This Saint might be identical with St. Germanos mentioned in an invocatory inscription from the church of St. Paul at Umm er-Rasas (Ἁγίε Παῦλε (καὶ) Γερμανέ...: Piccirillo 1997, pp. 389-390, no. 3) and with an ἀββᾶς *Γε[ρ]μαν(ός)* appearing in a list of Saints at the North Church of Nessana (*Nessana* 1, no. 38).

119. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower right corners and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-303. Dimensions: 0.33x0.25x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off on the left side. Above the inscription an outlined sun-disc is drawn in heavy red paint. The inscription is flanked by two series of red painted snakes in upright position, one touching the tail of the other. The whole text is engraved and set between double incised guide-lines. Line 9 is fully covered with red paint while II. 2,4,5,6,7,8 are partially painted in red. The script is basically round with a few square *sigmas*. The letters are small, nicely cut and aligned (except for the two last lines). Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIV

Date: 12 Loos 316 E.P.A. = 31 July AD 421.

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Σιλθα Ὁλέ-  
 φου, παυσαμένη με-

Monument of Siltha, (daughter)  
 of Olefos, who died having

	τὰ καλοῦ ἀνόματος	a good name and good faith
4	καὶ καλῆς πίστεως νν	(at the age) of 11 years,
	ἐτῶν νν ια', νν ἔτους	in (the) year 316, on (the) 12th
	ν τς', ννν μη(νός) ν Λώου νν βι',	(day) of (the) month Loos,
	νν ἡμ(έρα) ννν Κ(υρίο)υ ν α'. <i>vacat</i>	on (the) 1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday).
8	Θάρσει, Σίλθα, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer, Siltha,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; Σίλθα for Σίλθας: nominative for genitive.  
 l. 2: παυσάμενη for παυσαμένης: common participle in nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 l. 3: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 l. 5: the age numeral is flanked by uninscribed spaces.  
 l. 6: in the year numeral the units figure precedes that of the tens; an uninscribed area after the year numeral; *mu* with a small *eta* above is the abbreviation of μηνός; the month day numeral is inverted and preceded by two uninscribed spaces.  
 l. 7: the usual abbreviations for ἡμέρα (HM) and Κυρίου (KY) as well as the weekday numeral *alpha* are engraved at long intervals.  
 l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: The feminine Σίλθα was quite common in Ghor es-Safi. On this name, see above commentary of inscr. no. 13.  
 ll. 1-2: The Hellenized Semitic name \*Ολεφος is discussed above in inscr. no. 6.

120. Tombstone of white sandstone with purple and yellow stripes at the bottom, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no. Z-339. Dimensions: 0.435x0.305x0.055 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. A large cross with serifs, which was engraved in the middle of the upper part, has been intentionally chiselled away. At the lower right part a single masted ship is schematically represented with double stern rudder and two oars in the middle. The ship sails from left to right. Above the prow a human figure is depicted in red paint. Traces of red colour are also discernible in the left corner above the left rudder. The text and the decoration are enclosed within an almost rectangular frame. The text, the frame, the cross and the ship are all engraved and painted over in red. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters are small, fairly well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXV

Date: 23 Audynaïos 316 E.P.A. = 8 January AD 422.

	+	
	Μνη + μῖον	Monument of
	Ζονένου Καῖα-	Zonenos, (son) of Kaiamios,
	μίου, παυσάμενος	who died having a
4	μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνάμα-	good name and
	τος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	good faith (at the age)
	τεως ἐτῶν ξ', τοῦ	of 60 years, in the
	ἔτους τς', μη(νός)	year 316, on (the) 23rd (day)
8	Ἀδωνέου κγ'.	of (the) month Audynaïos.
	(ship)	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; in the middle of this word the lower part of a big cross with serifs is inserted which is badly damaged due to an intentional chiselling.  
 l. 3: a small *iota* has been inserted between the first and third letter of the line, *mu* and *omicron*; παυσάμενος for παυσαμένου: nominative for genitive singular.  
 ll. 4-5: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* in the place of *omicron* in the first two syllables.  
 l. 6: the age numeral is emphasized by the usual horizontal bar above.  
 l. 7: an irregularly shaped *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of the genitive μηνός.

l. 8: Ἀδωνέου for Αὔδωναίου: the second letter *upsilon* of the initial diphthong αυ is omitted, while the *upsilon* of the second syllable is replaced by *omega* and the diphthong αι is spelled phonetically; a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The Hellenized Semitic name *Zonénos*, more common in the form *Zonáivos*, is particularly popular in the area of the Negev. The bulk of the relevant evidence comes from Nessana where the name is attested in inscriptions (*Nessana* 1, nos. 30, 80, 116), but mainly in papyri (*Nessana* 3, index IV, pp. 336-337: 29 cases). The examples from Elusa offer, in addition to the known variants, a number of abbreviated forms: *Zonáivos*, *Zonévos*, *Zonáivos*, *Zonáivos*, *Zonévos* (Alt 1921, no. 62; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 174, no. 7; p. 175, no. 18; p. 176, no. 23; p. 178, nos. 60, 82; p. 179, no. 104; p. 184, nos. 268, 272; p. 185, no. 278). A certain *Zonáivos*, although recorded in an epitaph from Beersheba (Alt 1921, no. 20), was a native of Elusa as indicated by the ethnic Ἐλουσηνός. The name occurs also at Rehovot (Alt 1921, nos. 87, 102; Tsafir 1988, p. 171, no. 29; pp. 172-174, no. 32) and Shivta (Negev 1981, no. 72). Outside the Negev epigraphic instances of Zonainos have been encountered in the neighbouring city of Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 392-393, no. 1; pp. 394-396, no. 3) and its territory (Magen: *SEG* 35 [1985], no. 1551), as well as in an epitaph from Mahaiy in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 403). The compound name Ἀβουζονάivos, having *Zonáivos* as second component, is recorded in the Negev too (Elusa: Alt 1921, no. 57; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 72; *Nessana* 3, nos. 19.6, 10; 24.2, 4, 9, 12, 13; 25.4; 38.2; 106.11). Finally, the feminine *Zonéne* appears at Nessana (Abel 1920, p. 21, no. 12).

*Zonáivos* is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Zunain, probably a diminutive form of the name Zann, *Zánvos*, recorded in a papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 76.41; cf. also ind. XII, p. 353, s.vv. *Zanna* and *Zunain*; for the feminine Zana, see Di Segni 1990a, p. 177, no. 1; p. 181; pp. 189-190, n. 43 with parallels of both masculine and feminine forms). These names are derived from the Semitic root *znn*, "to think, to be suspicious" (Negev 1991, p. 33, no. 510) or *znn*, "to be beautiful" (*Nessana* 1, p. 134; *Nessana* 3, p. 353, s.v. *Zanna*). In Hauran the name *Zánvos* appears in the spelling *Tánvos*. This is probably due to the fact that the letter Z is transcribed in the Negev with Z and in Hauran with T (on this pronunciation issue as well as on the occurrences of *Tánvos* and the compound names *Tannēlos*, *Tannānēlos* etc. in Hauran, see Alt 1921, p. 19 and n. 5; Sartre 1985, p. 240, s.v. *Tannēlos*).

ll. 2-3: The patronymic *Kaiámos* may be a variant of the common name *Kaiámos* (for commentary on this name, see above inscr. no. 69). The closest parallel to *Kaiámos* is the name *Kaiámos* attested epigraphically in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 157, s.v.).

The ship was used in Christian cemeteries mainly symbolizing the voyage of the Christian life towards salvation (Smith and Cheetham 1880, vol. II, pp. 1893-1894, s.v. ship; see also chapter on Signs and Symbols, s.v.). Similar single masted ships with double stern rudder are depicted in the Madaba mosaic map (Avi-Yonah 1954, pp. 38, 40; Piccirillo and Alliata 1999, p. 57).

121. Tombstone of purple sandstone, once rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left and right corners, lower right side and slightly curved at the lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-44. Dimensions: 0.51x0.31x0.12 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped all around. The inscription is enclosed within a deeply engraved frame and set between irregularly carved guide-lines. Above the frame in the centre there is a simple incised cross. The inscription is flanked in its upper half by four *cross-rho* monograms (two on each side) with an inverted *rho*. The lower half of the inscription is decorated on either side by a snake in upright position. Below the inscription are depicted four *cross-rho* monograms, the left of which has an inverted *rho*. The whole text is deeply engraved, while traces of red paint are visible here and there. The script is of the square alphabet with letters carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.026 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXV

Date: 318 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 423 - 21 March AD 424.

+	
Ἀνεπά-	Oleftha,
η Ὀλέφ-	(daughter)
Ϡ Ϡ θα Ἰου- + Ϡ Ϡ	of Isidoros,
4 {σ} + δώρ-	came to rest (died)



	ου ἐν ++	in Christ,
	X(ριστ)ῶ ἐτῶ-	(at the age)
	ν ι', ++	of 10 years,
8	ἐτ(ους) + τηι'.	in (the) year 318.
	ⲩ ⲡ ⲡ ⲡ	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 3: the first letter *theta* presents a square elongated form as most of this epitaph's letters; the line ends with a cross.

l. 4: a superfluous *sigma* appears in the beginning of the line, followed by a cross.

l. 5: two crosses, one incised and the other red painted, at the end of the line.

l. 6: the dative Χριστῶ is abbreviated by its first and last letter.

l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a trema; the line ends with two crosses, one engraved and the other painted red.

l. 8: ET stands for the abbreviation of the word ἐτους; a cross in the middle of the line; in the year numeral the tens and units figures are inverted.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-6: The usual introductory burial term "μνημεῖον" is here replaced by an infrequent for Ghor es-Safi phrase expressing the repose of the deceased in Christ "ἀνεπάη...ἐν++Χ(ριστ)ῶ" (for the burial verb "ἀνεπάη" see commentary of inscr. no. 129). Similar phrases are encountered in inscr. nos. 147 and 223.

On the name *Ὀλέφθα*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 32; Oleftha could have been the sister of Ommabi recorded below in the epitaph no. 129 (see relevant commentary).

The theophoric name *Ἰσίδωρος*, particularly popular in Egypt, is adequately represented in the Christian epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi (see also nos. 129, 289) despite its pagan character. A homonymous Saint, who is known to have suffered martyrdom in Alexandria under Decius, is listed among other martyrs in the Martyrium of the North Church at Nessana (*ἅγιος Εἰσίδωρος. Nessana* 1, no. 38). In the latter city three different persons called *Ἰσίδωρος* appear in a sixth-seventh century papyrus (*Nessana* 3, no. 90). Additional epigraphic evidence on the name *Ἰσίδωρος* comes from Tiberias (*Ἰσίδωρος βουλευτής. McCown* 1921-1922, pp. 109-110), Caesarea (Negev 1971, pp. 262-263, no. 39 = Lifshitz 1977b, pp. 504-505: *Ἰσίδωρε* instead of the feminine *Ἰσιδώρα*; cf. *JECM* V, no. 158), Jerusalem (*Θήκη Εἰσιδώρου. Thomsen* 1921, p. 97, no. 137), the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery at Wadi el-Qilt (Schneider 1931, p. 322, nos. 97 [*Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Καππάδοξ*], 98; p. 327, no. 189), el-Ji near Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 68), Hauran (*AAES* III, nos. 305, 306; Waddington, no. 2698) and Golan (el-'Uyûn: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 14\*). The feminine *Ἰσιδώρα* occurs in a third century epitaph from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 458, no. 239) and as a pilgrim's name at Wadi Haggag in Sinai in the form (*Ἰ*)*σαδόρα* (Negev 1977, no. 27).

122. Tombstone of white sandstone, broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-261. Dimensions: 0.44x0.39x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the edges. Above the text an outlined sun-disc is depicted in red paint. The inscription is flanked by two coral branches in upright position drawn also in red paint. Faint traces of incised frame and guide-lines are discernible. The whole text is engraved; ll. 1,4,8,9 are totally covered with red paint, while ll. 5,6,7 are only partially painted in red. The script is mixed, round and square. The letters are small, symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VI

Date: 26 Daisios 318 E.P.A. = 15 June AD 423.

	(sun-disc)	
	Μνημῖον Πέτρου Χρήσ-	Monument of Petros, son of
	κου, παυσόμενος μετὰ	Chreskes (Crescens), who died
	καλοῦ ἀνόματος καὶ	having a good name and
4	καλῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν	good faith (at the age) of
	(tabula ansata) με', (tabula ansata)	45 years, in (the) year 318,
	ἐτους ν τηι', νν μηνὸς	on (the) 26th (day) of (the) month
	Δεσίου νν ζκ', νν ἡμ(έρα) Κ(υρί)ου ζ'.	Daisios, on (the) 6th day of (the)

8 Θάρσι, Πέτρε, οὐδὶς ἄ-  
θάνατος.

Lord (Friday). Be of good cheer,  
Petros, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
ll. 1-2: Χρήσκου, heteroclitic genitive for Χρήσκεντος (Κρήσκεντος).  
l. 2: παυσόμενος for πανσαμένου: *omicron* for *alpha* in the second syllable and nominative instead of genitive, although the deceased man's name is in genitive.  
l. 3: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
l. 5: the age numeral is crowned by a red painted horizontal bar and flanked by two decorative empty tabulae ansatae also in red paint.  
l. 6: the year numeral presents a peculiar order (hundreds-units-tens) and is flanked by empty spaces.  
l. 7: Δαισίου; the month day numeral is inverted and flanked by uninscribed spaces; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the common *mu* above *eta*; KY stands for the abbreviated genitive Κυρίου.  
l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: The common name *Πέτρος* has been extensively discussed above in inscr. no. 40.  
ll. 1-2: On the name *Χρήσκης*, the Latin *Crescens*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 49.

**123.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left and right corners, curved at the upper left and right corners and chipped on the right side. Inv. no.: Z-127. Dimensions: 0.49x0.32x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been partially smoothed and is flaked off in various parts. Salt crystals are also spread on it. Above the inscription there is an outlined incised cross. Below it to the left a similar cross is engraved, while to the right a bird in inverted position facing towards the text. Several red painted dots are visible throughout the inscribed surface. The text is all engraved, but ll. 3,6,10 also bear red paint. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXV

Date: 25 Audynaïos 318 E.P.A. = 10 January AD 424.

+

Μνημῖον Ἀβά-  
βη Ἀβδαλμι- ν  
θάβου, ἀποθα- ν  
4 γόντος μετὰ κα-  
λοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ  
καλῆς πίστεως ν  
ἐτῶν ξ', ἐν ἔτι τη',  
8 μηνὸς Αὐδονέου  
εκ', ἡμέρα Κυρίου  
ε'. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.

+ (bird)

Monument of Ababe,  
(daughter) of Abdalmithabos,  
who died having a good name  
and good faith (at the age)  
of 60 years, in the year  
318, on (the) 25th (day)  
of (the) month Audynaïos,  
on (the) 5th day of (the)  
Lord (Thursday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
ll. 1-2: Ἀβάβη for Ἀβάβης: nominative for genitive.  
ll. 3-4: ἀποθαγόντος for ἀποθαγούσης: use of the masculine second aorist participle instead of the feminine.  
l. 7: a horizontal bar above denotes the age and the year numerals; ἔτει.  
l. 8: Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναίου: *omicron* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.  
l. 9: the inverted month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal stroke above; ἡμέρα: *eta* for *epsilon*.  
l. 10: a slightly concave bar above the weekday numeral; θάρσει; οὐδείς.

## Commentary

II. 1-2: Despite the masculine participle ἀποθανόντος, Ἀβάβη seems to have been a feminine name (for the discrepancy between the gender of the deceased and that of the following participle see chapter on Syntax) derived from the common Semitic root ḥbb, "to love". In view of this example, we are inclined to believe that the name Ἀβάβι, recorded in an epitaph from Kh. es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 411, no. 149) is rather an iotacized parallel of Ἀβάβη than an abbreviated form of the masculine Ἀβάβι(ο)ς (ibid., p. 414). Of course the possibility of dealing with a masculine name in both cases cannot be ruled out. The name Ἀβαβαίη, encountered in Hauran (Zor'a: Waddington, no. 2495) may be a variant form of Ἀβάβη. Ἀβαβάθη, which appears at Dekir (Syria: Wuthnow 1930, p. 6, s.v.) and is the equivalent of the Arabic Ḥababa (Ḥabibah, Ḥabibat), "darling" (Negev 1991, p. 27, no. 403), is the lengthened form of Ἀβάβη (cf. also Ἀβουβάθη, commentary of inscr. no. 17). The name Ἀβάβιος attested at Ghor es-Safi (inscr. no. 154) could be the masculine form of Ἀβάβη.

II. 2-3: The patronymic appears in the form Ἀβολυμίθαρος in inscr. no. 48, where the name is commented on.

124. Tombstone of white and pink sandstone broken in two pieces, almost rectangular in shape (wider at the top) and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-352. Dimensions: 0.59x0.33x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been nicely smoothed, is flaked at the lower part of the left side. The inscription is enclosed within an incised and red painted frame. On the upper line of the frame slightly to the left rests a cross, formed by two intersecting horizontal and vertical bars and covered by a vault. Both the cross and the vault are engraved and painted over in red. This symbol is flanked by two vases schematically depicted in red paint of which the right is almost totally faded. Below the frame there is a red painted sun-disc with traces of a cross in it. The text as well as the guide-lines are engraved and painted over in red (with the exception of the first two lines, the characters of the remaining text are selectively painted over in red). The script follows the round alphabet with a few oval letters. Height of letters: 0.013-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXV

Date: 29 Peritios 318 E.P.A. = 13 February AD 424.

(vase) + (vase)	
Μνημῖον	Monument of
Ὀλέφθα υ	Oleftha, (daughter?)
Ἀψητος, υ	of Apses,
4 ἀποθανόν-	who died (at
τος ἑτῶν π',	the age) of 80
ἐν ἔτι τη',	years, in the year 318,
μηνὸς Πε-	on (the) 29th (day) of (the) month
8 ριτίου κθ',	Peritios, on the 4th day
ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου δ'.	of (the) Lord (Wednesday).
+	

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Ὀλέφθα for Ὀλέφθας: use of nominative instead of genitive.

II. 4-5: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης: the participle is not in accordance with the gender of the deceased.

I. 5: the age numeral is accompanied by the usual horizontal bar above it.

I. 6: ἔτι is iotacized form for ἔτει; the year numeral is also crowned by a horizontal stroke.

I. 8: a horizontal bar is also incised above the month day numeral.

I. 9: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters covered above by a horizontal bar; the same bar is found above the weekday numerical figure.

## Commentary

I. 2: For the Semitic name Ὀλέφθα, see discussion of inscr. no. 32.

I. 3: The patronymic Ἀψης is fully commented on in inscr. no. 27.

125. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape, broken at the upper and lower left corners, rounded at the upper right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-73. Dimensions: 0.595x0.34x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for its lower part. The inscription is enclosed within a red painted rectangular frame on the three sides except for the lower one. Above the frame in the centre an outlined plain cross is engraved, the lower part of which is flanked by the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*. Below the inscription at left a rope-like pattern replaces partially the lower horizontal line of the frame. Below this pattern are quite schematically depicted to the left a bird and to the right a fish both facing to the right. The text is only engraved in round script. The letters (smaller in l. 1) are clearly cut and fairly well aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVI

Date: 7 Xanthikos 319 E.P.A. = 28 March AD 424.

	$\frac{\perp}{\lambda\omega}$	
	Μνημῖον Μαρ- κέλλας Ῥω- μανοῦ, ἀνα- 4 παεῖσα ἐν μηνί Ξανθικοῦ ζ', ἔτους τιθ'. Ῥο Κ(ύριο)ς Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ἀνα- 8 παύση. Ἀμήν. Ἐτῶν λη'. + (bird) (fish)	Monument of Marcella, (daughter) of Romanus, who came to rest (died) on the 7th (day) of (the) month Xanthikos, in (the) year 319. May the Lord Jesus give (her) rest. Amen. (She died at the age) of 38 years.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: ἀναπαεῖσα for ἀναπαείσης: nominative for genitive singular.

l. 4: a superfluous decorative sign S appears after the preposition ἐν; the dative μηνί is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.

l. 5: Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ: genitive in the place of dative singular; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 6: the year numeral is also denoted by a horizontal stroke above.

l. 7: the sacred name Κύριος is abbreviated by the first and last letters with a horizontal bar above them, while that of Ἰησοῦς by the two first and last letters also equipped with a horizontal bar.

l. 9: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; a simple cross at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: *Μαρκέλλα*, the Latin *Marcella*, is the feminine form of *Μάρκελλος*, *Marcellus*, a frequent Roman cognomen known since the Republican times (Kajanto 1963, p. 61; idem 1965, p. 127). It is noteworthy that in the Ghor es-Safi examples (see also inscr. nos. 228 and 308) *Μαρκέλλα* is accompanied by Hellenized Latin names. Other instances of *Μαρκέλλα* are attested at el-'Amaqa in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 339), Ozem (near Ascalon: Meimarīs 1986, no. 544), and Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9234) where the name is followed by the indigenous patronymic Ἀμρειλίου. The masculine *Μάρκελλος* occurs as an archdeacon's name in two dedicatory inscriptions from a church at 'Evron (Tzaferis 1987, p. 40\*, no. 3; p. 42\*, no. 5). A deacon from Mesopotamia also bears this name in an inscription from the cemetery of the Deir el-Qilt Monastery in the Judaean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 325, no. 146). *Μάρκελλος* is also encountered at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 87) and in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2537h; *PAES* IIIA, no. 647; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 280-281, no. 43). The diminutive *Μαρκελλῖνος*, *Marcellinus*, is attested as well at Sepphoris (Diocaesarea: *SEG* 20 [1970], no. 417 and Di Segni 1995, p. 325).

ll. 2-3: Ῥωμανός, *Romanus*, was one of the most popular geographical cognomina throughout the Roman Empire (Kajanto 1965, pp. 30, 51, 182). In Palestine and Arabia, apart from Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 281), this name is recorded in the Negev (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 47), at the cemetery of the Deir el-Qilt Monastery, borne by two monks (Schneider 1931, p. 320, no. 43; p. 323, no. 106) - one of whom was a native of Persia (*Πέρσις*, no. 106)-, in Golan (Rafid: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 126) and in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2213; *PAES* IIIA, no. 197; *AAES* III, nos. 244, 394). Worth noting is the mention of a certain Φλ(αούιος) Πέτρος Ῥωμανός, most likely a

governor of Palaestina Secunda in the fifth or early sixth century, in a dedicatory inscription from the baths at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 241-243, no. 57).

An *ἀββᾶς Ρωμανός* mentioned in a list of saints found in the Martyrium of the North Church at Nessana may be identified with a Saint Romanus from Palestine (*Nessana* 1, no. 38; Delehay 1902, cols. 235-236).

ll. 7-8: On the Christian formula expressing the wish that Jesus Christ will give repose to the dead, as well as on the liturgical term "ἀμήν", see above commentary of inscr. no. 28 and chapter on Invocations.

126. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape, missing the upper left part and the lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-22. Dimensions: 0.55x0.31x0.055 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the edges and is chipped all around. A rich symbolic decoration appears above the inscription. In the centre a simple outlined incised cross which is framed by a bigger cross drawn in red paint. The cross is flanked in its upper part by two fish incised upside down; from the left fish, which is in a lower level than the right one, only part of the head is preserved. The lower part of the cross is flanked by two very schematically incised heraldic birds, the left of which is missing the tail. The text is all engraved; l. 1,4,7,10 are covered with red paint. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters, which become smaller in size in ll. 6-8, are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.021 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVI

Date: 22 Panemos 319 E.P.A. = 11 July AD 424.

(fish) (fish)

+

(bird) (bird)

Μνημῖον

Μαλεχάθη

Σαδάλλου,

4 ἀπαθανοῦσα

μετὰ καλοῦ

ὀνόματος ἔτ(ων) κβ',

τοῦ ἔτ(ους) ντιθ', ννν

8 μηνός Πανέμου

ννν κβ'. *vacat*

Θάρσει, οὐδὲς

ἀθάνατος.

Monument of

Malechathe, (daughter)

of Sadallos,

who died

having a good name

(at the age) of 22 years,

in the year 319, on (the)

22nd (day) of (the) month

Panemos.

Be of good cheer,

no one (is) immortal.

Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: Μαλεχάθη for Μαλεχάθης: nominative for genitive.

l. 4: ἀπαθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 6: the word ἔτων is abbreviated by the two first letters and a small sign S in the upper right part of *tau*; a horizontal bar above denotes the age numeral.

l. 7: the abbreviation ET stands for the word ἔτους; the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and by uninscribed areas left and right.

l. 8: Πανέμου for Πανήμου: *epsilon* for *eta*.

l. 9: the whole line is occupied only by the month day numeral denoted by a horizontal bar.

l. 10: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

Commentary

l. 2: The feminine *Μαλεχάθη* occurs in the variant *Μολεχάθη* in inscr. no. 53 where the name is discussed both in the feminine and the masculine form.

l. 3: *Σαδάλλας*, a common Nabataean name, is attested several times at Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 156, 196, 216) in all cases as a patronymic. It transliterates in Greek a Semitic theophoric name compound of the word š'd, "luck, happiness" and the divine name 'lh, "Allah" (Canova 1954, p. 408; Caquot 1962, p. 248; Sartre 1985, pp. 234-235, s.v. *Σαδαλας*, who suggests two more probable etymologies for the first component of the name: s'd, "help" and š'd, "elevated, high"; he also gives

the name in various Semitic dialects). A frequent epigraphic use of this name is observed especially in the regions of Hauran and Negev (and once in Moab), where it occurs in a variety of spellings: *Σάδαλλος* (Umm el-Qutṭēn: MacAdam 1983, pp. 295-302; Guwir [Moab]: Canova 1954, no. 422), *Σαδάλλας* (Umm er-Rummân: Dunand 1934, p. 101, no. 204; 'Ormân: Dunand 1933, p. 243, no. 183), *Σαδάλας* (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9360), *Σαάδαλλος* ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 3), *Σααδάλας* (Beersheba: Ustinova and Figueras 1996, pp. 167-170, especially p. 169, n. 4). Papyrologically the name is recorded at Nessana in the forms *Σαδάλας*, *Σαδάλλας*, *Σάδαλος*, *Σάδαλλος*, *Σαδάαλος* (Nessana 3, index IV, p. 339) and in Egypt in the variant *Σαδάλας* (Preisigke 1922, cols. 356-357). It should be noted here that the nominative in -ας is the most common, while the nominative in -ος is confirmed only in the case of *Σαάδαλλος* from 'Avdat (see above). All other instances, given for convenience in the nominative ending -ος, appear in fact in the genitive -ου. Such a genitive form, however, is equally consonant with a nominative in -ος as well as in -ας.

Sartre (1985, p. 235) distinguishes *Σαδάλλας* from the name *Σάδελος* (PAES IIIA, no. 277) and its variants, *Σάδειλος* (ibid., no. 390), *Σάδηλος* (Dunand 1934, pp. 88-89, no. 178; Dunand 1939, p. 563, no. 262), *Σάδδηλος* (Dunand 1939, ibid.), in which the first element is the same, but the divine name is that of 'l, "El" (Safaitic influence).

127. Tombstone of reddish sandstone in four fragments, of which the upper half is missing. Inv. no.: Z-327. Dimensions: 0.21x0.215x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The preserved text is only engraved. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are small, well cut, but present a descending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.008-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVI

Date: 22 Gorpaios 319 E.P.A. = 9 September AD 424.

[ - - - - ]	.....
[ - - ] Α	who died (at the age)
[ - - π ] αυ-	of one year and
4 [σαμένου or -ης] ἔτων	ten months, in (the)
α' καὶ μηνῶν	year 319, on the
[δ]έκα, ἔτους τθί,	22nd (day) of (the)
[μ]ηνὸς Γορπείου	month Gorpaios, on (the) 3rd day
8 βκ', ν η̅μ(έρα) ν Κ(υρίο)ν ν γ'. ν	of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἄ- ν	Be of good cheer,
θάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-4: the first line is lost, while from the second, third and fourth lines only the ending of the text has been preserved.

ll. 4-5: ἔτων α' for ἔτους α'; the age numeral is flanked by a pair of decorative serpentine signs of which only the right pair is preserved.

l. 6: the first letter *delta* is missing; in the year numeral the tens and units figures are inverted.

l. 7: the first letter *mu* is lost; Γορπείου is phonetic spelling for Γορπιαίου.

l. 8: the month day numeral is inverted; the word ἡμέρα and the sacred name Κυρίου are abbreviated in the usual way.

l. 9: Θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-3: The now missing part of the text would have included the burial term *μνημεῖον* as well as the name and the patronymic of the deceased.

ll. 4-6: For the indication of the precise age of the deceased child, see above commentary of inscr. no. 41.

128. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-75. Dimensions: 0.54x0.38x0.125 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the inscription and is chipped on the lower left side. The inscription is set within an incised frame and between incised guide-lines which continue above

and below the text, leaving one unscripted line above and three unscripted lines below it. Two of the three empty lines below the text are occupied left and right by an outlined incised cross with serifs (the right one is taller than the left). Inside each cross another simple cross is engraved, the horizontal bar of which coincides with the guide-line. The text is engraved in round script. The letters are symmetrical, nicely carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVI

Date: 24 Peritios 319 E.P.A. = 8 February AD 425.

Μνεμῖον Ἀκλαύδης Θεό- δορος, ἀποθονώντος ἐτῶν ννν λζ', <i>vacat</i>	Monument of Aklaudi(o)s (Claudius?) (son) of Theodoros, who died (at the age) of 36 years,
4 διὰ ἔτους τριακοσσοσ- τοῦ θ' καὶ δεκóτου, <i>vacat</i>	in the three hundred and nineteenth year,
μενός Περιτίου δκ',	on (the) 24th (day) of (the)
ἡμέρα Κυρίου ν β', <i>vacat</i>	month Peritios, on (the)
8 ὥρα ν πέντε. <i>vacat</i>	2nd day of (the) Lord (Monday),
+	at (the) fifth hour.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνεμῖον for μνημεῖον: *epsilon* for *eta* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει; Ἀκλαύδης for Ἀκλαυδίου: nominative instead of genitive.
- ll. 1-2: Θεόδωρος for Θεοδώρου: phonetic spelling of *omega* and use of nominative in the place of genitive.
- l. 2: ἀποθονώντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* and *omega* for *omicron*.
- l. 3: the age numeral is stressed through a horizontal bar above and unscripted areas left and right.
- l. 4: διὰ ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει.
- ll. 4-5: τριακοσσοστοῦ for τριακοσιοστῶ: duplication of *sigma*, *upsilon* for *iota* and use of genitive instead of dative singular; the units figure of the year numeral is given with a numerical sign (with a horizontal bar above), while the hundreds and the tens are given in ordinals; δεκóτου for δεκάτῳ: *omicron* for *alpha* and genitive for dative singular.
- l. 6: μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*; the inverted month day numeral is indicated by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 7: ἡμέρα for ἡμέρα: *epsilon* for *eta*; the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal stroke above and unscripted spaces left and right.
- l. 8: πέντε for πέμπτη: use of the cardinal instead of the ordinal numeral.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: Ἀκλαύδης is the contracted form of the Latin name *Κλαύδιος* preceded by the vowel α probably added for the adaptation of this foreign name to the local pronunciation see chapter on Phonetics, p. 62. Another interesting spelling of *Κλαύδιος* is encountered on a Jewish ossuary from Jerusalem in which the name appears as Ἰκλῶδης (Rahmani 1994, no. 348). The shortened form *Κλαύδης* is also encountered at Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9338) and at Mansûra in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 234).
- ll. 1-2: The name Θεόδωρος, following Ἀκλαύδης, could be either a patronymic, mistakenly placed in nominative (on this phenomenon, see chapter on Syntax), or the cognomen of the deceased. In that case Ἀκλαύδης would be his gentilicium as it happens with *Κλαύδης Σωσίβιος* in the epitaph of Bostra mentioned above.
- l. 8: Of special importance in this epitaph is the indication of the hour in which the death occurred, a feature appearing for the first time at Ghor es-Safi. It should be noted here that in general the hour of death is rarely attested in the Greek inscriptions of Palestine (the province of Arabia has not provided any examples yet). There are only three instances which are included in epitaphs presenting an exceptionally detailed dating formula (weekday, month day, indiction year, era year) and come all from the Negev. Two of them have been found in ʿAvdat and contain not only the hour of death but also that of the sepulture (Negev 1981, nos. 18, 19), while the third originates from Beersheba (Abel 1904, pp. 266-267, no. 1 = Alt 1921, no. 25).

Based on the division of day and night followed by the inhabitants of Palestine in the time of Jesus Christ and provided by the Gospels and the *Acts* of the Apostles (for more information on this issue, see Meimarīs in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 50) we estimate that the fifth

hour mentioned in the Ghor es-Safi epitaph would correspond to 11 a.m. (in case that the fifth hour was not a day but a night hour it should have been followed by the designation "τῆς νυκτός" as it happens in one of the 'Avdat inscriptions, Negev 1981, no. 18).

129. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, once rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken in the lower right part. Inv. no.: Z-76. Dimensions: 0.49x0.37x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is slightly flaked off at the top and in several other places. The text is enclosed within an incised frame and set between guide-lines, deeply but quite irregularly engraved. Above the inscription three simple crosses in a row have been incised. In the middle of the right margin another simple incised cross with an elongated horizontal bar appears. The text is deeply engraved in square script. The letters, which vary in size, are carelessly cut and aligned (cf. inscr. no. 121). Height of letters: 0.012-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXVII*

Date: Dios 320 E.P.A. = 18 October - 16 November AD 425.

+ + +	
Κ(ύρι)ε, ἀ + νόπα-	Lord, rest the soul
υσον τὴν ψυ-	of (your) servant
χὴν τῆς δούλ(ης)	Ommabi, (daughter)
4 Ὁμμάβι + Ἰσιδ- +	of Isidoros.
ώρου. Ἀνεπά-	She came to rest
η ἐτῶν ιε', ++	(at the age) of 15 years,
ἐν μηνί + Δίω,	in the month of Dios,
8 ἔτ(ους) + τκ'. +++	in (the) year 320.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the vocative Κύριε is abbreviated by the first and last letters; a simple cross is inserted between the third and the fourth letter of this line.  
 l. 3: ΔΟΥΛΑ is the abbreviation of the genitive singular δούλης.  
 l. 4: Ὁμμάβι for Ὁμμαβίης: nominative instead of genitive; a cross stands between the name and the patronymic.  
 l. 6: two crosses at the end of the line.  
 l. 7: the dative μηνί is abbreviated by its two first letters; a cross follows this word.  
 l. 8: the abbreviation ET stands for the genitive ἔτους; a cross between this abbreviation and the year numeral; the line ends with three crosses.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-3: The invocation to Christ for the repose of the soul of the deceased appears for the first time in Ghor es-Safi but it is quite common in the neighbouring areas especially that of Moab (see above commentary of inscr. no. 106).  
 l. 4: On the feminine Semitic name Ὁμμάβι appearing in a variety of spellings, see also above commentary of inscr. no. 34. There is a strong possibility that Ommabi (15 years old) was a sister of Oleftha (10 years old) who is mentioned in inscr. no. 121, dated in AD 423/4, since the two girls share the same patronymic (Isidoros) and died within a span of one or two years.  
 ll. 4-5: On the Greek theophoric name Ἰσίδωρος, see discussion in inscr. no. 121.  
 ll. 5-6: Despite the popularity of the aorist participial forms "ἀναπαυσάμενος" (see commentary of inscr. no. 109) and especially "παυσάμενος" (see commentary of inscr. nos. 23 and 114), the second aorist indicative "ἀνεπάη" is not common at Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 121, 263). In Palestine, as Kirk first pointed out (1939, p. 183), "ἀνεπάη" (and its derivatives) occurs with high frequency in the towns of northern Negev: mainly at Rehovot (ca. 30 instances: Alt 1921, nos. 78-88, 90-98; Tsafirir 1988, p. 185, index C, s.v.), Elusa (17 examples: Alt 1921, nos. 55, 56, 58-63, 68; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 175, no. 15; p. 176, nos. 22, 24, 26; p. 179, nos. 103, 109; p. 181, no. 168; p. 183, no. 215) and Beersheba (15 instances: Alt 1921, nos. 16, 19-21, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32, 35, 38; Alt 1923, pp. 59-63, nos. 10, 14, 15; Ustinova and Figueras 1996, pp. 167-170); secondarily at 'Avdat (Negev 1981, nos. 14, 17-19, 27, 45), Shivta (ibid., nos. 50, 51, 59, 63, 65) and rarely at Nessana



(*Nessana* 1, nos. 13,125). It is also attested at Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 123, no. 7; p. 127, no. 12; p. 131, no. 15; p. 138, nos. 24,25; p. 139, no. 28) and Aila (Sartre 1993, no. 156) and in a limited number in Moab (Canova 1954, p. Lxxx).

130. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, once rectangular in shape. Its lower part is missing and it is curved at the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-36. Dimensions: 0.39x0.34x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around and weathered in the lower part. Above the inscription an outlined cross is depicted in the centre flanked by two schematic heraldic peacocks. The whole scene is engraved and painted over in red colour. The text as well as the scene are enclosed within a double rectangular frame, the upper part of which is decorated with two series of angular motifs, heraldically depicted, while its lower part is not preserved. Both the frame and the motifs are engraved and covered with red paint. The text is set between incised guide-lines, some of which are also painted red. The text is all engraved, while ll. 1,4,5,8,9 preserve in addition red paint. The script is of the square alphabet with a few round *omicrons* and a round *sigma*. The letters are symmetrical, smaller in size towards the end, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VII

Date: 22 Apellaios 320 E.P.A. = 8 December AD 425.

	(peacock) + (peacock)	
	Μ{η}νεμῖον Ἀλφά-	Monument of Alphalas,
	λου Ἡνίου, ἀποθα-	(son) of Aeneas,
	νὸν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἡ-	who ceased to live (at the age)
4	τὸν τεσσαρ-	of forty-five years,
	άκοντα ε', μέ,	in (the) three hundred
	ἡτους τριακοσ-	and twentieth year, on the
	σιοστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ,	twenty-second (day)
8	μηνὸς Ἀπελλήου	of (the) month Apellaios.
	δευτήρα καὶ εἰκάδι.	Be of good cheer,
	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάν-	no one (is) immortal.
	[ατο]ς.	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: *μηνεμῖον* for *μνημεῖον*: a superfluous *eta* between *mu* and *nu*, *epsilon* for *eta* in the first syllable and phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει*.
- l. 2: *Ἡνίου* for *Αἰνείου*: *eta* for the diphthong *αι* (see also l. 8) and phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει*.
- ll. 2-3: *ἀποθανόν* (correct spelling *ἀποθανόντος*) for *ἀποθανόντος*: the participle appears in nominative although it refers to the genitive *Ἀλφάλου*; the phrase *ἐκ τοῦ βίου* is a pleonasm.
- ll. 3-4: *ἡτόν* for *ἐτών*: *eta* for *epsilon* and phonetic spelling of *omega*; the fourth line starts with three decorative angular motifs.
- ll. 4-5: the age numeral is given here twice: a. with the tens in cardinal number and the units in numerical sign and b. with tens and units in numerical figures; the two types of numerals are separated by a pair of decorative serpentine motifs.
- l. 6: *ἡτους* for *ἔτους*: *eta* for *epsilon*.
- ll. 6-7: *τριακοσιοστοῦ*.
- l. 8: *Ἀπελλήου* for *Ἀπελλαίου*: replacement of the diphthong *αι* by *eta*.
- l. 9: *δευτήρα* for *δευτέρα*: *eta* for *epsilon*; *εἰκάδι* for *εἰκοστῇ*: the tens of the month day numeral are expressed through a numerical noun and not through an ordinal number as it happens with the units; the last letter *iota* of the dative *εἰκάδι* is written a little higher than *delta* due to lack of space.
- l. 10: *Θάρσει*; *οὐδεῖς*.
- l. 11: in the beginning of the line three letters are missing and only the upper part of the fourth letter is preserved; the line ends with six decorative angular motifs facing right.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-2: *Ἀλφάλας*, the name of the deceased, is in all probability a contracted form of *Ἀλαφάλλας*. This is the Greek transcription of the Arabic theophoric name *ḥalaf Allah* (Alt 1921, p. 28, no. 57; Wuthnow 1930, p. 16) which means "Allah has substituted" (*Nessana* 1, p. 134) or

"the successor of Allah" (Sartre 1985, pp. 172-173, s.v. \**Αλαφος*). The popularity of \**Αλαφάλλας* in Southern Palestine and especially in the Negev speaks in favour of a Nabataean origin (Negev 1977, no. 22; Tsafir 1988, p. 172, n. 39). The majority of the relevant examples originates in Nessana, where the name is attested both epigraphically (*Nessana* 1, nos. 30, 64, 112 [= Alt 1921, no. 131], 116, 123) and papyrologically (*Nessana* 3, index IV, p. 334) in the genitive \**Αλαφάλλου*, in the dative \**Αλαφάλλᾳ*, but also in the abbreviated forms \**Αλαφ(άλλας)*, \**Αλαφάλλας*. The abbreviation \**Αλαφάλλας* is used in a Christian inscription from Rehovot in the Negev (Tsafir 1988, p. 172, no. 31B), while at Elusa the name appears partially mutilated (\**Αλαφάλλ[λα]*): Alt 1921, p. 28, no. 57). \**Αλαφάλλας* occurs as well in the nominative and dative form in a number of pilgrim's graffiti from Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 51, 98, 111, 172). Finally this name is recorded once at Sûr in Hauran (\**Αλαφάλλου*: *PAES* IIIA, no. 797<sup>8</sup>). The above mentioned occurrences testify to the uniqueness of the form \**Αλαφάλλου* appearing at Ghor es-Safi. For the first component of the name, \**Αλαφος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 60.

I. 2: The quasi-total replacement of the vowel ε with η throughout the text (ll. 3, 6, 8, 9) possibly affected also the patronymic \**Ηνίου*. If so, then the name would have been \**Ενίου*. This very name is found inscribed on a chancel post of the South Church at 'Avdat (Negev 1981, no. 15) and has been identified with the Latin \**Εννιος*, *Ennius* (Negev 1981, p. 29 and n. 91 who quotes Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 359 and Preisigke 1922, col. 99). A more plausible assumption would be to consider \**Ηνίου* and \**Ενίου* as phonetic spellings of the Greek name *Αίνειου*. This view is corroborated by the high frequency of the name *Αίνειας* (spelled *Αίνίας*) at Ghor es-Safi (see commentary on this name in inscr. no. 17) and by the spelling \**Ηνείας* encountered in an epitaph from Hauran (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 370).

II. 2-3: For parallels of the burial expression "ἀποθανὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου", see above commentary of inscr. nos. 98 and 114.

**131.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with yellowish stripes, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper left and right corners and curved at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-296. Dimensions: 0.47x0.37x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off mainly on the left and right sides and weathered in the upper left and central area of the text. The inscription is enclosed within a cross-shaped symmetrical frame, the four corners of which are filled in with symbolic representations. The lower corners are decorated with two outlined crosses with serifs, while the upper ones with two heraldic peacocks. The whole scene is inscribed in an almost square frame which is crowned by a double outlined pediment bearing a similar cross in its centre. The whole church-like structure is incised except for the two crosses at the lower corners which are drawn in red paint. The text and its guide-lines are engraved, while red paint is discernible in ll. 7, 10 and in other places. The layout of the text is well organized. The script belongs to the square alphabet. The letters are symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VII

Date: 25 Gorpaios 322 E.P.A. = 12 September AD 427.

Μνημεῖον \*Αν-  
(peacock) γὰ \*Αζίζου, (peacock)  
[ἀ]πὸ πόλεως  
4 Πέτρα, ἀπο-  
θαγοῦσα ἡτὸν ζ',  
ἡτους ννν τριακοσ- ν  
σιοστ ννν οὐ εἰκοσ-  
8 τοῦ δευτέρου, με-  
νὸς Γορπε-  
(cross) ἡου εκ', (cross)  
ἡμέρᾳ σαμ-  
12 βάτου γ'.

Monument of Anna,  
(daughter?) of Azizos,  
from (the) city  
of Petra, who died  
(at the age) of 7 years,  
in the three hundred and  
twenty-second year,  
on (the) 25th (day) of  
(the) month Gorpaios,  
on (the) 3rd day  
of (the) week  
(Tuesday).

Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: \*Ανγὰ for \*Αννης: nominative instead of genitive (if the reading is correct).

I. 2: the dotted letters are heavily worn.

I. 3: the first letter is eroded.

- I. 4: Πέτρα for Πέτρας: a genitive is required here because the city's name is qualifying the genitive πόλεως.
- II. 4-5: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative for genitive singular; the last five letters of the participle are weathered.
- I. 5: ἡτόν for ἐτών: *eta* for *epsilon* and phonetic spelling of *omega*; the age numeral is followed by three decorative angular motifs facing right.
- I. 6: ἡτους for ἔτους: *eta* for *epsilon*; after this word an uninscribed area is left due to carving difficulties.
- II. 6-7: τριακοσιοστοῦ; in I. 7 the genitive ending -ου of this ordinal is written at a long interval from the previous letter *tau* (see also I. 6).
- II. 8-9: μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*.
- II. 9-10: Γορπείου for Γορπιαίου: transposition of the vowels *epsilon* and *eta*; *eta* for *iota*; phonetic spelling of the diphthong *αι*.
- I. 10: the month day numeral is decorated with three angular motifs before and two after, all facing right.
- II. 11-12: σαμβάτου for σαββάτου.
- I. 12: the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and two angular motifs to the right similar to those in I. 10.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: Since the two last letters of the name of the deceased and the five last letters of the participle in II. 4-5 are hardly discernible, we can be certain neither for the name nor for the gender of the dead. Even if the name Ἄννα is correctly read, it could be either the nominative of the feminine Ἄννα in Hauran (Waddington, no. 1965), or the genitive of the masculine Ἄννας since the accompanying participle is not helpful on this issue (for the occasional confusion between the two names as well as the frequency of the feminine name from the eleventh century on, see *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 102-103, s.v. *Anna*). The first hypothesis seems preferable for a Christian since a number of holy women (see below) were bearers of the name Anna. The second one is less likely since it would be unusual for a Christian to be named after Annas, the known from the New Testament high priest of Jews, father-in-law of Caiaphas (*Luke* 3.2; *John* 18.13, 24; *Acts* 4.6; for the name's ambiguity cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 415, s.v.). Both the feminine and the masculine forms transliterate the Hebrew name Hanna (Preisigke 1922, col. 520; Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, p. 3 and n. 10), which derives from the common Semitic root *hnn*, "to be benevolent" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 23). The feminine Ἄννα is epigraphically attested at the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 2, 3, 70), at Ben Shemen (*ibid.*, p. 3 and n. 11), at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 377-378, no. 48) and at Wadi Haggag, Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 161, 188: in both cases the masculinity of the name cannot be excluded). Anna was also the name of the mother of the prophet Samuel (1 *Sam.* 1. 1-28, 2.1-11, 18-21), of a prophetess who praised God at the presentation of the child Jesus to the Temple (*Luke* 2. 36-38) and of the mother of Theotokos (for the latter two, see *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 102). Both the feminine Ἄννα and the masculine Ἄννας appear in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 32, s.vv.).

I. 2: If Ἀζίζου is the proper reading for the patronymic, then it is the first time it appears at Ghor es-Safi. Azizos, originally the name of a Syrian deity (for its cult see Sourdél 1952, p. 75; Lifshitz 1977, pp. 21-22), was common in particular among the indigenous population of Hauran. In this region the name is encountered in several orthographic variants: Ἀζίζος (Waddington, nos. 2044, 2046, 2050, 2084, 2298; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 62, 98, 180, 211, 570, 689, 692, 693, 696, 701, 714; Dunand 1932, p. 578, no. 129; p. 580, no. 137; Dunand 1933, pp. 247-248, no. 206; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 659, no. 49; p. 665, no. 64), Ἀζίζω (PAES IIIA, no. 616), Ἀζιζίων (Waddington, no. 24130), Ἀζειζός (PAES IIIA, nos. 607, 692, 720; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 664, no. 68; Dunand 1934, p. 18, no. 8; Dunand 1939, p. 566, no. 275; p. 567, no. 277), and Ἀζέζος (PAES IIIA, no. 352). The non-Hauranian instances of Ἀζίζος are few and come from Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 3, no. 35.5), Beit Loya (SE of Beth Guvrin [Eleutheropolis]: Meimaris 1986, p. 145, no. 746), and Rihab in the spelling Ἀζιζέος (Piccirillo 1980, p. 340, no. B). Palmyra in Syria has also yielded two examples (Waddington, nos. 2601, 2605). Etymologically the name Ἀζίζος derives from the Semitic root 'zz, "to be powerful, honoured" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 13; Negev 1991, p. 50, no. 869) and is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic 'aziz (Preisigke 1922, col. 505; Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 40, s.v.). It was also used as a divine name (one of the qualities of Allah) as is evidenced by the theophoric name Ἀβδελαζίζ ('Abd al-'Aziz) attested in papyri of the

Islamic period (7th-8th century) from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 92.11?, 23, 323) and Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 1).

ll. 3-4: The deceased child was a native of the city of Petra as is explicitly stated in these lines. Petra was the old capital of the Nabataean kingdom and an important urban centre which shortly after the creation of the Province of Arabia, in AD 114, was honoured as *metropolis* and later in the time of Elagabalus (AD 218-222) as *colonia*. A number of inscriptions from this city commemorate the title of μητρόπολις bestowed on Petra (Sartre 1993, nos. 22, 37, 46, 55), while its name is also attested in a dedicatory inscription from the neighbouring Udruh (ibid., no. 128). In the fourth century Petra became the capital of Palaestina Tertia (*NEAEHL* 4, p. 1181) and from the middle of the same century it is known as an episcopal see (Gutwein 1981, p. 136; for its episcopal list, see *HEO* II, p. 1040). In the early fifth century the name of Petra in the plural (gen. Πητρῶν) appears in a fragment of the tax-list of Anastasios I found in Beersheba (Alt 1921, pp. 11-13, no. 4). Both designations of Petra, in singular and in plural, are encountered in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. For the ethnic Πητραῖος, see below commentary of inscr. no. 279.

ll. 11-12: Since the weekday in this epitaph is denoted by the numerical sign γ' (third day = Tuesday), it is evident that the word σάββατον does not refer to the seventh day of the week (for this use see inscr. nos. 176, 214, 234) but to the seven-day week. It is known that the Christians adopted the seven-day week as well as its designation from the Jews who in their turn became acquainted with this time unit by the Babylonians (for the week, its origin and the nomenclature of its days, see Grumel 1958, pp. 165-166; cf. also Meimarīs in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 47-48). It is noteworthy that already in the New Testament the appellation σάββατον, in singular or plural (σάββατα), is frequently employed for the designation of the week (Smith and Cheetham 1880, vol. 2, pp. 2030-2031). Besides the present epitaph, three more inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi record the word σάββατον or σάββατον in the notion of week preceded by the ordinal numeral of the weekday (nos. 207, 217, 257). The week is also styled "σάββατον" in a late sixth century epitaph from 'Avdat in the Negev which contains a very detailed chronological formula (Negev 1981, no. 18). The Greek word for the seven-day week, ἑβδομάς, appears only once, abbreviated by its first three letters, in a church building inscription from Hauran (el-Kufr) dated in AD 652 (*PA* III, p. 360).

132. Tombstone of purple sandstone, once rectangular in shape, broken at the upper and lower left corners. Inv. no.: Z-166. Dimensions: 0.58x0.36x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the lower right part. Below the text an outlined cross with serifs is depicted, filled with linear decoration. The cross is flanked in its lower part by two schematically represented birds facing to the opposite direction and pecking at a seed. Above the right bird, another schematic bird (probably a pelican or an eagle) is facing the cross. The text as well as the symbols are enclosed within a rectangular frame. Above the frame three outlined crosses are depicted; the central one has a *chi*-sign in the middle. A similar cross is represented below the frame. Alongside the left and right sides of the frame two zigzag lines in upright position are depicted. These are probably the remnants of the symbolic flanking snake decoration often found on some early epitaphs, as is indicated by the zigzag of the left side which is a mixed curved and angular line. The text, the symbols and the decorative elements are all engraved. The script is a mixture of round alphabet with a few square *epsilons* and *sigmas* in the first lines. The letters are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVII

Date: 12 Peritios 323 E.P.A. = 27 January AD 429.

+ + +

Μνημῖον Θέης Γαῖα-  
νοῦ, παυσαμένη με-  
τὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος  
4 καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ἑ- ν  
τῶν οὐ, τοῦ ἔτους ν  
τκγ', μηνὸς Περιτίου  
βί, ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρίο)υ β'. Θάρ-  
8 σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
ννν τος.

Monument of Thee, (daughter)  
of Gaianus, who died having  
a good name and good faith  
(at the age) of 75 years,  
in the year 323, on (the) 12th  
(day) of (the) month Peritios,  
on (the) 2nd day of the Lord (Monday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

(pelican)  
(bird) + (bird)  
+

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον.  
I. 2: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης: nominative for genitive singular, although it refers to the genitive Θέης.  
I. 4: in καί the letter *iota* of the diphthong is adjacent to *alpha*.  
I. 5: the two last letters of the word ἐτῶν as well as the age numeral bear a horizontal bar above.  
I. 6: the year numeral is also denoted by a horizontal line.  
I. 7: the inverted month day numeral, the abbreviated sacred name Κ(υρίο)υ and the weekday numeral are all emphasized by a horizontal bar above.  
II. 7-8: θάρσει.  
I. 8: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- I. 1: Θέη is a feminine name which appears also in inscr. no. 178. Other attestations of this personal name are recorded in two Christian epitaphs from el-Kerak and eth-Thaniyyeh in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 89, 273 respectively); in the latter the name Θέη is written from right to left in the Semitic way. A third example of Θέη comes from Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9403). According to Canova (1954, pp. lxxxvi-vii) Θέη was the reminiscence of the Greek appellation "θεά" applied to the Nabataean goddess Allat at her sanctuary at Iram rather than a name inspired by a Saint Θεή whose existence is evidenced in the Palestinian martyrology (19 December; cf. also Marc. Diac., *Vita Porph.*, 20.17). Sartre stresses the fact that Θέη of the Bostran inscription is found in an Hellenized milieu, since her son bears a Greek name (Παλλάδιος) and her husband is a Roman citizen with a Greek cognomen (Οὔλιος Ἀρχέλαος). It is to be noted also that the name Θέα appears already in an Athenian (?) inscription of the 3rd century BC (*LGPN* II, p. 210, s.v.).  
II. 1-2: Γαϊανός, Greek transcription of the Latin cognomen *Gaianus*, occurs only in this epitaph of Ghor es-Safi. It is also attested in inscriptions of the Roman period in Hauran (Γεανός: Waddington, no. 2070a = *PAES* IIIA, no. 611), Golan, Samaria-Sebaste, Gadara, and in Christian inscriptions in Galilee and Moab (for the bibliographical references, see Di Segni 1998, p. 463, n. 110; for Golan see also Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 38, 63, 108). Di Segni suggested that the name *gy'h* borne by a priest in a Palestino-Aramaic inscription found in a Church at 'Ayun Musa on Mount Nebo was also a transliteration of *Gaianus*, Γαϊανός (Di Segni 1998, p. 455, no. 63). She further attempted to identify this person with Γαϊανός, bishop of Madaba in the mid-fifth century. The latter is mentioned in the Life of Saint Euthymios (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 34, p. 52, l. 27; p. 53, l. 2). Finally both the masculine Γαϊανός and the feminine Γαϊανή are attested in Greek papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 78, s.vv.).

133. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape; it is rounded at the top, broken in the lower left and right corners, chipped and flaked off all around. Inv. no.: Z-30. Dimensions: 0.505x0.34x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is weathered with some salt crystals scattered here and there. The text is engraved in round script. The letters are fairly well cut with slightly ascending alignment from left to right. Height of letters: 0.01-0.032 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVII

Date: 324 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 429 - 21 March AD 430.

Μνημῖ- ον Ὑοσγης Λεοντίου.	Monument of Osne, (daughter) of Leontios.
4 Ὑν ἐτῶν	She was 50 years
+ +	
ν', τελευ(τή)σασα τοῦ ἐν τκδ'.	old, when she died in the (year) 324.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 4-5: in the space between these two lines there are two small incised crosses.

l. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; the letters TEΛEY may stand as an abbreviated form of the aorist participle τελευτήσασα.

l. 6: τοῦ ἐν instead of ἐν τῷ; a horizontal stroke above and below the last two figures of the year numeral.

## Commentary

l. 2: The name of the deceased woman, albeit partially worn, seems to have been that of Ὑοσνη. This feminine name is also found inscribed on an altar of the early fourth century (AD 318/9) from Hauran (Kfer: *PAES* IIIA, no. 179), whereas the variant form Ὑασνη is recorded in an epitaph from the same region (Umm el-Jimâl: *ibid.*, no. 466). Hauran has yielded as well the following masculine forms: Οὕσνος (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9432), Οὐσάνος (Ḥut: Dunand 1939, p. 572, no. 292) and Ὑασίνης (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 400). The masculine variants Ὑασσαν, Ὑασων are later and appear in 7th-8th century papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 62, 63 respectively). All these feminine and masculine names are derived from the Semitic root ḥsn, "to be beautiful" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 27, 90, 143; Sartre 1985, pp. 227-228, s.v. *Οουσνος*, with Nabataean, Thamudic and Safaitic parallels; Negev 1991, p. 32, no. 497).

l. 3: The Greek name Λεόντιος, appearing also in inscr. no. 246, is a common one in Palestine and Arabia as indicated by the numerous epigraphic attestations - in their vast majority Christian - which come from Ain Fit (Sejourné 1898a, pp. 126-128 = Meimaris 1986, no. 914), Nahariya (Meimaris 1986, no. 990), Khisfin (Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 83\*), Scythopolis (Zori 1966, pp. 123-134 = Meimaris 1986, no. 142), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 206-207, no. 22), Choziba Monastery in the Judaeian Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 322, no. 91; p. 326, no. 166; p. 327, no. 183), Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 124-125, no. 9), Edom (al-Rasif: Sartre 1993, no. 115), the Negev (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 48; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 30) and Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, nos. 59, 154; Firan: Grossmann, Jones and Reichert 1996, pp. 31-33, 35-36). It occurs also in Hauran (for the relevant bibliography, see Sartre 1985, p. 213, s.v.; Sartre 1982, nos. 9127, 9135), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 392, no. 82), Rihab (*ibid.*, p. 406, no. 129), Mount Nebo (Siyagha: Gatier 1986, no. 78 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 433-434, no. 14) and Madaba (Gatier 1986, nos. 140, 145). Several of these inscriptions preserve the contracted form of the name, Λεόντις (Waddington, no. 2413p; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 281, 282; Schneider 1931, nos. 91, 183; Negev 1977, nos. 59, 154; *Nessana* 1, no. 30 [Λεώντης]; Gatier 1998, no. 129).

The popularity of the name Λεόντιος in these provinces, and in particular among the clergy (bishop: Gatier 1986, nos. 78, 140, 145; presbyters: Schneider 1931, no. 166; Meimaris 1986, no. 914; presbyter and periodeutes: Meimaris 1986, no. 990; deacon: Schneider 1931, no. 91; deacon and paramonarios: Grossmann, Jones and Reichert 1996, p. 35; anagnostes: Negev 1981, no. 48), was related to the diffusion of the cult of the military Saint Leontios. He was a native of Greece who was martyred in Tripolis of Phoenicia during the reign of Vespasian (Sartre 1982, pp. 197-198; Meimaris 1986, p. 132). This Saint is depicted with three equestrian Saints (Demetrios, Georgios and Theodoros) on a wall fresco from the cave of Saint John the Chozebite high on the cliff of the Choziba Monastery in Wadi el-Qilt (Meimaris 1978, pp. 177-181). Saint Leontios was especially venerated in Hauran either alone, as at Sûr (AD 458: *PAES* IIIA, no. 797<sup>3</sup>) and Dûr (AD 565, erection of a church in his honour: Waddington, no. 2412p), or in association with Saints Sergius and Bacchus as at the cathedral of Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9125).

The name Λεόντιος was also used by the Jews of Palestine as is evidenced at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 61, 92), Tiberias (*ibid.*, p. 54, n. 123; for more examples on the use of Λεόντιος among the Jews, see *ibid.*, pp. 40-41 and Sartre 1985, p. 213, s.v.), and Beth Shean (Scythopolis: Zori 1966, p. 132 = Lifshitz 1977, pp. 290-291, nos. 1, 2).

134. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the middle of the right side and chipped at the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-49. Dimensions: 0.435x0.33x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Salt crystals and lichens are visible throughout the surface. Below the inscription an amphora is schematically depicted flanked by two outlined crosses with serifs. The text as well as the representation are enclosed within a rectangular frame. Faint guide-lines are discernible. The text, the symbolic decoration and the guide-lines are all engraved. The script is of

the square form. The letters, which are smaller in l. 1, are carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.011-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVII

Date: 12 Panemos 324 E.P.A. = 1 July AD 429.

Μνημῖον Σά- βα Σούββα, ἀπαθανόν-	Monument of Sabas, (son) of Soubba(s), who died (at the age)
4 τος ἐτῶν μ', ἐν ἔτι τκδ', μη(νός) Πανέμου ιβ'.	of 40 years, in the year 324, on the 12th (day) of (the) month Panemos.
Θάρσει, οὐδι- ν	Be of good cheer,
8 ς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
+ (vase) +	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 5: the age and the year numeral in this line are both denoted by horizontal bars above; ἔτει.

l. 6: a small *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation for μηνός; Πανέμου for Πανήμου: *epsilon* for *eta*; a horizontal bar is put above the month day numeral for emphasis.

l. 7: θάρσει.

ll. 7-8: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The name *Σάβας*, particularly common in the Arabo-Nabataean milieu (Canova 1954, p. 72, no. 48), is attested frequently at Ghor es-Safi (6 cases). It is interesting that in the neighbouring area of Moab the name occurs with the same frequency (Canova 1954, nos. 48, 66, 145, 146 [el-Kerak], 246 [Ainun], 329 [Ga'far], 395 [Mahaiy]). *Σάβας* is recorded also in Hauran ('Ayun: Waddington, no. 1988), where the variant *Σάβαος* is prevalent (for the relevant examples, see Sartre 1985, p. 233, s.v. *Σαβαος*; for the variants *Σαβέος* and *Σαββέος*, see Gatier 1998, p. 374, nos. 32, 33 and p. 419 for the respective evidence), at the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery at Wadi el-Qilt (Schneider 1931, pp. 325-326, nos. 142, 167) and in a papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 92. 27). In the Byzantine period this name acquired a special importance due to Saint Sabas who was the founder of the famous "Great Laura" (AD 483) in the Judaeen Desert (on his life see Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae*, pp. 85-200; Patrich 1995, pp. 37-48).

According to Canova (1954, p. 72, no. 48) who is based on Alt (1928, p. 221, no. 3), *Σάβας* may transcribe in Greek the Arabic name Sabah, "morning". Sartre presents this etymology too, but he is inclined to believe that in most cases *Σάβας* is the Greek transliteration of the Nabataean šb'w, Safaitic sb', Palmyrene šb' which means "lion" (Sartre 1985, p. 233, s.v. *Σαβαος*).

l. 2: The patronymic *Σούββα* (gen.) is paralleled so far only by the genitive form *Σούβα*, occurring in a seventh century (ca. AD 685) non-literary papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 92.32). This name, which requires a nominative in -ας, i.e. *Σούβ(β)ας*, is related to *Σάβας* (commented on above), being plausibly its hypocoristicon (for other diminutive forms of *Σάβας*, like *Σοβαῖος* and *Σοβέος*, see Wuthnow 1930, p. 110, s.vv.). *Σούββας* appears as well as the second element of the compound name *Ἀββοσοῦββας* borne by a presbyter in a sixth century (AD 570) church dedicatory inscription from Khirbet el-Beiyudât, N. of Jericho (Di Segni 1990b, p. 269, no. 4 with parallels of *Ἀββοσοῦββος*).

135. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper, lower left and lower right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-8. Dimensions: 0.495x0.38x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed in the area of the text. It is damaged in the middle of the lower part. It seems that the text has suffered damage except for the lower left corner. Above the text to the right the incised letters *alpha-omega* are discernible. Below the text there is an outlined cross, while at the sides the text is flanked by two snakes, all drawn in red paint. The text is only engraved in a mixed round and square alphabet. The letters are small, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.01 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVIII

Date: 2 Audynaios 325 E.P.A. = 18 December AD 430.

## Α Ω

Μνημῖον Ὀγελ[άθης, ἀ]-  
ναπαυσομένη[ς μετὰ κα]-  
λοῦ ἀνόματος καὶ καλ-  
4 λῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν μᾶ,  
ἔτους τέ, μηνὸς Αὐδονέ-  
ου β', ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου υ [ε'].  
Θάρσει, Ὀγελάθη, οὐδὶς ἀ-  
8 θάνατος.

Monument of Ogelathe  
who came to rest having a good name  
and good faith (at the age) of 41 years,  
in (the) year 325, on (the) 2nd (day)  
of (the) month Audynaïos, on (the)  
[5th] day of (the) Lord (Thursday).  
Be of good cheer, Ogelathe,  
no one (is) immortal.

+

## Critical apparatus

- l. 2: μνημῖον; after the letter *lambda* the text is lost.  
ll. 2-3: [ἀ]ναπαυσομένη[ς] for [ᾱ]ναπαυσαμένη[ς]: *omicron* for *alpha*.  
l. 3: at the end of the line the text is eroded as in l. 2.  
l. 4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
ll. 5-6: καλλῆς, dittography for καλῆς.  
l. 6: the year numeral is flanked by a pair of decorative angular motifs; the usual *eta* above *mu* abbreviation for μηνός.  
ll. 6-7: Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναίου: *omicron* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.  
l. 7: the month day numeral and the weekday figure (now lost) are both flanked by a pair of decorative serpentine motifs; a small *mu* over an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; the genitive Κυρίου is as usually abbreviated by its first and last letter.  
l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

- l. 2: The half-preserved name of the deceased woman has been securely restored as Ὀγελάθη thanks to its repetition in l. 8. The feminine Ὀγελάθη is found so far only in an epitaph from Bostra in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 579 = Sartre 1982, no. 9350). The masculine Ὀγέλος is recorded also in Hauran (Melah eş-Şarrâr: PAES IIIA, no. 709), but it is more common in inscriptions from Palmyra in the forms Ὀγῆλος and Ὀγάϊλος (for the bibliographical references see Sartre 1985, p. 220, s.v. *Ογελαθη*). Ὀγελάθη is "the Greek transcription of the Arabic 'Ugailat" (PAES IIIA, p. 261, no. 579) and is derived from the Semitic root 'gl, "calf" (Sartre 1985, p. 220, who gives also the Palmyrene, Safaitic and Arabic forms of the name, stressing the fact that it is unknown in the Nabataean).  
l. 7: The weekday has been restored on the analogy of the other two preserved dating elements, the era year and the month day (see chapter on Date of death, p. 51).

**136.** Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left and upper right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-130. Dimensions: 0.63x0.34x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off all over. Above the text an outlined cross with serifs is depicted inscribed in a circle and flanked by two outlined crosses with the letter *chi* in the middle. The text as well as the crosses are enclosed within a frame. There are also guide-lines which continue above for one more line that has been left uninscribed. The text, the symbols, the frame and the guide-lines are all engraved. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are carefully and nicely executed with a slightly ascending alignment in the upper half of the text. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVIII

Date: 9 Dystros 325 E.P.A. = 23 February AD 431.

+ + +

Μνημῖον  
Ἀβδῆτος  
Ῥούφου, εὐλα-  
4 βεστάτου δια-  
κόνου, ἀποθα-  
νόντος μετὰ

Monument of  
Abdes, (son) of  
Rufus, the most  
pious deacon,  
who died having  
a good name (at the age)



καλοῦ ὀνόμα-	of 55 years, in the year 325,
8 τος ἑτῶν νε΄,	on (the) 9th (day) of (the)
ἐν ἔτι τεκέ΄, μη(νὸς) Δύ-	month Dystros, on (the)
στρου θ΄, ἡμέρα) Κυρίου	2nd day of (the) Lord (Monday).
β΄. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
12 ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 2: three decorative angular motifs at the end of the line.  
 l. 8: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.  
 l. 9: ἔτει; *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation for *μηνός*.  
 l. 10: the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal stroke above; ἡμέρα is abbreviated by a *mu* above *eta*.  
 l. 11: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.  
 l. 12: the line ends with three similar motifs as in l. 2.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: *Ἀβδητος* is most likely a genitive form as indicated by the defining genitives *εὐλαβεστάτου διακόνου* and *ἀποθανόντος*. In this case the name's nominative could be *Ἀβδης* following the declension of the name *Ἀψης*, gen. *Ἀψητος* (see above inscr. no. 40). The masculine *Ἀβδης* is epigraphically attested since the fifth century BC in Greece (for the relevant examples see Masson 1968, p. 399 [among the bearers a native of Kition in Cyprus and a Tyrian]; cf. *LGPNI* II, p. 1, s.v.) and is also known from papyri of the first century BC from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 2; Foraboschi 1967, p. 16). It appears as well in a pagan dedicatory inscription of unknown provenance bought in Gaza (Lifshitz 1971, pp. 156-157, no. 10). Preisigke considers *Ἀβδης* as the Greek transcription of the Aramaic name *ʿAbde* (Preisigke 1922, col. 517; cf. Masson 1968, p. 399).  
 l. 3: On the Latin name *Ρουφος*, *Rufus*, frequent at Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 29.  
 ll. 3-4: The epithet *εὐλαβεστάτος* (superlative), "most pious, most reverend", was a common Christian title of respect attributed to emperors, but mainly to members of the clergy as well as to laymen and women (Lampe, p. 567, s.v. *εὐλαβής* 1c). The association of this title with the clerical office of the deacon, as in this epitaph, is also attested epigraphically at Mount Nebo (Di Segni 1998, p. 446, no. 48 [Kh. el-Mekhayyat]; pp. 452-453, nos. 60, 61 [ʿAyun Musa]), Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 86-87, no. B) and Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 478-479, no. 304). At ʿAyun Musa (Di Segni 1998, p. 452, no. 60), an archdeacon is also called *εὐλ(αβεστάτος)*. Other ecclesiastical officials, who appear in inscriptions of these areas bearing this epithet, are: presbyters (Mount Nebo: Di Segni 1998, p. 428, no. 3; p. 446, no. 48; Dhiban: Gatier 1986, no. 60), a bishop (ʿAyun Musa: Di Segni 1998, pp. 451-452, no. 59), a paramonarios (Rihab: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 78-79, no. A), an anagnostes (ibid., p. 81, no. A) and two monks (ibid., pp. 68-69, no. A; Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 144). In two other cases *εὐλαβεστάτος* occurs as an epithet applied to deceased laymen (*Nessana* 1, no. 79; Gaza: Glucker 1987, p. 124, no. 8). It is worth noting that the Ghor es-Safi attestation of the title is one of the earliest and that *εὐλαβεστάτος* here is written in full unlike the later examples which are all abbreviated.  
 ll. 4-5: On the ecclesiastical office of the deacon, see above commentary of inscr. no. 86.

137. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left and right corners, at the bottom and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-120. Dimensions: 0.42x0.41x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off mainly in the middle of the text and in the lower left corner. The inscription is set within a frame drawn in black paint. To the external side of the frame is attached a schematic myrtle leaf-like decoration rendered in red paint. Above the upper line of the frame a simple cross appears inscribed in a circle; both the cross and the circle are red painted. Below the frame at the right edge a fish-like motif is discernible drawn in red paint. A similar symbol in vertical position is half preserved at the left edge below the frame. The text is all engraved and only a few letters in each line are emphasized with red paint. The script is of the square alphabet with a few round exceptions (l. 6). The letters are fairly well cut with a slightly ascending alignment. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VII

Date: 3 Loos 326 E.P.A. = 22 July AD 431.

+	
Μνημῖον Ἀλουλά-	Monument of Aloulafos,
φου Οὐλπιανοῦ,	(son) of Ulpianus, who died
ἀποθανόντος ἐ-	(at the age) of 39 years,
4 τῶν λθ', ἔτους	in (the) year 326, on (the)
τκζ', μηνὶ Ἀφου γ',	3rd (day) of (the) month Loos,
ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου γ'. Θάρ-	on (the) 3rd day of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνο-	Be of good cheer,
8 <i>vacat</i> τος.	no one (is) immortal.
(fish) (fish)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 1-2: Ἀλουλάφο for Ἀλουλάφου: a lifted curvilinear sign facing left stands for the abbreviated final letter *upsilon*.

l. 4: the age numeral and the word ἔτους are followed by a small decorative angular motif.

l. 5: each individual figure of the year numeral bears a horizontal bar above, while the whole numeral is followed by a large angular motif; Ἀφου for Ἀφῶ: genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 6: after the word ἡμέρᾱ and the weekday numeral the same angular motif is repeated; the latter is also crowned by a horizontal bar; the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter.

ll. 6-7: θάρσει.

l. 7: οὐδεῖς.

ll. 7-8: ἀθάνοτος for ἀθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha*.

l. 8: the syllable -τος is written at the end of the line and followed by the same angular motif.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: Ἀλουλάφος might be related to the Hellenized Semitic name Ἀλολέφας recorded in an epitaph from Elusa in the Negev and considered as the Greek transcription of the Arabic name al-'Ulaifa or al-Hulaifa (Alt 1921, no. 51). This consists of the diminutive name Ὀλεφος (see above commentary of inscr. no. 6) preceded by the Arabic article. The name appears also in the abbreviated form Ἀλόλεφ(ος or -έφας) at Nessana (Nessana 1, no. 121).

l. 2: For the discussion on the name Οὐλπιανός, see above commentary of inscr. no. 58.

138. Tombstone of white sandstone, once rectangular in shape, broken in the lower right corner, curved in the lower left and upper right corners and chipped all around. It is kept in a private collection (Italy). Inv. no.: Z-241. Dimensions: 0.375x0.325x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off mainly on the upper side. At the upper right part there is a simple incised and painted red cross. Below the inscription in the centre an engraved and red painted outlined cross with a red painted letter *chi* in the middle is flanked by two similar crosses drawn only in red paint. Underneath the crosses a red painted palm branch is depicted in upright position. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,3,5 are additionally painted over in red. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are not of the best quality and alignment. Height of letters: 0.008-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVIII

Date: 24 Dios 326 E.P.A. = 10 November AD 431.

+	
Μνημῖα<v> + Παρθενίου,	Monument of Parthenios,
ἀποθανόντος ἐτῶν ο',	who died (at the age) of 70 years,
ἔτους τριακοσσιοστοῦ ν κζ',	in (the) three hundred and 26th year,
4 μηνὸς Δίου νν κδ', ννν	on (the) 24th (day) of (the) month Dios,
ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου νν γ'.	on (the) 3rd day of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
+ + +	
(palm branch)	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖα<v> for μνημεῖο<v>: phonetic spelling of *ει*, use of *alpha* instead of *omicron* and omission of the last letter *nu*; the vertical bar of a large cross separates the word μνημῖα<v> from the name of the deceased.  
 l. 2: a horizontal bar emphasizes the age numeral above.  
 l. 3: τριακοσιοστοῦ; the hundreds of the year numeral are expressed in ordinal number while the tens and the units in numerical figures denoted by a horizontal stroke.  
 l. 4: the month day numeral is flanked by unscripted spaces.  
 l. 5: a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral which is preceded by two empty spaces.

## Commentary

- l. 1: The Greek name Παρθένιος has been commented on in inscr. no. 67.  
 l. 2: For the omission of the patronymic of the deceased, see above commentary of inscr. no. 4.

**139.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-244. Dimensions: 0.47x0.32x0.11 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. At the end of the text and below it in the centre there are two outlined crosses with serifs incised and painted over in red, the interior of which have been slightly hollowed. The whole text is engraved; ll. 2,5,7,10 are in addition painted red, while traces of red paint are visible in the three first letters of l. 8. The script is basically square with the exception of oval *thetas* and the majority of *omicrons* which are round. The letters are elegant, symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXVIII

Date: 11 Panemos 327 E.P.A. = 30 June AD 432.

Μνημῖον Ἀλε-	Monument of Alexandros,
ξάνδρου Οὐα-	(son) of Oualentinos
λεντίνου, τε-	(Valentinus), who died
4 λετεύσαντος	having a good name
μετὰ καλοῦ ἁ-	(at the age) of 46 years,
νόματος ἐτῶ-	in the year 327, on (the)
ν μζ', ἐν ἔτους	11th (day) of (the)
8 τκζ', μηνός Πανέμου	month Panemos.
ιὰ. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
+	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 3-4: τελετεύσαντος for τελευτήσαντος: transposition of the diphthong *ευ* and the vowel *epsilon* which stands for *eta*.  
 ll. 5-6: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 l. 7: the horizontal bar above the age numeral covers only the tens figure; ἐν ἔτους for an ἔτει: genitive instead of dative singular.  
 l. 8: μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*; Πανέμου for Πανήμου.  
 l. 9: Θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: The frequent use of the Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος at Ghor es-Safi (8 cases, mostly borne by natives) is an additional testimony for the popularity of this name in Palestine and Arabia as in the rest of the Greco-Roman world. In these two provinces the name is abundantly attested in inscriptions of the Roman period mainly from Hauran (Waddington, ind. I, p. 3, s.v.; PAES IIIA, ind. I, p. 455, s.v.; AAES III, p. 339, s.v.; Sartre 1982, nos. 9020, 9021, 9271, 9291, 9401, 9471), but also from Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 385, no. 20; pp. 388-389, no. 27), Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 117), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 149, no. 42/3), Beersheba (Alt 1921, no. 5) and Petra (Sartre 1993, nos. 10, 58, 95). The Christian epigraphic material on Ἀλέξανδρος from these provinces is also rich, including examples from Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9122), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: ESI 6 [1987/88], p. 16 and Di Segni 1999, pp. 634-635), Caesarea (Lifshitz 1961, pp. 123-126 and

Di Segni 1999, p. 635 and n. 21), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 216-218, no. 33; pp. 233-237, nos. 50, 51, 52, 53: same person, a governor), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 386-387, no. 75b), Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 44, 302), Gaza and its area (Gaza: Meimarīs 1986, no. 851; Kissufim: *SEG* 30 [1980], no. 1693; Beerot Yishaq: *SEG* 17 [1960], no. 783), the Negev (ʿAvdat: Negev 1981, no. 16; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 77; *Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 334, s.v.), Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 180). The peculiar form *Ἐλεξάνδρα* appears in an epitaph from Golan (Fakhem: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 139). The name *Ἀλέξανδρος* was also used by the Jews as evidenced by its occurrence on Jewish ossuaries from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 116-117, no. 195 b, c; Rahmani 1994, no. 179 a-c with more Jewish examples) and at the Jewish cemetery of Beth Sheʿarim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 83). Unique to our knowledge is the mention of the feminine name *Ἀλεξάνδρα* in a Byzantine inscription from Ḥorvat Sokho in the Judaeen Shephelah (Tzaferis 1996, pp. 25-26\* [in Hebrew]. The name appears there in the variant *Ἀλαξάνδρα* and is borne by a solitary, "μονάξ(ουσα)".

ll. 2-3: On the Latin name *Οὐαλεντίνος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 22. On the feminine *Οὐαλεντίνα*, see inscr. no. 193.

140. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left corners, in the upper part and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-13. Dimensions: 0.51x0.365x0.065 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text and suffered strokes in ll. 3,4,6. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised and red painted frame and set between incised guide-lines, some of which are emphasized with red paint. Below the frame is depicted a cross with serifs outlined in black and filled with red paint. The whole text is engraved, l. 12 is all painted over in red, while ll. 2,4,5,6,7,8,9,10 are partially painted red. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters, with some characteristic small *omicrons*, are clearly cut and carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.024 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIX

Date: 29 Artemisios 329 E.P.A. = 19 May AD 434.

Μνημῖον +	Monument of
Κυριακῇ Σεάλ-	Kyriake, (daughter) of
λου, ἀποθανοῦ-	Seallos, who died
4 σαν μετὰ κα-	having a good name
λοῦ ὀνόματος	and good faith
καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	(at the age) of 17 years,
τεως ἐτῶν ιζ΄,	in the year 329,
8 ἐν ἔτους κθ΄,	on (the) 29th (day)
ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτη-	of the month Artemisios,
μεσίου κθ΄, ἡμ(έρᾱ) Κυρίου	on (the) 7th day of the Lord
ζ΄. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς +	(Saturday). Be of good cheer,
12 ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: *μνημεῖον*; the line ends with an outlined incised cross bearing the letter *chi* in its centre with four red painted dots in its corners.  
l. 2: *Κυριακῇ* for *Κυριακῆς*: nominative instead of genitive.  
ll. 3-4: *ἀποθανοῦσαν* for *ἀποθανούσης*: aorist participle in accusative form instead of the correct genitive.  
l. 7: age numeral denoted by a horizontal bar above.  
l. 8: *ἐν ἔτους* for *ἐν ἔτει*: genitive in the place of dative singular.  
ll. 9-10: *Ἀρτημεσίου* for *Ἀρτεμισίῳ*: transposition of *epsilon* and *eta*; the latter letter stands for *iota*; genitive for dative singular.  
l. 10: *mu* above an elongated *eta* stands as abbreviation for *ἡμέρᾱ*; *Κυρίου* is abbreviated by the first and last letter and a horizontal bar above them.  
l. 11: *θάρσει, οὐδεῖς*; the line ends with a simple incised cross decorated with four red painted dots similar to those in l. 1.

l. 12: this line also ends with a similar cross.

#### Commentary

l. 2: *Κυριακός*, *-ή* were common Christian theophoric names whose popularity was due to their Christian connotation "someone belonging to the Lord" (Kajanto 1963, pp. 104, 123; *NDIEC* 2, pp. 206-207, no. 116). The occurrences of the feminine *Κυριακή* in Palestine and Arabia are confined to the four Ghor es-Safi examples (see also inscr. nos. 218, 256 and 293). On the contrary the epigraphic attestations of the masculine *Κυριακός* in these provinces are numerous especially in the region of Moab (11 cases: Canova 1954, index onom., p. 422, s.v.) and to a lesser degree at Suhmata (near Tyre: Avi-Yonah 1934, p. 96), Jericho (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 315), Moza (near Jerusalem: Meimaris 1986, no. 989), Wadi el-Qilt (Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, p. 322, no. 90; p. 325, no. 138; p. 327, no. 175), Masada (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 333), Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 399-400, no. 9), Mount Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat: Di Segni 1998, p. 441, no. 37), Kfeir Abu Sarbut (area of Madaba: Gatier 1986, no. 113), Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 68-69, no. A) and in Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, nos. 104, 117, 138, 163, 170). It is to be noted that a considerable number of the above mentioned persons named *Κυριακός* were members of the clergy, like deacons, presbyters, monks and country-bishops. The most distinguished bearer of this name was of course Saint Kyriakos the anchorite whose memory is celebrated on 29th September (Delehay 1902, p. 87). He was born in Corinth in AD 449, led an ascetic life in the Judaeian Desert and died at the age of 107 years (on his life, see Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Cyr.*, pp. 222-235).

ll. 2-3: The patronymic appears in the variant *Σηάλλας* in inscr. no. 31 where this name is commented upon.

141. Tombstone of light purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, with a flaked area in the middle of the left side. Inv. no.: Z-356. Dimensions: 0.64x0.33x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around. Above the text is engraved a flat *cross-rho* monogram within a circle. In the centre of the cross a tiny cavity from the compass used is visible. The text is engraved and ll. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 are painted over in red. Traces of green colour are also discernible. The script is of the round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIX

Date: 16 Dios 329 E.P.A. = 2 November AD 434.

	Μνημῖον Θόψη	Monument of Thopse,
	Ἀσλόμου ἐγκρατ(οῦς),	(daughter) of Aslomos,
	παυσομένη με-	the temperate, who died
4	[τ]ὸ καλοῦ ὀνόμ-	having a good name
	ατος καὶ καλῆς	and good faith
	πίστεως ἐτῶ-	(at the age)
	ν πε', ἐν μηνὶ	of 85 years, on (the)
8	Δίου ις, τοῦ ἕ-	16th (day) of the month
	τους τκθ'. Θά-	Dios, in the year 329.
	ρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
	ννν νατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: *μνημεῖον*; *Θόψη* for *Θόψης*: use of nominative instead of genitive.

l. 2: *ἐγκρατ(οῦς)* for *ἐγκρατ(οῦς)*: phonetic spelling of the adjective which is abbreviated by the first six letters and a smaller sign S attached to the horizontal stroke of *tau*.

l. 3: *παυσομένη* for *παυσαμένης*: *omicron* for *alpha* in the second syllable and use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

ll. 3-4: *με[τ]ὸ* for *με[τ]ᾶ*: the letter *tau* is totally obliterated; substitution of *alpha* with *omicron*.

l. 7: the age numeral is crowned with a horizontal bar.

l. 8: *Δίου* for *Δίῳ*: use of genitive in the place of dative; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal stroke above it.

l. 9: the year numeral is also equipped with a horizontal bar above it.

ll. 9-10: *θάρσει*.

l. 10: *οὐδεὶς*.

l. 11: a space of three letters has been left uninscribed at the beginning of the line.

## Commentary

l. 1: The name *Θόψη* occurs as well in inscr. no. 73 where it is fully discussed.

l. 2: For the Semitic name *ʾΑσολμος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 14.

The epithet *ἐγκρατής* (continent), probably indicating Thopse's main virtue, presents so far no epigraphic parallels in Palestine and Arabia. Of interest is an epitaph of a presbyter from Egypt (Hermontis) where the deceased is qualified as "*παρθένος ἐγκρα(τής)*", i.e. celibate cleric, on the grounds that, although celibacy of the clergy was already advised by Paul, it was practiced only exceptionally in that period (*IGA* V, no. 413 and p. XXXVII). The term *ἐγκρατής* is also employed by the Christian writers, applying both to laymen and clergymen (Lampe, p. 403, s.v.). *Ἐγκράτεια*, generally denoting the abstinence from certain material or non-material things, was an important Christian virtue the practice of which was greatly esteemed and praised by the Church Fathers (for the various uses of this word by the ecclesiastical writers, see *ibid.*, pp. 402-403, s.v.).

142. Tombstone of white and yellowish sandstone with a brown diagonal stripe, rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken at the lower left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-154. Dimensions: 0.375x0.29x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mostly in the area of the text and is flaked off in the upper left corner. A red painted frame encloses the text. At the top of the tombstone there is a small simple incised cross. Right above the inscription and especially at the right edge faint traces of a red painted decoration are visible. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,2,6 are painted over in red colour. The script is of the round alphabet with a few square exceptions. The letters, which are smaller and ascendingly aligned in the last two lines, are fairly well cut. Height of letters: 0.005-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIX

Date: Apellaios 329 E.P.A. = 17 November - 16 December AD 434.

+

Εἷς Θεός. Μνη-  
μῖον Σάβα ὁ καὶ  
Κλαυδίου Κασ-  
4 σιανοῦ, ἀποθα-  
νόντας ἑτῶν  
λθ', κθ', μ(ηνός) Ἀπελ-  
λέου. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς  
8 ἀθάνατος.

One (is) the God. Monument  
of Sabas, also (called) Claudius,  
(son) of Cassianus, who  
died (at the age) of 39 years,  
(in the year) 329, in (the)  
month of Apellaios.  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: *μνημεῖον*.

l. 2: *ὁ* for *τοῦ*: nominative in the place of the genitive of the masculine article.

ll. 4-5: *ἀποθανόντας* for *ἀποθανόντος*.

l. 6: the age and the year numeral are denoted by a horizontal bar and divided by two connected angular motifs each one facing to the opposite direction; the word *μηνός* is abbreviated only by its first letter followed by the abbreviation sign ξ; the last but one letter of this line, *epsilon*, is a tiny one squeezed between *pi* and *lambda*.

ll. 6-7: Ἀπελλαίου.

l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδέις.

## Commentary

l. 2: For discussion on the Hellenized Semitic name *Σάβας*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 134. *Σάβας* was probably the father of *Κασσιανός* mentioned below in inscr. no. 182.

ll. 2-3: Besides the Semitic name *Σάβας* the deceased bore also a *supernomen* (nickname) as indicated by the phrase "*ὁ καὶ*" preceding the name *Κλαύδιος*. The use of a *supernomen* is evidenced also in inscr. no. 196.

ll. 3-4: The patronymic *Κασσιανός*, Latin *Cassianus*, is represented three times at Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 182, 232). It occurs once at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 373, no. 27 and p. 417, s.v.) and in Moab (eth-Thaniyyeh: Canova 1954, no. 274), but it is frequently attested in Hauran (Sartre 1985, p. 210 with all the relevant examples). The name is also recorded in a late

invocatory inscription (AD 718) from the Church of Saint Stephen at Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, pp. 248-249, no. 5a).

143. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped all around; mended from two pieces. Inv. no.: Z-12. Dimensions: 0.50x0.31x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text, is flaked off in the upper left corner and badly damaged with loss of text at parts. The text is enclosed within a rectangular frame and both are engraved. Above the frame in the middle a simple outlined cross with the letter *chi* in its centre is incised. The script is of the round form with letters well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXIX

Date: 26 Audynaioi 329 E.P.A. = 11 January AD 435.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>[M]νημῖον Κύ- ρας Ἀββιβου, παυσομένη 4 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστε- ως ἔτ[ω] γ' μ', 8 ἐν μηνί Αὐ[δ]υναιος- ου ζκ', τϞθ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.</p>	<p>Monument of Kyra, (daughter) of Abbibos, who died having a good name and good faith (at the age) of 40 years, on (the) 26th (day) of (the) month Audynaioi (?), (in the year) 329. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: [μ]νημῖον: the first letter *mu* is weathered.  
I. 2: the first five letters of the patronymic are heavily worn.  
I. 3: παυσομένη for παυσαμένη: *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative for genitive singular.  
I. 7: the third letter *omega* of ἔτων is lost; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar.  
I. 8: the dative μηνί is abbreviated by the *eta* above *mu*.  
II. 8-9: from the month name Αὐδυναῖος are preserved the first, traces of the second and the last two letters; the month name has been restored on the basis of the usual for the area spelling.  
I. 9: the month day numeral is inverted and covered by a horizontal line; the year numeral is preceded by an angular decorative motif.  
I. 10: Θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: On the feminine name *Κύρα*, common at Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 22.

I. 2: The reading of the patronymic is not without reservations since the first five letters of the name are barely legible. *\*Αββιβος*, which is derived from the common Semitic root ḥbb, "to love", is also attested at Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 408-409, no. 74) and Quweisme (S. of Amman: Gatier 1986, no. 53). It was particularly frequent in Hauran where it appears in the following variations: *\*Αβιβος* (Waddington, nos. 2099, 2127, 2189; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 113, 783<sup>5</sup>), *\*Αβειβος* (Waddington, nos. 2103, 2104; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 226, 759), *\*Αββιβας* (*AAES* III, no. 144b), *\*Αβιβας* (ibid., no. 145c), *\*Αβιβηος* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 627). The form *\*Αβιβ*, recorded at Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1987, p. 195, no. 20), is devoid of the Greek ending, being an exact transliteration of the Arabic Ḥabib, "beloved" (or "beloved of God").

A number of Saints of the Eastern Church bore the name *\*Αββιβος* (Delehay 1902, cols. 1041-1042, s.v. *\*Αβιβος*).

144. Tombstone of white sandstone with purple stripes, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-28. Dimensions: 0.455x0.25x0.11 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped all around. Above the inscription in the centre the lower part of a simple outlined

incised and painted cross is preserved, flanked by two birds drawn in red paint of which only traces are visible. Below the text an outlined radiant sun-disc with quite clear rays in its perimeter and a dot in its centre is depicted in red paint. The whole text is engraved and ll. 2,5,8,10 bear additionally red colour. In ll. 1-8 the script is round, while ll. 9-10 are written in the square alphabet, which possibly indicates a different handwriting. The letters are mostly elongated, clearly cut and aligned, but of relatively poor quality. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXX

Date: 20 Artemisios 330 E.P.A. = 10 May AD 435.

	(bird) + (bird)	
	Μνημῖον	Monument of
	Νοομίλη	Noomile, (daughter) of
	Ἀννιανοῦ,	Annianus, who died
4	ἀποθανοῦσα	having a good name -
	μετὰ καλοῦ	after having lived 12 years -
	ὀνόματος,	on (the) 20th (day)
	ζήσας ἔτη	of (the) month
8	ιβ', μη(νὸς) Ἀρτ(εμισίου) κ',τλ'.	Artemisios, (in the year) 330.
	Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
	ὀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	(sun-disc)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: Νοομίλη for Νοομίλης: nominative for genitive.

l. 4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: the participle following the name Νοομίλη is in nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 7: ζήσας for ζησάσης: use of the masculine past participle in nominative instead of the feminine participle in genitive singular.

l. 8: the age numeral is denoted by a small curved line above the tens figure *iota* and a horizontal line above the whole numeral; superscription of *eta* over *mu* forms the abbreviation of μηνός; the month name Ἀρτεμίσιος is abbreviated by the first three letters and the sign S; the month day numeral *kappa* as well as the following year numeral are emphasized above by horizontal bars.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

l. 10: ὀθάνατος for ἄθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha*.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The feminine *Νοομίλη* is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi. It might be a variant or a different pronunciation (o for α as in l. 10) of the name *Ναμήλη* mentioned in an inscription from Shakka in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2143) and borne by a woman coming from Petra (Πετραία). The masculine *Νάμηλος* is encountered in Syria (Wuthnow 1930, p. 81, s.v.). *Ναμήλη* has been considered as a Semitic theophoric name, compound of the word n'm (Arabic na'am), "to be pleasant, gracious" and the divine name 'l, "'El" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 152; Negev 1991, p. 44, nos. 738, 740). The name *Νοόμ*, being plausibly the simple masculine form of *Νοομίλη*, is attested once in a late seventh century papyrus from Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 92.38).

l. 3: The name Ἀννιανός, the Latin *Annianus*, appears in the spelling Ἀννιονός in inscr. no. 199. This name is recorded in inscriptions of the Roman period from Golan (Quneitra: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 208\*), Hauran (Waddington, no. 1959; *PAES* IIIA, no. 96), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 421, no. 130: Γναῖος Ἀννιανός), Wadi Ram (S. of Petra: Sartre 1993, no. 139) and in a Christian dedicatory inscription from a church at Jaber as an archdeacon's name (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 50-51). It is also encountered twice in the Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 166, 175, who considered Aniana, the Hebrew transliteration of Ἀνιανός in the bilingual inscr. no. 175, as a variant of the Semitic name Haninah or Hananiah. In our opinion these two names, the Hellenized Latin Ἀννιανός and the Hebrew Ἀνίνας and Ἀνανίας should not be confused.



**145.** Tombstone of pink sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, now cut on all sides by a saw. It keeps the rectangular form on three sides, while it is rounded on top following the shape of the painted arch (see below). It is kept at the S. Moussaieff Collection in London. Inv. no.: Z-341. Present dimensions: 0.39x0.355x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed. The cross-shaped inscription is enclosed within a red painted vaulted structure composed of an arch resting on two piers, the capitals and bases of which are indicated by a double series of small diagonal strokes. A thick horizontal line, coinciding with the upper line of the horizontal bar of the cross, rests on the capitals of the piers. The upper corners of the cross-shaped inscription are decorated with two circles, while the space above the vertical bar of the cross just below the arch is filled with irregular dots imitating pomegranates as in inscr. no. 290. The lower corners of the cross are decorated with two similar octagonal geometrical designs formed by two diagonally intersecting squares, whose interior contains another decorative motif forming a cross. The centre of the cross is emphasized with a small circle filled with red paint. The upper and lower corners of the right octagonal design end with an *omega*-shaped motif. Between the bases of the piers below the text runs a band decorated with a series of interlaced small serpents. The text is all engraved, while ll. 1, 4, 13, 15 are totally and ll. 6, 7, 8, 10 are partially painted over in red. The script follows the round alphabet and the letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXX

Date: 5 Gorpiaios 330 E.P.A. = 23 August AD 435.

	Μνημῖον	Monument of
	Ζεβίνας Λ-	Zebinas, (son) of
	άμπωνος,	Lampon, who died
4	παυσάμε-	having a good name and
	νος μετά	good faith (at the age)
	καλοῦ ἀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστε-	of 86 years, in (the) year
	ως ἐτῶν νν πς, ν ἔτους τριακοσι-	330, on the fifth (day) of (the)
8	αστοῦ τριακασ(τοῦ), μηνὸς Γαρπιέου ε΄,	month Gorpiaios, on (the) 7th
	ἡμέρα	day of (the) Lord (Saturday).
	Κ(υρίο)υ νζ: νν	Be of good cheer,
	Θάρσει Ζεβ-	Zebinas, no one
12	ίνα, οὐδὶ-	(is) immortal.
	ς ἀθάν<α>τος.	(I or he) wrote (it)
	Γράψας ὁλά-	entirely in (my or
	γραφος χιρί.	his) own hand.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: Ζεβίνας for Ζεβίνα: nominative for genitive.

ll. 4-5: παυσάμενος for παυσασμένου: same mistake as above.

l. 6: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

ll. 7-8: τριακοσσιαστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ: duplication of *sigma* and *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 8: τριακασ(τοῦ) for τριακοσ(τοῦ): *alpha* for *omicron*; Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίου: *alpha* for *omicron* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι; horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 10: the abbreviation for Κυρίου consists of the first and last letter with a horizontal bar above; the weekday numeral is denoted by the usual horizontal stroke painted over in red.

l. 11: θάρσει.

ll. 12-13: οὐδεῖς.

l. 13: the vowel *alpha* of the third syllable of the word ἀθάνατος has been omitted either by mistake or due to lack of space.

l. 14: γράψας: this participle is incorrectly used in the place of the aorist indicative forms ἔγραψα or ἔγραψεν.

ll. 14-15: ὁλάγραφος for ὀλόγραφος: *alpha* for *omicron*

l. 15: χιρί for χειρί: phonetic spelling of ει.

#### Commentary

l. 2: On the Semitic name Ζεβίνας and its variants, see above commentary of inscr. no. 93.

Il. 2-3: The rare name *Λάμπων* occurs also in the heteroclitic genitive form *Λαμπώνου* in inscr. no. 41 where the name is discussed.

Il. 14-15: On the verb *γράφω* and its use in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia see above commentary of inscr. no. 20. The word *δλόγραφος* could either be a predicate adjective used here as an adverb or the adverb *δλογράφως* with the *omega* of the ending spelled phonetically as *omicron*. The term, usually appearing in its adjectival form, denotes something written in full or entirely in the same hand (*LSJ*, p. 1217, s.v. *δλόγραφος* II; Lampe, p. 949, s.v.). Thus it seems that the phrase "*γράψας δλόγραφος χιρί*" refers to the professional artist who undertook the elaboration of the tombstone. This man, although retaining his anonymity, wished through this phrase to perpetuate his achievement, which probably included not only the preparation of the stone and the incision of the text but also the painting over of the letters as well as the execution of the painted decoration.

**146.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken diagonally at the lower left part and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-284. Dimensions: 0.60x0.385x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text. Below the inscription at the left edge a simple incised cross similar to that at the end of l. 8 is represented. In the centre below the text two birds are heraldically depicted in red paint, the left of which holds a worm in its beak. The text and the decorative scene are enclosed within a red painted frame. Above this frame there is an incised outlined cross, while below it a similar but bigger cross drawn in red paint. The text is all engraved and Il. 1,4,7 preserve additionally red colour. The script is of the round alphabet, with letters not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXX

Date: 11 Hyperberetaios 330 E.P.A. = 28 September AD 435.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Ζεβινθοῦ Θεμάλλου, ἀποθα- νοῦσα μετὰ κα- 4 λοῦ ὀνόματος ἑ- τῶν ξέ, μη(νός) Ὑπερβε- ρετεύου ια', τοῦ τλ'. Θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀ- 8 θάνατος. +</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>(two heraldic birds)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p>	<p>Monument of Zebinthou, (daughter) of Themallas, who died having a good name (at the age) of 65 years, on (the) 11th (day) of (the) month Hyper- beretaios, in the (year) 330. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

In the upper part of the tombstone above the cross some smaller scale letters are discernible which are probably remains of an earlier inscription incised on the same tombstone but in inverted position.

I. 1: *μνημεῖον*; Ζεβινθοῦ for Ζεβινθοῦς; nominative for genitive.

Il. 2-3: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης; nominative instead of genitive singular.

I. 5: the age numeral is emphasized through a horizontal bar; the abbreviation of *μηνός* is formed by an *eta* above *mu*.

Il. 5-6: Ὑπερβερετεύου for Ὑπερβερεταίου; phonetic spelling of the diphthong *αι*.

I. 6: the month day and the year numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above; the article τοῦ refers to the omitted genitive ἔτους which usually precedes the year numeral.

I. 8: a cross at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

I. 1: The feminine name *Ζεβινθοῦ* is a variant form of *Ζεβίνθα* recorded in inscr. no. 227. It is most likely the feminine form of the Semitic name *Ζεβίνας* discussed above in inscr. no. 93.

I. 2: *Θεμάλλας*, a Semitic theophoric name, is recorded as well in inscr. no. 108, where a full commentary is given.

147. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, narrower at the top, broken at the lower left side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-107. Dimensions: 0.33x0.29x0.13 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the left side with loss of text. Damage to the text and the surface also caused by strokes of the pick. Just above the inscription in the centre a big outlined cross has been incised. The inscription is enclosed within an engraved frame and set between incised guide-lines, half of which also bear red paint. The space formed by the last guide-line and the lower line of the frame has been left uninscribed. Below the lower right edge of the frame faint traces of a red painted motif (painted birds flanking a *cross-rho* monogram?) are discernible. The text is all engraved but ll. 1,3,5,7 are additionally painted red. The script is basically square with some round exceptions (*omicron*, *theta* and *phi*). The letters are rather symmetrical, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.01 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXX

Date: Dios 330 E.P.A. = 18 October - 16 November AD 435.

+

Μνημῖον Φασήλης Σαλ-  
μάλλο<υ>, ἐν Κυρίῳ παυσάμε-  
νη μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  
4 τος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως  
ἐτῶν [..]η', ν ἐν μηνὶ Δίου  
[..], τλ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-  
νατος. + Ἡμέρα Κυρίου δ'.

Monument of Phasele, (daughter)  
of Salmallas, who died in Lord having  
a good name and good faith (at the age)  
of [..]8 years, in (the)  
month of Dios., (in the year) 330. Be of good  
cheer, no one (is) immortal. (She died) on  
(the) 4th day of (the) Lord (Wednesday).

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 1-2: Σαλμάλλο for Σαλμάλλου: the *upsilon* of the ending diphthong ου is omitted.

l. 2: the first letter *kappa* followed by a small sign S at the upper right part comprises the abbreviation of the dative Κυρίῳ.

ll. 2-3: παυσάμενη for παυσάμενης: nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 5: the tens unit of the age numeral is eroded; Δίου for Δίῳ: genitive for dative singular.

l. 6: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

l. 7: the word ἀθάνατος is followed by a cross which would have probably marked the end of the text before the weekday of death was added.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The Hellenized Semitic name *Φασήλη* or *Φασέλη* is discussed above in inscr. no. 92.

ll. 1-2: The patronymic *Σαλμάλλας* is the Greek transcription of a Semitic theophoric name derived from the common root šlm (see above commentary of *Σελαμάνης* in inscr. no. 111) and the divine name 'lh, "Allah". This compound name is not attested elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia although its simple form *Σάλμος* is frequent in Hauran (for *Σάλμος*, its variants and its occurrences in the various Semitic dialects, see Sartre 1985, p. 236; cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 410, no. 146). Another theophoric name, having as first component the word šlm, is that of *Σαλμάλλαθος* (šlm + 'lt, Wuthnow 1930, p. 103, s.v.) encountered at Palmyra (Waddington, no. 2603).

ll. 2-3: A similar expression for the repose of the dead in Christ is found in inscr. no. 121: "ἀνεπάη. .. ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῳ" (see also nos. 223,254,258).

148. Tombstone of yellow and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken at the left and right sides and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-29. Dimensions: 0.50x0.29x0.075 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text, is badly chipped in the upper part. The inscription is enclosed within a cross-shaped incised frame. The upper part of the cross is flanked by two birds. Just below the left and right edges of the horizontal bar stand the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*. Below each of these letters a bird is represented facing to the letters and stepping on the vertical bar of the cross. All this symbolic decoration is drawn in red paint. The text within the cross is all engraved and ll. 1,9,10,11,12 bear also red colour, while ll. 6,7,8 are partially painted red. Below the cross two more lines (16, 17) are partially preserved written only in red paint with big, nice, oval symmetrical letters. At the end of the second line traces of a red painted palm branch in oblique position are discernible. In contrast to the painted lines, the

text inside the cross is written in round script with smaller letters of variable height, rather carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VII

Date: 2nd epagomenal day 330 E.P.A. = 17 March AD 436.

	Μνη-		Monument
	μίον		of Soshanna,
	(bird) Σωσ-	(bird)	(daughter) of
4	άν-		Olefos, who
	να		ceased to
	Ὀλέφου, παυσαμέ-		live having
	νη τοῦ βίου μετὰ κ-		a good name
8	αλοῦ ὀνόματος		(at the age)
A	ἐτῶ- ω		of 45 years,
	ν μέ,		on the 2nd
	ἐπα-		epagomenal (day),
12	γο(μένης) β',		on the 3rd day
(bird)	ἡμ(έρα) γ', ἐτ-	(bird)	(Tuesday), in (the)
	ους τλ'.		year 330.
	Θάρσι.		Be of good cheer.
16	Θάρσι, Σωσάννα, πάν-		Be of good cheer, Soshanna,
	τες θνητοί. (palm branch)		all (are) mortals.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 3-5: Σωσάννα for Σωσάννας: nominative for genitive.

II. 6-7: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης: nominative instead of genitive singular.

I. 10: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

II. 11-12: the first five letters followed by an oblique stroke comprise the abbreviation of the word ἐπαγομένης; the epagomenal day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal stroke above.

I. 13: a *mu* above *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; the horizontal bar denoting the weekday numeral has been placed below it.

I. 15: θάρσει.

I. 16: θάρσει.

I. 17: from the word θνητοί only the first letter is clearly preserved in red paint; a red painted palm branch is depicted at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

II. 3-5: On the feminine Semitic name Σωσάννα and its occurrences, see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.

I. 6: The patronymic Ὀλεφος, a very common name at Ghor es-Safi, is commented on above in inscr. no. 6.

II. 6-7: For the burial phrase "παυσάμενος, -η τοῦ βίου", see above commentary of inscr. no. 98.

II. 11-12: Ἐπαγομέναι (epagomenal days) were the five or six (in the leap years) intercalary days added in the Alexandrine and similar solar calendars (of Gaza, Ascalon etc.) which were based on the Egyptian model and were composed of twelve 30-day months. Such a calendar, was that called "of the Arabs" which was associated with the era of the province of Arabia and is the one employed in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (for information on this calendar, see Grumel 1958, p. 173c; Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 40 and especially p. 148). In this calendar, which started on the spring equinox with the month Xanthikos (1 Xanthikos = 22 March), the epagomenal days were placed at the end of the year between 17 and 21 March. Concerning the present epitaph it should be noted that since the year of death, E.P.A. 330, is a leap year requiring a sixth epagomenal (for the determination of the leap year in the era of provincia Arabia, see Mercier 2001), the second epagomenal day would correspond to March 17 and not 18 as it happened in the common years. Mention of ἐπαγομέναι is also made in a sixth century epitaph from Gaza (τῇ ἐπαγομένη) δ': Glucker 1987, p. 125, no. 10) as well as in seventh century epitaphs from Kerak in Moab (ἐπ[α]γ(ομένης) ἡ(μέρας) ε': Canova 1954, no. 39), and Elusa in the Negev (ἐπαγομένων δ': Alt 1921, no. 60; ἐπαγομένον πρότε: ibid., no. 61).

ll. 16-17: In these lines Soshanna is exhorted to take comfort at the idea that death is common lot for all, expressed here by the phrase "πάντες θνητοί" which seems to substitute for the usual one "οὐδείς ἀθάνατος" (cf. also "ἅπαντ<ε>ς τελ<ε>υ<τ>ᾶμεν" in inscr. no. 106). Parallel expressions, providing consolation by stressing the universality of death, are to be encountered in two pagan epitaphs, one from Golan: "τέθνηκας ὡς καὶ πάντες, οὐδὶς γὰρ ἀθάνατος. Θάρσει..." (Sûrmân: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 179), and a metrical one from Amman: "... θάρσει, πᾶσιν ἶσον τὸ τέλος" (Gatier 1986, no. 33; for similar phrases see commentary of inscr. no. 33).

149. Tombstone of brownish and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-313. Dimensions: 0.49x0.295x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in the lower left corner and on the right side. The text is enclosed within a rectangular incised frame painted over in red. Above the frame a big cross with serifs, filled in with linear decoration and bearing four dots in its corners, is drawn only in red paint. The text is all engraved and preserves red and green paint; more specifically l. 3 is all painted over in red and l. 11 in green; ll. 1,6,9 are partially painted red and ll. 5,7,8 are partially painted red and partially green. The script is basically square including also round characters (all the *omicrons*, two *thetas* and a *sigma*). The letters are elongated (with the exception of some small *omicrons*), carefully cut and rather well aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VIII

Date: 12 Loos 331 E.P.A. = 31 July AD 436.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον +          Παύλου Πέτρου,          ὑποδιακόνου,          4 ἀπαθανόντος          μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-          ματος καὶ καλῆς          πίστεως ἑτῶν με',          8 ἐν ἔτι τλα', ἐν          μηνὶ Λῶου βί',          ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) Κ(υρίο)υ ζ'. ν Θάρσι,          οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.</p>	<p>Monument of          Paulus, (son) of Petros,          the subdeacon,          who died having          a good name and          good faith (at the age)          of 45 years, in the year 331,          on (the) 12th (day) of the          month Loos, on (the) 6th          day of (the) Lord (Friday). Be of good          cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; at the end of the line a simple outlined engraved and red painted cross with the letter *chi* in its centre is depicted.  
 l. 4: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable..  
 ll. 5-6: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 l. 8: ἔτει; the year numeral is flanked by two red painted decorative angular motifs and crowned by a horizontal bar.  
 l. 9: Λῶου for Λῶφ: genitive for dative singular; the inverted month day numeral is flanked by a pair of red painted decorative angular motifs.  
 l. 10: rare abbreviation for ἡμέρᾱ consisting of the second letter *mu* above an elongated *eta* and the consonant *rho* being in ligature with *eta*; in fact *rho* is formed as a projection of the first vertical stroke of *eta* (for a similar abbreviation see inscr. no. 107); KY stands for abbreviation of Κυρίου; θάρσει.  
 l. 11: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: Both the name of the deceased and the patronymic are popular Christian names well attested at Ghor es-Safi. On Παῦλος see commentary of inscr. no. 3 and for discussion on Πέτρος see inscr. no. 40.  
 l. 3: On the clerical office of ὑποδιάκονος (subdeacon) and its epigraphic attestations in Palestine and Arabia, see above commentary of inscr. no. 96.

**150.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, now curved at the top and the bottom and broken in the upper part and on the upper right side. Inv. no.: Z-103. Dimensions: 0.43x0.30x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for a small part in the middle of the right side. This tombstone preserves one of the richest decorations. Above the inscription an outlined cross between two heraldic birds (peacocks) is represented. The left bird and the cross are engraved and filled with green paint, while the right bird is left unpainted. In the left margin of the inscription a fish in vertical position is engraved. Its body is filled with green paint. In the middle of the right margin is engraved a big outlined cross with serifs, the vertical bar of which is painted green, while the horizontal one is unpainted. Just below the cross a bird and above it a big palm branch in upright position are depicted. Both the bird and the branch are engraved, while green paint is visible in the palm branch and only in the head and the tail of the bird. The space below the inscription is occupied by a central outlined cross flanked by two circles, each divided in four hollow quarters by a projecting cross. The central cross is engraved, with its upper vertical bar painted in green. The rest of the cross preserves no further traces of paint. The circles with the crosses are also engraved. The left circle has its upper left quarter painted red, the upper right quarter painted green, the lower right one painted white, while the lower left quarter has been left unpainted. The right circle's quarters are painted as follows: upper left quarter-green, upper right quarter-white, lower left quarter-red and lower right quarter-unpainted. All the symbols have been deeply engraved. The text is all engraved and preserves red and green colour. Ll. 2 and 9 are painted over in red, while ll. 1, 5, 7 (only the age numeral), 8 are painted over in green paint. L. 11 is partially painted in green and partially in red. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are of variable size, some of them elongated, clearly cut and rather carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. VIII*

Date: 5 Gorpaios 331 E.P.A. = 23 August AD 436.

	(bird) + (bird)	
	Εἷς Θεός. Δόξα	One (is) the God. Glory
	τῷ Κυ(ρίῳ). Ἀμήν. Μνημῖον	to the Lord. Amen. Monument
	Γοργονίου Κλαυδίου, ὑποδιακ(όνου),	of Gorgonios, (son) of Claudius,
4	ἀποθανόντος	(the) subdeacon, who died having
	μετὰ καλοῦ +	a good name
(fish)	ὀνόματος	(at the age) of
	ἑτῶν νε', {ἐν ἔτι}	55 years, in the year (twice)
8	τοῦ ἔτους τλά', (palm branch)	331, on (the) 5th (day) of (the)
	μηνός Γαρπιέου ε', (bird)	month Gorpaios, on (the) 2nd day
	ἡμέρᾱ Κυρ<ι>ου β'.	of (the) Lord (Monday).
	Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ, σ(ῶσον).	Jesus Christ, save (him).
	+ + +	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 2: the dative Κυρίῳ is abbreviated by the two first letters; μνημῖον.
- l. 3: ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ is the abbreviation for the genitive ὑποδιακ(όνου).
- l. 7: the age numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar; ἐν ἔτι is iotacism for ἐν ἔτει: this phrase is superfluous since it is repeated in the form "τοῦ ἔτους" in the following line.
- l. 8: the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 9: Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίου: *alpha* for *omicron* and phonetic spelling of αι; a horizontal stroke above indicates the month day numeral.
- l. 10: ἡμέρᾱ for ἡμέρα: *eta* for *epsilon*; Κύρου for Κυρίου: the engraver omitted the *iota*; the weekday numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar (see also l. 7).
- l. 11: *iota* bears a trema at its top.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: For the formula "εἷς Θεός", see discussion of inscr. no. 20.
- ll. 1-2: Doxologies, addressed to one or all of the persons of the Holy Trinity, are a common liturgical formula (see BAG, pp. 203-204, s.v. *δόξα*; Lampe, p. 381, s.v. *δόξα* G). Epigraphically apart from Ghor es-Safi, they are employed in two similar fifth century (AD 492) funerary inscriptions from Bostra in Hauran in the interesting forms "δόξα τῷ αἰωνίῳ Χρι[στῷ]" (Sartre 1982, no. 9417) and "δόξα τῷ αἰωνίῳ Χριστῷ τῷ συγχωροῦν(τι) (τ)ὰς ἁμαρτίας" (ibid., no.

9418). In Hauran is also encountered the phrase "δόξα(α) σοι) ὁ Θεός Ἀβρ(αά)μ (καὶ) Ἰσ(αά)κ (καὶ) Ἰακώβ" (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 252), while two epitaphs from Nessana in the Negev conclude with a doxology to the Holy Trinity "τῷ δὲ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν" (*Nessana* 1, nos. 36, 37 [AD 475]). The need to praise the God is also expressed in inscription no. 246 (see below). Cf. finally the appellation of Christ "Κύριος τῆς δόξης" in an epitaph of AD 630 from Shivta (Negev 1981, no. 60).

l. 3: The Greek name *Γοργόνιος* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 256, s.v.; *LGPV* I, p. 110, s.v.), unparalleled in the epigraphy of Ghor es-Safi, is attested in an honorary inscription of AD 298-305 from Gerasa, borne by a governor of Arabia (Welles 1938, p. 431, no. 161; cf. also *PLRE* I, p. 399, s.v. *Aur. Gorgonius* 6), and in a fifth century AD epitaph from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 103, no. 157 with commentary on the name). This name is also known from 4th-5th century AD papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 81, s.v. *Γοργόνιος*) in which the feminine names *Γοργονία* and *Γοργόνιον* are also attested (*ibid.*, s.vv.).

On the Hellenized Latin name *Κλαύδιος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 54.

On ὑποδιάκονος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 96.

l. 11: The letters ΧΪΥC could possibly stand for abbreviations such as "Χ(ριστὸς) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς" or "Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰ(ησοῦ) σ(ῶσον)" or "Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Σ(ῶτερ)". For the latter two alternatives, cf. Dagron and Feissel 1987, no. 114.

The elaborate Christian symbolic decoration of the tombstone as well as the various Christian formulae appearing in this epitaph may be due to the fact that the deceased was a member of the clergy.

- 151.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top and broken on the left side and in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-85. Dimensions: 0.44x0.31x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped all around and preserves salt crystals and lichens on the left side. Just above the inscription there is a zigzag motif in horizontal position and above it is depicted an outlined cross filled with *chi*-signs and dots and flanked by two naively represented heraldic birds. The whole decoration is incised and painted over in red. The text and the symbols are framed by two vertical lines left and right and a horizontal one above (all engraved and painted red), the projecting edges of which form two small triangles above the left and right corners of the frame. A vertical incised line standing on the middle of the upper line of the frame as well as the hypotenuses of the small triangles would have probably formed a pediment at the top of the tombstone, which is now lost. Below the inscription, but a little higher than the end of the vertical lines a horizontal red painted line closes the frame. The whole text is engraved and ll. 2,4,6 bear an additional red paint. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters, some of which are elongated, vary in size and are poorly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXXI*

Date: 6 Audynaïos 331 E.P.A. = 22 December AD 436.

(bird) + (bird)	
Μνημίαν Σάβας,	Monument of Sabas,
ἀποθονόντος	who died (at the age)
ἔτῶν ιβ', ἐν ἔτ-	of 12 years, in the year
4 ι τλά', μηνὸς	331, on (the) 6th (day)
Ἀὐδονέου ν	of (the) month Audynaïos,
ν ζ', ἡμέρα	on (the) 3rd day of (the)
ν Κυρίου γ'.	Lord (Tuesday).

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημίαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of *ei* and *alpha* for *omicron*; Σάβας for Σάβα: nominative for genitive although the following participle is in genitive.

l. 2: ἀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.

ll. 3-4: ἔτι, phonetic spelling of ἔτει.

l. 5: Ἀὐδονέου for Ἀὐδυναίου: *omicron* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of *ai*.

l. 6: the month day numeral is preceded by one empty space and denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 7: in the beginning of the line an uninscribed space; the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal stroke above and below.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the Hellenized Semitic name *Σάβας* and its occurrences in Palestine and Arabia, see above inscr. no. 134.

152. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on the left and right sides, the lower right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-23. Dimensions: 0.50x0.29x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the text and is flaked off at the edges with accumulations of salt crystals especially on the left side. The text is all engraved and ll. 2,4,6,8,10,12 are painted over in red colour. The letters of l. 2 have been better preserved in their painted form. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are small, mostly symmetrical, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.013 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXI

Date: 11 Audynaïos 331 E.P.A. = 27 December AD 436.

Εὐλογητὸς <ὁ> Κ(ύριος). Ἀμήν.	Blessed (is the) Lord. Amen.
Μνημῖον Ἀλεξάνδρου	Monument of Alexandros,
Ἀβδομάνχου, παυ-	(son) of Abdomanchos,
4 σαμένου τοῦ βίου	who ceased to live
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	having a good name
ματος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	and good faith (at the age)
τεως ἐτῶν τριάκον-	of thirty years, in the
8 τα, τοῦ ἔτους τρια-	three hundred and
κοσσιαστοῦ τρια-	thirty-first year,
κοστοῦ πρώτου,	on the eleventh (day)
μηνὶ Αὐδοναί-	of (the) month
12 ον δεκάτῃ πρώτῃ.	Audynaïos.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the sacred name Κύριος is abbreviated by its first and last letter.  
 l. 2: μνημεῖον; the first two letters of this word, *mu* and *nu*, are in ligature.  
 ll. 8-9: τριακοσσιαστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ: duplication of *sigma* and *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 ll. 11-12: Αὐδοναίῳ for Αὐδυναίῳ: *omicron* for *upsilon* and use of genitive instead of dative singular.  
 l. 12: δεκάτῃ πρώτῃ for ἐνδεκάτῃ.

#### Commentary

ll. 1: The acclamation "Εὐλογητὸς Κ(ύριος)" or "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός" (see below inscr. no. 154) is a biblical formula of praise of the God (predominant in the Old and frequent in the New Testament, see BAG, p. 322, s.v. *εὐλογητός*) employed also in the Early Christian literature (Lampe, p. 569, s.v.1). Its epigraphic attestations in Palestine and Arabia are meagre. "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Κύριος" introduces the epitaph of two presbyters as well as that of a deacon coming from Nimre of Hauran (both examples are cited by Sartre-Fauriat 2001, p. 219 and nn. 81-82), while the same phrase, this time as part of a quotation from *Psalms* 27.6-7 (in the Septuagint) is inscribed on a lintel from Na'rân in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 101\*). "Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός", on the other hand, appears in a Christian funerary inscription from Greece (Attica: Sironen 1997, no. 308, who derives it from *Psalms* 67.36 or 65.20).

l. 2: On the common Greek name Ἀλεξάνδρος, see discussion of inscr. no. 139.

l. 3: The Hellenized Semitic name Ἀβδομάνχος is already attested at 'Avdat in the Negev (Negev 1981, no. 10) and at Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 54). At Ghor es-Safi it occurs also in the form Ἀβδόμαχος (see below inscr. no. 280) which is paralleled by an example from Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9265). In the bilingual, Greek-Nabataean, inscription from Petra (see above) Ἀβδομάνχος corresponds to 'bdmankw, which is the equivalent of 'bdmalkw, Ἀβδομάλιχος, with assimilation of λ to ν (Sartre 1993, pp. 89-90 and n. 21 with bibliography on the Nabataean occurrences of the name; the omission of λ or ν in the form Ἀβδόμαχος is discussed in Sartre 1985, p. 167, s.v.). The compound name Ἀβδομάλιχος, consisting of 'bd, "servant" and mlk, "king, master" is to be translated as "servant of Malikho", the deified Nabataean king, or in South Semitic as "servant of the king" (Sartre 1985, p. 167, s.v. Ἀβδομάλιχος with epigraphical and



papyrological evidence on the Greek and Nabataean spellings of the name; cf. also the name Ἀβδάμυλχος at Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 370, no. 15 and p. 414, s.v.).

ll. 3-4: For the expression "παυσάμενος τοῦ βίου", see above commentary of inscr. no. 114.

**153.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left corner with a small crack in the lower left side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-63. Dimensions: 0.485x0.345x0.075 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is slightly damaged on the right side; a few salt crystals are accumulated in the lower part. The inscription is enclosed within an irregularly incised rectangular frame and set between irregularly engraved guide-lines which are painted over in green colour. A simple cross with serifs is incised on the middle of the upper line of the frame (identical to that at the end of l. 12). The text is all engraved, but ll. 3,9,12 are additionally painted green. The script belongs to the round alphabet with letters clearly but not so carefully cut and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXI

Date: 24 Dystros 331 E.P.A. = 10 March AD 437.

+	
Εἷς Θεός.	One (is) the God.
Μνημῖον Ἰω-	Monument of Ioannes,
άννης Ὀλέ-	(son) of Olefos, who
4 φου, κυμαθ-	slept having
έντος μετὰ	a good name (at the age)
καλοῦ ἀνάμα-	of 25 years, in the year
τος ἐτῶν κέ, ἐν	331, on (the) 24th (day)
8 ἔτους τλά,	of (the) month Dystros,
μηνὸς Δύστρο-	on (the) 5th day
υ δκ', ἡμέρα ε'.	(Thursday).
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
12 νατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: μνημῖον.

ll. 2-3: Ἰωάννης for Ἰωάννου: nominative instead of genitive singular.

ll. 4-5: κυμαθέντος for κοιμηθέντος: *upsilon* for the diphthong *oi* (phonetic spelling) and *alpha* for *eta*.

ll. 6-7: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the first two syllables.

l. 8: ἔτους for ἔτει: genitive in the place of dative singular.

l. 10: the inverted month day numeral is preceded by a curved decorative motif facing left; the word ἡμέρα is flanked by two serpentine decorative motifs.

l. 11: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

l. 12: the text ends with a cross with serifs.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For the common acclamation "εἷς Θεός", see full commentary of inscr. no. 20.

ll. 2-3: On the popular Christian name Ἰωάννης and its variants, see discussion of inscr. no. 57.

ll. 3-4: The common Semitic name Ὀλεφος is commented on in inscr. no. 6.

ll. 4-5: On the metaphorical use of the verb ἐκοιμήθη (in various forms) in epitaphs, see discussion of inscr. no. 84.

**154.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the upper right corner, broken in the lower right corner and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-162. Dimensions: 0.37x0.28x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, has suffered a long vertical scratch in its middle. The inscription is framed left and right by two vertical lines; alongside the inner surface of the right line runs a series of heavily red painted dots. Above the text are depicted: at the left edge a cross surrounded by a frame consisting of small dots; in the middle a *cross-rho* monogram; at the right edge a cross with serifs. Below the inscription a *cross-rho* monogram with

serifs is flanked by two crosses with outlined triangular serifs; in fact the left one has an outlined horizontal bar and only the vertical bar presents outlined triangular serifs. In addition there is a small zigzag pattern below the last two letters of the last line. All the decoration is drawn in red paint. The text is engraved, except for the last line (l. 11) and the last seven letters of l. 1 which are written in red colour. In addition ll. 1,3,5,7,9 are painted over in red (plus the second letter of l. 6). The script is basically round with the exception of a few square *sigmas*. The letters are small, not so carefully executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VIII

Date: 332 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 437 - 21 March AD 438.

	+    ρ    +	
	Εὐλογητὸς ν ὁ Θεός. Ἀμήν.	Blessed (is) the God. Amen.
	Μνημῖον Ἀβάβιος	Monument of Ababios,
	Πέτρου, πανσαμέ-	(son) of Petros, who ceased
4	νου τοῦ βίου μετὰ	to live having a
	καλοῦ ὀνόματος	good name and
	καὶ καλῆς πίστεως.	good faith (at the age)
	ἑτῶν τεσσέρων,	of four years,
8	τοῦ ἑτους τριακασσι-	in the three hundred and
	αστοῦ τριακοστοῦ	thirty-second year.
	δευτ(έρου). <i>vacat</i>	Be of good cheer,
	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	+    ρ    +	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the last seven letters are written in red paint.

l. 2: μνημῖον; Ἀβάβιος for Ἀβαβίου: nominative for genitive in discordance with the genitive of the following participle.

l. 7: τεσσέρων for τεσσάρων: *epsilon* for *alpha* in the second syllable.

ll. 8-9: τριακασσιαστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ: *alpha* for *omicron* in two syllables and duplication of *sigma*.

l. 10: ΔΕΥΤ stands for the ordinal δευτέρου (in genitive).

l. 11: θάρσει; οὐδεὶς; the whole line is written in red paint.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the formula "εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός", see above commentary of inscr. no. 152.

l. 2: Ἀβάβιος may be a variant form of the name Ἀβαβος encountered in Hauran (Sha'ārah: PAES IIIA, no. 803; Rimet el-Luhf: Waddington, no. 2420; Suweida: ibid., no. 2323 [mutilated]). Ἀβαβος, the Arabic Ḥabab (PAES, as above), is derived from the common Semitic root ḥbb, "to love" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 6, s.v.). The feminine form Ἀβάβη is also recorded at Ghor es-Safi (see above commentary of inscr. no. 123).

l. 3: The popular name Πέτρος is commented on above in inscr. no. 40.

ll. 3-4: On the burial expression "πανσάμενος τοῦ βίου", see above commentary of inscr. no. 114.

155. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the corners and badly chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-135. Dimensions: 0.50x0.355x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the upper part and is flaked off in the lower right corner. Above the inscription a small incised cross is barely visible. The text is engraved, while traces of red paint are discernible throughout it. The script is of the round alphabet with more or less symmetrical letters, carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXI

Date: 2 Xanthikos 332 E.P.A. = 23 March AD 437.

	+	
	Μνημῖον ννν	Monument of Ioannes,
	Ἰωάννου, παν-	who died having a

	σομένου μετὰ	good name and
4	καλοῦ ὀνό<μα>τος	good faith
	καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	(at the age) of 29 years,
	τεως ἐτῶν κθ', +	on (the) 2nd (day)
	ἐν μηνί(νι) Ξανθικοῦ β',	of (the) month Xanthikos,
8	τοῦ ἔτους τλβ'. ν	in the year 332.
	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἄ- ν	Be of good cheer,
	ννν θάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 2-3: παυσομένου for παυσαμένου: *omicron* for *alpha*.

I. 4: ONOTOC on the stone for ὀνόματος: the engraver made a haplographic mistake by skipping the third syllable μα.

I. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and followed by a red painted cross.

I. 7: the dative μηνί is as usually abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*; Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ: genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar above.

I. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

I. 10: this line begins after three uninscribed spaces and ends with a cross.

## Commentary

I. 2: On Ἰωάννης, see discussion of inscr. no. 57. Omission of the patronymic is observed in a few inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi; on this issue see above commentary of inscr. no. 4.

**156.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, slightly broken in the upper left corner and chipped on all sides. It is kept in a private collection. Inv. no.: Z-291. Dimensions: 0.58x0.48x0.08 m. The central part of the front surface of the tombstone has been hollowed in the form of a rectangular frame and smoothed in order to receive the inscription. The remaining surface is chipped and flaked off especially in the left side. The inscription, which has the form of a cross, is surrounded by a rich symbolic decoration. Above the text in the centre a double outlined (engraved and red painted) sun-disc is depicted with a dominant cross in heavy red paint inscribed in it; the sun-disc is flanked by two heraldic peacocks which are incised and painted over in red. Below the inscription there is a small cross followed by a horizontal rope-like pattern, consisting of small wavy lines. Underneath it two parallel series of V-shaped motifs are represented of which the upper one faces upwards, while the lower downwards. Just below these series four pairs of big V-shaped motifs, each one facing in opposite direction, form a schematic cross. This peculiar cross is flanked by two outlined crosses with serifs filled with red paint and inscribed in two circles; the left cross is in oblique position. The decoration of the lower zone is all executed in red paint. The corners of the cross-shaped inscription are filled with four double outlined crosses drawn also in red paint. The interior of the two upper crosses as well as of the cross of the lower left corner is decorated with a vertical and a horizontal wavy line, while the cross of the lower right corner preserves a *chi*-letter in its centre. The inscription is all engraved and II. 2,4,6,8,10,12,14 are additionally painted over in red colour. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are small, mostly symmetrical, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. VIII

Date: 3 Dystros 332 E.P.A., 6th indiction = 17 February AD 438.

(peacock) (sun-disc) (peacock)

+

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-  
των Δεσπότης.  
Μνημῖον Σαμι-

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.  
Monument of Samirabbos,

4 + ράββου Σαδάλ- +  
λου, διδασκάλ(ου),  
ἀποθανόντος μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-  
ματος ἐτῶν δεκαεννέα

(son) of Sadallas,  
(the) teacher,  
who died having a good name  
(at the age) of nineteen years

8	καὶ μηνῶν τεσσάρων ἡμίους, ἐν ἔτι τριακοσσειοστοῦ τρια- κοστοῦ δευτέρου, μηνὶ Δύσ- τρου γ', ἡμ(έρῳ) Κυρίου ε',	and four and a half months, in the three hundred and thirty- second year, on (the) 3rd (day) of (the) month Dystros, on (the)
12	+ ζ' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος). Θάρ- + σι, Σαμίραββε διδάσκαλε, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	5th day of (the) Lord (Thursday), in (the) 6th indiction. Be of good cheer, teacher Samirabbos, no one (is) immortal.
	+	
	+ + +	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 3: μνημεῖον.

I. 5: the genitive ending -ου of the word διδασκάλ(ου) is abbreviated by the sign S.

I. 7: this line ends with a serpentine decorative motif.

I. 8: ἡμίους for ἡμίσεος: use of wrong genitive ending of the third declension; between τεσσάρων and ἡμίους is omitted the conjunction καί (*asyndeton*).

I. 9: ἔτει; τριακοσσειοστοῦ for τριακοσιοστῶ: duplication of *sigma*, use of the diphthong ει in the place of *iota*, and genitive instead of dative ending, phenomenon which appears also in the two following ordinal numerals.

II. 10-11: Δύστρου for Δύστρῳ: genitive instead of dative as the word μηνί suggests.

I. 11: the month day as well as the weekday numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above; a *mu* above *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρῳ; the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter and horizontal stroke above them.

I. 12: the indiction numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and precedes the abbreviation of the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος which consists of the first five letters and the sign S.

II. 12-13: θάρσει.

I. 15: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: On the usual Christian acclamation at Ghor es-Safi "εἰς Θεός, ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης", see commentary of inscr. no. 20.

II. 3-4: On the locally used Semitic name Σαμίραββος, see discussion of inscr. no. 15.

II. 4-5: The patronymic Σαδάλλας is commented on in inscr. no. 126.

I. 5: Διδάσκαλος was a general term used already in antiquity for the designation of a teacher or a tutor. In epigraphical and literary sources of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods teachers were more specifically denoted by terms like γραματοδιδάσκαλος, γραμματιστής (primary teacher), γραμματικός (secondary teacher) etc. (on a prosopography of teachers from the third to the sixth century AD, their educational role and their social status, see Kaster 1988; on γραμματικοί see also Augusta-Boularot 1994, pp. 653-746). Διδάσκαλος was also an office granted by the bishop to a cleric responsible for the instruction in the Christian faith (for a detailed description of duties and a prosopographical list of "διδάσκαλοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας", see Leontaritou 1996, pp. 179-182).

The plain mention of διδάσκαλος in this epitaph may imply that Samirabbos offered a general education and not a religious instruction. The same could be said for the διδάσκ(αλος) Ὁγέζων of inscr. no. 196. Outside Ghor es-Safi an Ὁάεδος ὁ διδάσκαλος is mentioned in an inscription found in a church at Buṣr el-Hariri in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2472). In the same area mention of another διδάσκαλος, father and grandfather of a veteran of the third Cyrenaic Legion, is made in an inscription found in Shakka (Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. II, p. 162 and n. 324). Διδάσκαλοι are also recorded in Christian epitaphs from Asia Minor, Thessaly and Macedonia in Greece and from Rome (for the relevant bibliography, see Feissel 1983, p. 120, no. 123 and Sironen 1997, p. 407 and n. 320; for the hagiographical occurrences, see Mentzou 1975, pp. 27-29). The term διδάσκαλος is employed as well by the Jews in Greek inscriptions from Jerusalem (*CIJ* II, nos. 1266, 1268, 1269) and Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 124) as an honorific title bestowed on rabbinical scholars and as an equivalent to רַבִּי (ibid., p. 213).

Finally, noteworthy is the mention of female teachers in the Life of Theodoros the Sykeotes (ἡ διδάσκαλος: Mentzou 1975, p. 28, no. 35; Leontaritou 1996, pp. 181-182 and n. 21) and in a Christian letter of unknown provenance (Κυρίαν τὴν διδάσκαλον: Nagel 1975, pp. 317-323).

A metaphorical use of the word διδάσκαλος is met in an epitaph from Beroia where the deceased abbess Θεοδώρα is called "ἀγνίας διδάσκαλος" (Feissel 1983, no. 60).

II. 7-8: The age of the young Samirabbos is given to a nicety (years and months). On this phenomenon, see above commentary of inscr. no. 41.

I. 12: This is the earliest mention so far of an indiction year in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi and one of the earliest in the dated inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia preceded only by a late fourth century instance from el-Kureye in Hauran (Waddington, no. 1965; for the indiction as a dating element and its attestations in Palestine and Arabia, see Meimarīs in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, pp. 32-34). The latest occurrence of an indiction year in Ghor es-Safi dates in the late sixth century (AD 591, see inscr. no. 264).

157. Tombstone of white and brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the top. Inv. no.: Z-195. Dimensions: 0.415x0.31x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off on the left and lower sides and weathered mostly in the upper part. Above the inscription there are traces of a central *cross-rho* monogram flanked by two crosses, all incised. Below the inscription a horizontal zigzag pattern is engraved. Faint traces of an incised frame are discernible. In the centre of the lower side of the tombstone an unidentified incised symbol appears. The whole text is engraved, but traces of red paint are visible here and there. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXII

Date: 12 Dystros 332 E.P.A. = 26 February AD 438.

<p>+      ϣ      +</p> <p>Μνημῖον [ca.7]          [...] Σαμράβου, παυ-          σαμένη μετὰ καλο-          4 ὕ ἀνόματος καὶ κα-          λῆς πίστεως ἔτι-          ν πενήκοντα, ἐν ἔτι          τριακοσσιοστοῦ τρι-          8 ακοστοῦ δευτέρου, ν          ἐν μηνὶ Δύστρου ννν          δωδεκάτῃ, νν + ννν          ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου νν ζ'.</p>	<p>Monument of .....,          (daughter)          of Samirabbos, who died          having a good name and          good faith (at the age) of          fifty years, in the three          hundred and thirty-second          year, on (the) twelfth (day)          of the month Dystros,          on (the) 7th day of (the)          Lord (Saturday).</p>
--	--

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; after μνημῖον the text is badly eroded.  
 I. 2: the first three letters are effaced; Σαμράβου.  
 II. 2-3: παυσαμένη for παυσαμένης; nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 I. 4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: the initial syllable is *alpha* instead of *omicron*.  
 I. 6: ἔτι, phonetic spelling of ἔτει.  
 I. 7: τριακοσσιοστοῦ τριακοστοῦ δευτέρου for τριακοσιοστῷ τριακοστῷ δευτέρῳ: dittography of *sigma* in the hundreds and use of genitive instead of dative singular for the whole ordinal number of the year.  
 II. 9: Δύστρου for Δύστρῳ: use of genitive in place of dative singular.  
 I. 10: the line ends with a cross.  
 I. 11: the weekday numeral stands at a distance from Κυρίου.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: The area immediately after the word μνημῖον and at the beginning of I. 2 should have originally included the name of the deceased woman which is now illegible due to weathering. On the patronymic Σαμράββος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

158. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left and right and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-94. Dimensions: 0.465x0.32x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the upper part and is chipped all around. Above the inscription in the centre an

outlined cross, engraved and painted over in green, with a *chi*-letter in the middle is depicted, flanked by two heraldic birds drawn in red paint. Below the text there is an incised cross with triangular serifs painted over in red and green. In the upper left and the lower right corners of the cross there are two red dots. The inscription and the symbolic decoration are enclosed within a double outlined frame. The external line of this frame is painted red, while the internal one and the strokes in the interior space between the two lines of the frame are painted green. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,4,7,10 are additionally painted in green colour, while ll. 3,6,9,11 in red colour. The script is of the round alphabet with a few square exceptions (*omicrons* and *sigmas*). The letters are small, fairly well cut with an ascending alignment especially in the last lines. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IX

Date: 14 Apellaios 333 E.P.A. = 30 November AD 438.

(bird) + (bird)	
Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῖον	One (is) the God. Monument
Ἀριάδνης Σαμιράβ-	of Ariadne, (daughter) of
βου, ἀποθανούσης	Samirabbos, who died
4 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-	having a good name
τος ἐτῶν {ἐτῶν}	(at the age) of 39 years,
λθ', ἐν ἑτι τριακοσ-	in the three hundred
σιοστοῦ τριακοσ-	and thirty-third year, on (the)
8 τοῦ τρίτου, μηνὶ	14th (day) of (the) month
Ἀπελλέου ιδ',	Apellaios, on (the) 4th day of
ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου δ'. Θάρ-	(the) Lord (Wednesday). Be of
σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 5: the word ἐτῶν is carved twice by mistake.

l. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; ἔτει.

ll. 6-8: τριακοσιοστῶ τριακοστῶ τρίτῳ: duplication of *sigma* in the hundreds and use of genitive in the place of dative for the ordinal year numeral.

l. 9: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλάϊω: phonetic spelling of αἰ and use of genitive in the place of dative singular; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 10: the word Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter and a horizontal bar above.

ll. 10-11: θάρσει.

l. 11: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the common acclamation "εἷς Θεός", see discussion of inscr. no. 20.

l. 2: Ἀριάδνη is new in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It is attested only as a mythological name in a mosaic pavement of the 5th-6th c. AD discovered at Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 125) which depicts Ariadne, a Bacchante and a Satyr. The identifying inscription and the figure of Ariadne were, however, destroyed before 1902. As a personal name Ἀριάδνη (occasionally spelled Ἀριάγνη) occurs in inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Greece (*LGPN* I, p. 58, s.v.; *ibid.* II, p. 50, s.v.; *SEG* 36 [1986], no. 590) and Asia Minor (*SEG* 33 [1983], no. 1022; *ibid.* 38 [1988], nos. 1237, 1248). A Christian example of Ἀριάδνη is found in an epitaph from Argos (*SEG* 29 [1979], no. 372).

ll. 2-3: On the patronymic Σαμίραββος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

**159.** Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-275. Dimensions: 0.495x0.315x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the inscription. The text is only engraved with no traces of paint. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters are of variable height, not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXII

Date: 23 Artemisios 334 E.P.A. = 13 May AD 439.

Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν. Μνημῖον Ζήνωνος Ἀρρενίου, ἀποθανόν-	One (is) the God who helps. Monument of Zenon, (son) of Arrenius, who died having
4 τος μετὰ καλοῦ ὁ- νόματος ἑτῶν λ', ἐν ἑτ(ει) τλδ', μηνὸς Ἀρτεμεσίου κγ'.	a good name (at the age) of 30 years, in the year 334, on (the) 23rd (day) of (the) month Artemisios.
8 Θάρσει, Ζήνωνε, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, Zenon, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 6: the dative ἑτει is abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign S.

l. 7: Ἀρτεμεσίου for Ἀρτεμυσίου: *epsilon* for *iota*.

l. 8: Θάρσει; Ζήνωνε for Ζήνων: although in l. 2 the genitive Ζήνωνος is of the correct third declension, here the vocative case follows the second declension.

l. 9: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the Christian acclamation "εἷς Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν", see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.

l. 2: This is the first of the two mentions of the Greek theophoric name Ζήνων (derived from Zeus) at Ghor es-Safi, although this name is especially popular in the Roman and Early Byzantine epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. The Roman attestations of Ζήνων are encountered in inscriptions in Hauran (Sartre 1985, pp. 202-203, s.v.; to this list add AAES III, no. 376; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 682, no. 118; Waddington no. 2556; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 149, no. 1), Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 5, 78, 147, 197), Kadesh (SEG 36 [1986], no. 1288), Masada (SEG 40 [1990], no. 1500), Gerasa (Gatier 1985, pp. 308-310, no. 2), Philadelphia (Gatier 1986, no. 27), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 152, no. 42), Hisma (E. of the Red Sea: Sartre 1993, no. 138) and Fenan (Wadi et-Tuwebe: SEG 8 [1937], no. 345). The Christian epigraphical evidence on Ζήνων comes from Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9130: δονικικός) and Amra (Waddington, no. 2092: ἀρχιδιάκ(ονος)) in Hauran, Kh. Ma'on (Meimarīs in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 328, no. 10: πρ(εσβύτερος), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 214-218, nos. 32, 33: πατρίκιος), the Choziba cave cemetery at Deir el-Qilt (Schneider 1931, p. 328, no. 210), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 122, no. 5), Nessana (Nessana 1, no. 30j; Nessana 3, nos. 24.7, 25.8, 31.17), Moab (Ainun: Canova 1954, no. 238, who maintains that Ζήνων and its derivatives, although purely Greek names, when employed in a Semitic context, pagan or even Christian, comprise a Greek rendering of Baal, *ibid.*, p. lxxxvii) and Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 39). Among several Saints under this name there was a military Saint Ζήνων from Philadelphia in Arabia who suffered martyrdom with his servant Ζηνᾶς in AD 304 at Zize, located ca. 40 km S. of Amman. His memory is commemorated on the 22nd or 23rd of June (Delehay 1902, pp. 763, 765; cf. also Sartre 1985, p. 203).

l. 3: On the Hellenized Latin name Ἀρρένιος, see discussion of inscr. no. 107.

**160.** Tombstone of grey sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken mostly on the left side. Inv. no.: Z-58.

Dimensions: 0.57x0.305x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is weathered, flaked off in several places and its lower part is partially furred with salt crystals. Below the inscription red painted traces of a cross flanked by two birds are hardly discernible. An uninscribed line above the text and ll. 1-8 are set between incised and red painted guide-lines and enclosed within an incised and red painted frame, which from l. 9 downwards (the painted decoration included) continues only in red paint. At the right edge of the uninscribed line faint traces of a red painted cross are visible. The whole text is engraved and painted over in red colour. The script belongs to the square alphabet with symmetrical letters, slightly carved and regularly aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXII

Date: 29 Gorpaios 334 E.P.A. = 16 September AD 439.

+

Μνημῖον Θεο- +  
 δούλου Ἀλέσου,  
 ἀποθανόντ-  
 4 ος μετὰ καλο-  
 ὕ ὀνόματος  
 ἐτῶν ξα', τοῦ  
 ἐν ἔτι τλδ', μη-  
 8 νι Γορπιέου θκ',  
 ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου ζ'.  
 (bird) + (bird)

Monument of Theodoulos,  
 (son) of Alesos, who died  
 having a good name  
 (at the age) of 61 years,  
 in the year 334,  
 on (the) 29th (day) of  
 (the) month Gorpaios,  
 on (the) 7th day of  
 (the) Lord (Saturday).

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον; the line ends with an engraved cross.

II. 6-7: τοῦ ἐν for ἐν τῷ.

I. 7: ἔτει.

I. 8: Γορπιέου for Γορπιαίῳ: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αῖ and use of genitive instead of dative singular.

I. 9: the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters and a horizontal bar above.

## Commentary

II. 1-2: *Θεόδουλος* was a particularly frequent Christian theophoric name. Its popularity among the early Christians was due to its etymology, Θεοῦ δοῦλος, which expressed the Christian idea of the human being as a slave of God (Kajanto 1963, p. 103). The Ghor es-Safi attestations of *Θεόδουλος* (see also inscr. no. 201, AD 455) are to be classified among the earliest ones since the first known Christian epigraphical example of this name dates to AD 398 (ibid., p. 117, n. 1). In Palestine the name *Θεόδουλος* is recorded in a few Christian inscriptions originating from 'Ainun in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 249), Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 103, who, on account of the good quality of the graffito, wonders whether this *Θεόδουλος* could be the known son of blessed Nilos who lived in Pharan around AD 400), Kh. Juhzum near Shepherd's Field (Meimaris 1986, no. 6) and the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 91, no. 126 = Meimaris 1986, no. 1268) where the *Θεόδουλος* mentioned had served as "θυρωρὸς τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Ἀναστάσεως", that is door-keeper of the Church of the Resurrection. The paucity of *Θεόδουλος* instances could possibly be ascribed to the frequent use of the local Semitic name Ἀβδάλλας having the same meaning.

I. 2: On the Hellenized Semitic name Ἀλεσος, its variants and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 110.

- 161.** Tombstone of white sandstone with purple stripes, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-191. Dimensions: 0.465x0.30x0.095 m. The incised surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the edges and weathered especially in the centre with accumulations of salt crystals and lichens. The lower part of the left margin, the lower and the right margins of the inscription preserve triangular decorative motifs filled with red paint and facing alternately inwards and outwards. The text is all engraved and only ll. 2,8, are in addition painted red. The script is of the oval-round alphabet with a few square *rhos*. The letters, most of which are elongated, are clearly and nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXII

Date: 30 Gorpaios 334 E.P.A. = 17 September AD 439.

Μνημῖον ν  
 Καρπώνις ν  
 Μορέσου, ν  
 4 ἀποθανόν-  
 τος ἐτῶν μ',  
 ἐν ἔτι τλδ',  
 ἐν μηνι Γορ-  
 8 πιέου τριακοσ(τῇ),

Monument of  
 Karponi(o)s  
 (son) of Moresos, who  
 died (at the age) of  
 40 years, in the year  
 334, on the thirtieth  
 (day) of (the) month  
 Gorpaios, on the



ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου  
πρώτη. *vacat*

first day of (the)  
Lord (Sunday).

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: Καρπώνις for Καρπωνίου: nominative for genitive singular.  
l. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal line above and below.  
l. 6: ἔτει; the year numeral is also denoted by two horizontal bars as in l. 5.  
ll. 7-8: Γορπιέου for Γορπιαίω: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular.  
l. 9: the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letters and a red painted horizontal bar above them.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: *Καρπώνις* is the contracted form of the Greek name *Καρπώνιος* discussed above in inscr. no. 104.  
l. 3: The patronymic *Μόρεσος* is a Hellenized Semitic name so far unparalleled in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. It is most likely the masculine form of *Μορεσάθη* which is attested in an epitaph from Ṣabḥah in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 137). This diminutive feminine name has been considered as Greek transcription of the Arabic Muraisat (Wuthnow, p. 79, s.v. and p. 150).

**162.** Tombstone of red sandstone, rectangular in shape, rounded at the top, broken in two pieces and flaked all around. Inv. no.: Z-362. Dimensions: 0.56x0.32x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The cross-shaped text is enclosed within a double rectangular frame on the three sides except for the bottom. The frame, which is incised and preserves traces of red paint, is filled with different linear pattern on each side. The upper half of the vertical bar of the cross is flanked by two incised almost symmetrical circles with traces of red paint in their interior. The text is engraved and ll. 2,5,8,11,14 are totally painted in red, while ll. 4,10,12,16 are partially painted. The script follows the round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXXIII*

Date: 22 Dios 334 E.P.A., 8th indiction = 8 November AD 439.

	Εἷς Θεός	One (is) the God,
	ὁ πάντων	the Lord
	Δεσπότης.	of all.
4	(circle) Μνημεῖον (circle)	Monument
	Πέτρου ᾧ Αν-	of Petros, (son) of
	τυος, ἀπο-	Antys, who died
	θανόντος μετὰ καλοῦ	having a good name
8	ὀνόματος <καί> καλῆς	and good conscience
	συνειδήσεως ἔτων	(at the age) of 33 years,
	λγ', ἐν ἔτι τλδ', ἐν μη-	in the year 334, on (the) 22nd
	νι Δίου κβ', ἐν χρόνοις	(day) of the month Dios, in the
12	ἡ' ἰνδικ(τιῶνος), ἡ(μέρᾳ)	time of the 8th indiction, on (the)
	Κυρίου δ'. Θάρ-	4th day of (the) Lord (Wednesday).
	σι, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
	ἀθάνατος	no one (is) immortal
16	ἐν <τῷ> κόσμῳ.	in (this) world.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 4: μνημεῖον.  
l. 8: the conjunction καί is omitted between the two phrases (*asyndeton*).  
l. 10: the age and the year numerals are denoted by horizontal bars above them; ἔτι for ἔτει.  
l. 11: Δίου for Δίω: use of genitive in the place of dative; the month day numeral is indicated by the usual horizontal bar.  
l. 12: a horizontal bar is also engraved above the indiction numerical figure; the letters ΙΝΔΙΚ with a diagonal stroke across the lower stroke of *kappa* stand for the abbreviation of the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος; the word ἡμέρᾳ is abbreviated only by its initial letter *eta*.

I. 13: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters with a horizontal bar above them.

II. 13-14: θάρσει.

I. 14: οὐδείς.

I. 16: the dative article τῷ before the word κόσμῳ seems to have been intentionally omitted for reasons of symmetry in the vertical bar of the cross-shaped inscription.

#### Commentary

I. 4: There is a strong possibility that the deceased Petros was father of Antys the *primicerius*, mentioned below in inscr. no. 231 (with the relevant discussion), and brother of Sammaseos appearing in no. 184. For the name Πέτρος, see inscr. no. 40.

II. 5-6: The patronymic in the genitive Ἀντιος appears also in inscr. no. 184 and as the name of a *primicerius* in the epitaph no. 231. The genitive Ἀντιος requires a nominative form Ἀντυς. Such a name is not attested so far elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia, but it appears in the spelling Ἀντυς in Thasos (4th c. BC) and Crete (2nd c. BC; for the respective references, see *LGPV* I, p. 47, s.v. Ἀντυς). Ἀντιος was a mythological person, son of Ulysses and Circe, who founded the city Ἀντιον (Antium) in Latium. The name Ἀντιος (*Antius*) was used as a Roman gentilicium (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 98, s.v. Ἀντιος; *KP* 1 [1964], col. 406, s.v. *Antius*).

II. 8-9: The common phrase "μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως" is replaced in this epitaph by the expression "μετὰ καλῆς συνειδήσεως" which appears for the first time at Ghor es-Safi. This expression probably alludes to the pure conscience as consequence of a moral Christian life. Such a notion is reflected in the Pauline Epistles to Hebrews (13.18): "προσεύχεσθε περὶ ἡμῶν· πεποιθαμεν γὰρ ὅτι καλὴν συνείδησιν ἔχομεν, ἐν πᾶσι καλῶς θέλοντες ἀναστρέφεσθαι" and to Timothy (1 *Tim.* 3.9): "ἔχοντας τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως ἐν καθαρᾷ συνείδησει" (as one of the qualities of the deacons) as well as in one of St. John Chrysostom's homilies: "ἡ δὲ ἀγαθὴ συνείδησις ἀπὸ βίου καὶ πράξεων ἀγαθῶν" (*Homily* 1 in 2 *Cor.* 4.13, see Lampe, p. 1316, s.v. IV. F2; for the term συνείδησις as used by Church Fathers in general, see *ibid.*, pp. 1315-1317, s.v.). The effort for practising a clear conscience in expectation of the Last Judgement is also pointed out by Paul: "ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς (i.e. Paul) ἀσκῶ ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διὰ παντός" (*Acts* 24.16). Epigraphically the term συνείδησις is also encountered in a Christian epitaph found at Saqqara in Egypt (*IGA* V, no. 70) but with the meaning of "conscientiousness". Zenodora, a woman from Antioch to whom the epitaph is addressed, is remembered by her husband for "τ[ὴν] καλ[ὴν] ἡθ[ῶν] | καὶ τῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ ἱστοργῆς (sic) τῆς πρὸς ἐμέ..." (for this interpretation see *NDIEC* 3 [1983], p. 85, no. 69).

II. 13-16: The formula "θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ", known already from pagan epitaphs, survived also in the Christian funerary use acquiring a new meaning (Simon 1936, pp. 193, 194 and n. 1). According to it the phrase "ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ" by confining human mortality in this world, raises hopes for an eternal life in the next world (Sartre-Fauriat 2001, II, p. 221; for the use of κόσμος in the sense of "this life", see Lampe, p. 771, s.v. C6; cf. *ODB*, pp. 537-538, s.v. *cosmos*). This formula, usually in the version "μὴ λυπῆς or λυπηθῆς, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (τούτῳ)", was especially favourite among the Christians of Egypt appearing on a considerable number of epitaphs (*IGA* V, pp. XXX-XXXI). Another variant, "οὐδείς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀθάνατος", is of rare occurrence in the epigraphy of Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9381; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, II, p. 221 and n. 111). Finally, a different meaning of κόσμος, that of "population", is implied in the phrase "ἀπέθανεν τὸ τρίτον τοῦ κόσμου" which occurs in two epitaphs from Feinan (ancient Phaino) located to the south of Ghor es-Safi (Sartre 1993, nos. 107 [with a commentary on this sense of κόσμος], 108).

**163.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and pointed at the top. Inv. no.: Z-344. Dimensions: 0.48x0.335x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the lower right corner. Below the text a red painted horizontal zigzag line and underneath it a painted outlined cross are discernible. The text is all engraved and II. 1,4,7 are painted over in red. There are also traces of green paint. The script is in a mixed square and round alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIII

Date: 15 Daisios 335 E.P.A. = 4 June AD 440.

	ἸΑλφου, ὑποδιακόνου, ἀποθο<νόν>τος ἐτῶν	son of Alf(i)os, the subdeacon, who died (at the age) of
4	λγ', ἐν <ἔ>τους τλέ', ἐ<ν> {ε} <μ>ενὶ Δεσίου	33 years, in the year 335, on the 15th (day) of the month Daisios,
	ιε', ἡ(μέ)<ρ>(α) Κυρίου γ'.	on the 3rd day of (the) Lord.
	Θάρσει, Πέτρε, οὐ-	Be of good cheer, Petros,
8	δὲς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

+

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 3: ΑΠΟΘΟΤΟΣ for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable; the omission of the three letters NON is plausibly due to a haplographic mistake of the letter-cutter.I. 4: the age as well as the era year numerals are marked by a horizontal bar above them; ἐν <ἔ>τους for ἐν ἔτει: the first letter *epsilon* of the word ἔτους is omitted, while a genitive is used after the preposition ἐν instead of a dative; the units figure of the year numeral is most likely an *epsilon* although it looks like a *theta* because of a small natural cavity on the stone which is found in the place of the right stroke of *theta*.I. 5: ἐν μινί for ἐν μηνί: this phrase is written on the stone as EMENENI, showing a confusion especially between the letters *mu* and *nu*; Δεσίου for Δαισίω: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive in the place of dative.I. 6: the month and the week day numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above; the abbreviation of ἡμέρα consists of a long *eta* including in the middle of its upper part a square *omicron* which is probably a *rho* devoid of its vertical stroke.

I. 7: θάρσει.

II. 7-8: οὐδεὶς.

## Commentary

I. 1: The common name Πέτρος is discussed above in inscr. no. 40.

I. 2: The patronymic ἸΑλφος is plausibly a variant or a wrong spelling for ἸΑλφιος which is a name abundantly attested in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (see commentary of inscr. no. 2), Ὑποδιάκονος is a lower ecclesiastical office rather frequently encountered in this corpus (see commentary of inscr. no. 96).

**164.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken at the lower right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-229. Dimensions: 0.56x0.32x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed in the area of the inscription, is damaged in various places and especially in the lower central part of the text. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame drawn in heavy red paint. Above and below the frame in the centre a sun-disc, outlined with similar red paint, is depicted. Below the lower sun-disc to the left a bird facing left is drawn in red paint. Traces of red colour are visible on the lower right side (possibly another bird). The text is all engraved and II. 1,4,7,10 are painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IX

Date: 23 Loos 335 E.P.A. = 11 August AD 440.

	(sun-disc)	
	Εἶς Θεός, ἀμήν.	One (is) the God, amen.
	Μνημεῖον Ἀλο-	Monument of Alolefathe,
	λεφάθης Θεοδο-	(daughter) of Theodosios,
4	σίου, ἀποθανού-	who died having a good
	σης μετὰ καλοῦ ὀ-	name (at the age) of 19 years,
	νόματος ἐτῶν ιθ',	in (the) year 335, on (the) 23rd
	ἔτους τλέ', μηνὸς	(day) of (the) month Loos,
8	Λώου κγ', ἡμέρα	on (the) 1st day of (the)
	Κυρίου{υ} α'. Θάρσει,	Lord (Sunday). Be of good cheer,

οὐδὲις ἄθάνατος.  
(sun-disc)  
(bird) [bird]

no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: μνημεῖον.

l. 7: the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.

l. 8: the month day numeral is also denoted by a horizontal stroke above.

l. 9: there are traces of a superfluous *upsilon* after Κυρίου; a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral; ἥρσει.

l. 10: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The deceased woman's name is a compound one consisting most likely of the Arabic article *al* and the Hellenized Semitic name Ὀλεφάθη. The latter name, occurring also at Ghor es-Safi in the variation Ὀλέφθα (see commentary of inscr. no. 32), is encountered as well in a rock inscription at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 78; cf. *BE* 1977, no. 545) and in a sarcophagus inscription from Dhiban in Jordan (Gatier 1986, no. 183). Ὀλεφάθη is plausibly the hypocoristic or variant form of the name Ἀλεφάθη attested in an epitaph from el-Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 45: doubtful whether a masculine or feminine name).

ll. 3-4: Θεοδόσιος was a Greek pagan theophoric name, attested already from the fifth c. BC (Kajanto 1963, p. 61), which survived in the Christian nomenclature acquiring a new Christian meaning (*ibid.*, p. 103). In the provinces of Palestine and Arabia this name is evidenced in Christian epigraphic material from: Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 213, no. 30: Θεοδώσιος), Mount of Olives in Jerusalem (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 177: διακ(ονος)), Ἀvdat (Negev 1981, no. 46: γέρων) and Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 78.5) in the Negev, Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 74), as well as Yadudeh (Gatier 1986, no. 56: ἐπίσκ(οπος), bishop of Philadelphia), Masuh (*ibid.*, no. 57: ἐπίσκ(οπος), bishop of Esbus), Quweisme (*ibid.*, no. 54a), Madaba (*ibid.*, no. 145 = *SEG* 38 [1988], no. 1657) and Main (Gatier 1986, no. 168) in Transjordan.

In the literary sources two emperors and a number of clergymen bear also the name Θεοδόσιος: among them a bishop of Palestine who participated in the Council of Sardica (AD 343, *RE* V. A2 [1934], col. 1947, s.v. *Theodosios*, no. 37), a bishop of Canatha in Arabia who took part in the Councils of Ephesus (AD 449), Chalcedon (451) and Constantinople (459: *ibid.*, col. 1948, no. 52), and a bishop of Scythopolis who participated in the antimonophysite Councils of Jerusalem (AD 518 and 536: *RE* as above, col. 1950, no. 60; Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 61, p. 162, l. 27; 75, pp. 180-181; cf. also *ind.* II, p. 265, s.v. Θεοδόσιος 3). Theodosios was also the author of the Topography of the Holy Land, *De situ terrae sanctae*, written between the years 520 and 530 (*RE*, as above, col. 1951, no. 70). However, the most distinguished bearer of this name was Saint Theodosios the coenobiarch known as Ἀββᾶς Θεοδόσιος ὁ κοινοβιάρχης (died in AD 529), founder of the homonymous Monastery in the Judaean Desert (on his Life see Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Theod.*, pp. 235-241 and *ind.* II, s.v. Θεοδόσιος 4; for additional bibliography see *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2053). His memory is commemorated on January 11th. His name appears on an eighth c. ceramic plate from Jerusalem (Mount of Olives: Thomsen 1921, pp. 133-134, no. 235).

The feminine Θεοδοσία occurs in three inscriptions from Jerusalem (Musrara: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 196; Mount of Olives: *ibid.*, no. 175: Θεοδοσία κουβικουλαρία; Thomsen 1921, pp. 97-98, no. 139). Two Saints are known by this name: the mother of Saint Procopius who was martyred at Caesarea and is commemorated with her son on the 8th of July (Delehay 1902, col. 805) and a martyr who also suffered martyrdom at Caesarea (*ibid.*, *ind.*, col. 1092).

A Jewish woman from Tyre (Τυρία), buried in the cemetery of Beth She'arim, bore also the name Θεοδοσία followed by the Hebrew surname Σάρα (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 199).

165. Tombstone of red sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-365. Dimensions: 0.43x0.26x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the upper right corner and on the left side. The inscription, which is written in the lower half of the tombstone, is set between guide-lines. Both the text and the guide-lines are engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the square form. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Date: 6 Gorpaios 335 E.P.A. = 24 August AD 440.

Photo Pl. XXXIII

	† Μνημῖον	Monument
	Ἐπιφονία	of Epiphania,
	Εὐσεβίου, ἀπο-	(daughter) of Eusebios,
4	θανοῦσα {ι} με-	who died having
	τὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	a good name
	ματος ἑτῶν	(at the age) of
	ιζ', ἐν μενι	17 years, on the 6th (day)
8	Γαρπ(ιαίω) ς, ἐν	of the month Gorpaios, in (the year)
	[ἔτ](ει) τέ', ἡμ(έρα) ζ'.	335, on the 7th day (Saturday).

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the inscription opens with a cross; μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Ἐπιφονία for Ἐπιφάνιας; *omicron* for *alpha* and use of nominative instead of genitive; as seen on the stone, the letter-cutter first carved the masculine name Ἐπιφονίου (gen.) and then, having realized his mistake, transformed the *omicron* of the diphthong *ou* into *alpha*, changing the name into feminine.

I. 4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης; nominative for genitive; a vertical line after ἀποθανοῦσα could be a superfluous *iota*.

II. 5-6: ὀνόματος for ὀνόματος; *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 7: the units figure of the age numeral is partially preserved; μενι for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 8: Γαρπ(ιαίω) for Γορπ(ιαίω): the month is abbreviated by the four first letters and the sign S; *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 9: the now lost letters ET and the preserved sign S comprise the abbreviation of the dative ἔτει; the letters *eta* and *mu*, forming the abbreviation of ἡμέρα, are in ligature.

#### Commentary

I. 2: Ἐπιφονία is a variant spelling of the feminine Ἐπιφάνια attested for the first time at Ghor es-Safi where the masculine Ἐπιφάνιος occurs also once (see commentary of inscr. no. 251). Ἐπιφάνια is further encountered in two sixth c. inscriptions from Khirbet el-Mekhayyat on Mount Nebo as a donor's name (Gatier 1986, nos. 99, 101 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 443-444, no. 43 and pp. 441-442, no. 40), in a graffito from Wadi Haggag in Sinai as a pilgrim's name (Negev 1977, no. 144) and in a Christian epitaph from el-Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 80).

I. 3: The patronymic Εὐσεβίος, a common Christian name in Palestine and Arabia, is discussed in inscr. no. 253.

**166.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the upper and lower right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-295. Dimensions: 0.55x0.37x0.08 m. The front surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text. Reuse of the tombstone is indicated by traces of erased letters. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame outlined in heavy red paint. The text is all engraved with II. 1,4,6,9,10,11 painted over in red. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters, some of which vary in size, are fairly well cut with a slightly ascending alignment. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIII

Date: 25 Dystros 335 E.P.A. = 11 March AD 441.

	Μνημῖον	†	vvv	Monument of Elpidios,
	Ἐλπιδίου Μάρωνος,			(son) of Maron,
	ἀποθανόντος			who died (at the age)
4	ἑτῶν vv λ', vv			of 30 years, in (the)
	ἔτους vv τέ', vvv			year 335, on (the) 25th
	ἐν μηνι Δύστρου κέ',			(day) of (the) month Dystros,
	ἡμέρα Κυρίου ε'.			on (the) 5th day of (the) Lord
8	Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθά-			(Thursday). Be of good cheer,
	νατος. vacat			no one (is) immortal.
	Δόξα τῷ κτήσοντι			Glory to the Creator
	vvv τὰ πάντα.			of all things.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; next to this word a *cross-rho* monogram with an inverted *rho* is engraved.
- l. 4: the age numeral is emphasized by uninscribed spaces left and right.
- l. 5: the year numeral is also flanked by uninscribed areas.
- l. 6: Δύστρον for Δύστρω: genitive instead of dative singular.
- l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.
- l. 9: the letters NATOC are written at longer intervals than the others and after them the line is left blank.
- l. 10: κτήσονται for κτίσαντι: *eta* for *iota* and *omicron* for *alpha*.
- l. 11: the line begins after three uninscribed spaces.

## Commentary

l. 2: *Ἐλπίδιος*, a common name in Greek and Latin, occurs also in the spelling *Ἐλπίδιος* in inscr. no. 266. One of the earliest examples in Palestine and Arabia appears in the abbreviated form *Ἐλπιδίου* on a column at Gerasa (mid-third c. AD: Welles 1938, pp. 412-413, no. 87). However, the majority of the relevant instances in these provinces is Christian and originates from Hauran (Bostra, Karak, 'Anz, Imtân, Shakka: for the bibliographical references, see Sartre 1985, p. 199, s.v.), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 384, no. 71), the area of Jerusalem (Mount of Olives: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 177: μονάξων), the Judaean Desert (Monastery of Saint Martyrios at Khirbet el-Muraşşas: Di Segni 1990, pp. 157-158, no. 5; p. 159, no. 7: πρεσβ(ύτερος)), Pella (Tabaqat Fahl: *SEG* 32 [1982], no. 1513), Amman (Department of Antiquities: Gatier and Villeneuve 1993, pp. 5-7, no. 2 = *SEG* 43 [1993], no. 1043), Kh. el-Wahadne (N. of Ajlun: Piccirillo 1981, p. 20, no. 8) and Wadi 'Ayun Musa on Mount Nebo (Di Segni 1998, p. 456, no. 69: διάκ(ονος)).

Two distinguished persons with the name *Ἐλπίδιος* were also related to Palestine: a rhetor (AD 357-361) who among others became teacher of rhetoric in Palestine and is mentioned by Libanius (*PLRE* I, p. 414, s.v. *Helpidius*), and a monk, leader of Saint Passarion Monastery in Judaea, referred to by Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Euth.* and *Vita Sabae*, ind. II, p. 262, s.v.). A consular governor of Palestine, recorded in a mid fifth - early sixth century building inscription from Caesarea bore the compound name *Εὐελπίδιος*, a derivative of *Ἐλπίδιος* (*JECM* V, no. 58 with full bibliography; cf. also Di Segni 1995, p. 325).

The feminine *Ἐλπίδια* is attested once in the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, p. 124, no. 135 with parallels on this name).

The patronymic *Μάρων* is a Greek mythological name (*Odyssey* 9. 197) used in antiquity also as a personal name (*LGPN* I, p. 299, s.v.; II, p. 298, s.v.; III, p. 289, s.v.). In Palestine and Arabia it is attested in a number of third c. AD inscriptions from Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 408-409, no. 74; pp. 440-441, no. 188) and Caesarea (*SEG* 26 [1976-1977], no. 1674: ἐπίτροπος τ[ο]ῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) = *procurator Augusti*). In a Christian context, apart from Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. no. 205), *Μάρων* appears at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 245, no. 61). Saint Maron, an anchorite who lived in Syria and died in the early fifth c. (Delehay 1902, col. 465), as well as a monk of the Laura of Saint Euthymios (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 19, p. 30, l. 7; p. 31, l. 20) are also among the Christian bearers of the name *Μάρων*. The form *Μαρίων*, encountered at Bostra, is very frequent in N. Syria and has been considered as a name of Aramaic origin (root mr'), without excluding the possibility of being the Greek name *Μαρίων* (Sartre 1985, p. 215, s.vv.). Wuthnow speaks also in favour of a Semitic origin citing several variants of the name (Wuthnow 1930, p. 73, s.vv. *Μάριον*, *Μαρίου*, *Μαρίωνος*, *Μάρονος*, *Μάρων*, *Μάρωνας*, p. 74, s.vv. *Μαρωνίου*, *Μαρώνις*, *Μάρωνος*, *Μάρως* and p. 149).

ll. 10-11: The praise "δόξα τῷ κτίσαντι τὰ πάντα" is usually addressed to the first two persons of the Holy Trinity as creators of all the universe. Similar quotations are also to be found in the New Testament (e.g. *Eph.* 3.9: ... ἐν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; *Rev.* 4.11: ... ἄξιός εἰ ὁ Κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν... ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα), in the Church Fathers (Lampe, p. 782, s.v. *κτίζω* I B and p. 783, s.v. *κτίστης* B), and elsewhere. Epigraphically a similar expression is encountered in a mosaic inscription found in the Chapel of the Theotokos in the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo in which Christ appears as the creator of all things: ὁ κτίστης κ(αὶ) δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀπάντων Χ(ριστὸς) ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμῶν (Di Segni 1998, pp. 433-434, no. 14 with all the previous bibliography).

167. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken in the lower left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-321. Dimensions: 0.43x0.34x0.10 m. The

inscribed surface has been smoothed; salt crystals have accumulated in the upper left and lower right corners. The inscription is enclosed within an engraved frame the horizontal lines of which are heavily painted over in red, while the vertical ones preserve traces of red paint. In the middle of the upper line of the frame stands a big incised outlined cross; the interior of its horizontal bar is filled with red, while that of its vertical bar in green paint. The whole text is engraved; ll. 3,6,9 are heavily painted over in red and ll. 2,5,8 preserve only traces of red colour; ll. 1,4,7,10 are additionally painted green. The script is of the round form except for a tiny square *omicron* in l. 10. The letters are not so carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIV

Date: 13 Xanthikos 336 E.P.A. = 3 April AD 441.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῖ- ον Εὐδοξίου νν Σελαμάνου, ἀπο- 4 θανόντος με- ν τὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα- τος ἑτῶν μζ', ν ἐν ἔτι τλζ', μην(ὸς) 8 Ξανθ(ικοῦ) ιγ', ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου ε'. Θάρασι, οὐδὶς ἀ- θάνατος. νν</p>	<p>One (is) the God. Monument of Eudoxios, (son) of Selamanos, who died having a good name (at the age) of 46 years, in the year 336, on (the) 13th (day) of (the) month Xanthikos, on the 5th day of (the) Lord (Thursday). Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

l. 6: although the units figure of the age numeral is engraved as *zeta*, it has been painted over as *stigma*; the whole numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 7: ἔτι, phonetic spelling for ἔτει; the year numeral is also denoted by the characteristic horizontal line; a rare abbreviation is used for μηνός with the second letter *eta* above the first one *mu*, the third letter *nu* and the sign S.

l. 8: the month Ξανθικός is abbreviated by the first four letters and the abbreviation mark S; the month day numeral is crowned by the horizontal bar; a faint *mu* above *eta* followed by the sign S forms the abbreviation for ἡμέρα; a horizontal bar above the first and last letter comprises the abbreviation of Κυρίου.

l. 9: θάρασει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the acclamation "εἷς Θεός", see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.

l. 2: *Εὐδόξιος* is a Greek name which became popular in the fourth c. AD (Kajanto 1963, p. 26, n. 1). In Palestine and Arabia it is rare. An *Εὐδόξιος* scholastikos is mentioned in the Life of Saint Euthymios as the name of his mother's brother (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 3, p. 10). On the contrary the feminine *Εὐδοξία* seems to be more frequent (see below commentary of inscr. no. 257).

l. 3: On the Hellenized Semitic name *Σελαμάνης* and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 111.

**168.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken in the lower right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-62. Dimensions: 0.455x0.31x0.085 m. The inscribed surface is badly weathered especially in the lower part. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame and set between irregular guide-lines. Above the frame almost in the middle there is a simple outlined cross. This cross as well as the frame, the guide-lines and the text are only engraved. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIV

Date: 5 Daisios (?) 336 E.P.A. = 25 May AD 441.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον <i>vacat</i> Ἀβαβέα Αὐδοάνου,</p>	<p>Monument of Ababea (?), (daughter) of Audoanes,</p>
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	ἀποθανούσης	who died having
4	μετὰ καλῆς πίσ-	good faith and
	τεως καὶ καλοῦ	a good name
	ὀνόματος ἐ-	(at the age) of
	τῶν εἴκοσι	twenty-five years,
8	πέντε, ἐν ἔτη	in the three hundred
	τριακοσσιος(τοῦ) τρια-	and thirty-sixth year,
	κοστοῦ ἑκτον,	on (the) 5th (day) of
	μηνὶ Δεσίου ἐ,	(the) month Daisios,
12	ἡμ(έρα) Κυριακῇ. Θάρσι,	on (the) Day of the Lord (Sunday).
	οὐδὶς <i>vacat</i>	Be of good cheer,
	ννν ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; after μνημεῖον follows an uninscribed area.  
 l. 2: Ἀβαβέα for Ἀβαβέας: nominative for genitive; the dotted letters are mostly eroded.  
 l. 7: εἴκοσι for εἴκοσι: dittography of *sigma*.  
 l. 8: ἔτη for ἔτει: *eta* for the diphthong *ει*.  
 ll. 9-10: τριακοσσιος(τῷ) τριακοστῷ ἑκτῷ: use of genitive in the place of dative singular.  
 l. 11: the weathering of the stone's surface does not permit a secure reading of the month's name and of the month day numeral.  
 l. 12: a small *mu* above an elongated *eta* is the abbreviation for ἡμέρα; the weekday's name is also dubious due to the weathering; θάρσει.  
 l. 13: οὐδεὶς; the line is left blank after this word.  
 l. 14: this line begins after three uninscribed spaces.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: The Hellenized Semitic name Ἀβαβέα may be related to the feminine Ἀβαβαίη which is encountered at Ghor es-Safi as Ἀβάβη (see above commentary of inscr. no. 123).

The patronymic *Αὐδωάνης* could have been the lengthened form of the Hellenized Semitic name *Αὔδος* which is derived from the root 'wd, "to take refuge in, to ask for protection" (Negev 1991, p. 49, no. 851) and attested in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 445, 709; Dunand 1932, pp. 576-577, no. 125; Dunand 1939, p. 563, no. 262) and Moab ('Ainun: Canova 1954, no. 260). The name Ἀουδάνης, encountered at en-Namara in Hauran (Dunand 1932, p. 568, no. 90), is probably a variant of *Αὐδωάνης*, while names such as Ἀουειδάνου (gen., *PAES* IIIA, no. 238), Ἀουιδάνου (ibid., no. 719), Ἀουεδάνου (*PA* II, p. 247) are lengthened forms of Ἀουεῖδος, Ἀουεῖδιος, Ἀουίδιος (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 24, 155) derived from the same root as *Αὔδος*.

**169.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the top, of which the lower left part is missing, and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-273. Dimensions: 0.45x0.32x0.08 m. The front surface has been carefully smoothed only in the area occupied by the epitaph and its decoration. The latter consists in the upper part (above the inscription) of a central incised outlined cross filled with *chi*-pattern and preserving four red painted dots in its corners. The cross is flanked by two schematically engraved heraldic birds, the heads and legs of which are painted over in red colour. This common symbolic scene is enriched left and right by two outlined crosses similar to the central one, filled with *chi*-pattern and dots, but drawn completely in red paint. A similar, but further enriched, symbolic scene may have been repeated below the inscription (i.e. a cross flanked by two birds and crosses). From this scene only a small part is preserved at the right edge. This includes the tail and one leg of the right bird and next to it in the place of the cross a motif, three crosses one on top of the other, of which the central is inscribed in a circle. The whole motif is engraved and only the central cross is painted over in red and has four red coloured dots in its corners. In the space between and above the bird and the cross-motif an outlined radiant sun-disc, with a cross in its centre surrounded by dots, is depicted only in red paint. Traces of guide-lines drawn in black colour are visible under ll. 2,3,4,5,9,10. The text is all engraved; ll. 2,5,8,11 are totally painted over in red, while in ll. 6,9,10 only the numerals have been emphasized with red paint. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters are small, symmetrical, nicely cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IX



Date: 8 Peritios 336 E.P.A. = 23 January AD 442.

+	(bird)	+	(bird)	+	
	Μνημῖον	Κύρα	+		Monument of Kyra,
	Ραβιβήλου,	ἀπο-	+		(daughter) of Rabibelos,
	θανοῦσα	μετὰ	κα-		who died having a good
4	λοῦ	ὀνόματος	καὶ		name and good faith
	καλῆς	πίστεως	ἔ-	+	(at the age) of 15 years,
	τῶν	ιε',	ἐν	ἑπ	in the three hundred and
	κοσσιοστοῦ	τρια-			thirty-sixth year, on (the)
8	κοστοῦ	ἕκτου,	μη-		8th (day) of (the) month
	[ν]ός.	Περιτίου	η',	+	Peritios, on (the) 6th [day]
	[ἡμέρα]	Κυρίου	ζ.	+	of (the) Lord (Friday).
	[Θάρσει,	ο]ὕδεις	ἀθά-		[Be of good cheer],
12	[νατος].				no one (is) immortal.
	(sun-disc)				
	(bird)	(cross motif)			

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; Κύρα for Κύρας: nominative for genitive; the line ends with a cross and two angular motifs facing right.  
 I. 2: at the end of the line there is a small red painted cross decorated with a dot in each one of its corners.  
 II. 2-3: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 I. 5: the line ends with a small cross.  
 I. 6: the tens unit *iota* of the age numeral bears a red painted trema at its top, while the whole numeral is crowned by a horizontal bar; ἔτει.  
 II. 6-8: τριακοσιοστῷ τριακοστῷ ἕκτω: use of genitive in the place of dative singular; the line 7 ends with a cross, while line 8 with two angular motifs facing right.  
 I. 9: the first letter is obliterated; at the end of the line a cross and two angular motifs facing right.  
 I. 10: the whole word ἡμέρα is missing; the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar; the line ends with a cross.  
 I. 11: the imperative θάρσει is lost (the iotacised form θάρσι could be equally restored judging from the spelling of the following word οὕδεις; [ο]ὕδεις.  
 I. 12: the last two syllables of the word ἀθάνατος are missing; the line ends with a cross flanked by a series of three decorative angular motifs facing right.

#### Commentary

- I. 1: On the feminine name *Κύρα* and its parallels, see discussion in inscr. no. 22.  
 I. 2: The name *Ραβιβήλος* is known so far almost exclusively from Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9404, 9406; Umm el-Jimâl: PAES IIIA, no. 240; al-Adjelat: Waddington, no. 2210; Suweida: Dunand 1934, p. 17, no. 7). The only non-Hauranian examples are the Ghor es-Safi ones and another from Rome which is spelled *Ραβείβηλος* (Sartre 1985, p. 231, s.v.). A similar name is that of *Ράββηλος* borne by two Nabataean kings (on the occurrences of *Ράββηλος* in Hauran and elsewhere, see Sartre, *ibid.*).  
*Ραβιβήλος* is the Greek transcription of the Nabataean theophoric name Rbyb'l, compound of the element rbb, "great, lord" and the divine name 'El (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 96, 166; Negev 1991, p. 59, no. 1052; Sartre 1985, p. 231, s.v.). For the single name *Ράββος*, see Sartre 1985, p. 230, s.v.; cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 392, no. 82.

170. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone with purple stripes, originally rectangular in shape, broken at the corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-125. Dimensions: 0.58x0.35x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed in the middle and is unwrought at the edges. Above the inscription an engraved cross with simple serifs is flanked by two naively incised birds. The whole scene is painted over in red colour. Both the inscription and the symbols are enclosed within an irregularly and

deeply incised rectangular frame. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,4,7 bear additional red paint. The script belongs to the round alphabet. The letters, which vary in size and form, are deeply cut and not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIV

Date: 26 Audynaïos 337 E.P.A. = 11 January AD 443.

	(bird) + (bird)	
	Μν{ι}ημῖον Μάγ-	Monument of Magnus,
	νου Ἀλφίου, ἀνα-	(son) of Alphios, who
	παυσσάμενον	(came to rest) having a
4	μετὰ καλοῦ	good name (at the age)
	ὀνόματος ἐτ(ῶν)	of 36 years, in (the) year
	λς, ἔτους τλξ',	337, on (the) 26th (day)
	ἐν μηνί(νι) Αὐδανέ(ω)	of the month Audynaïos,
8	κς, ἡμ(έρα) β'. <Θ>άρσαι, οὐδὶς	on (the) 2nd day (Monday). Be of
	ἀθάνατος. +	good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον: a superfluous *iota* appears before *eta*; at the end of the line a superfluous abbreviation sign S.
- l. 5: the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first two letters and the usual sign S.
- l. 6: the age as well as the year numerals are both denoted by the common bar above.
- l. 7: a small *eta* above *mu* and over them a horizontal bar forms the abbreviation of the dative μηνί; Αὐδανέ(ω) for Αὐδυναί(ω): the month is abbreviated by its first six letters; *alpha* stands in the place of *upsilon* in the second syllable; phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.
- l. 8: the units figure of the month day numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by *eta* and *mu* in ligature and the sign S; a horizontal bar denotes also the weekday numeral; <Θ>άρσαι: from the first letter *theta* is missing the middle horizontal stroke; οὐδεὶς.
- l. 9: the line ends with a cross.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: *Μάγνος*, the Latin cognomen *Magnus*, has no parallels at Ghor es-Safi, but is frequently attested in inscriptions of the Late Roman period from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2041, 2247, 2277, 2355, 2438, 2449; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 693, 695, 732, 733, 785<sup>1</sup>, 797<sup>2</sup>; Sartre 1982, nos. 9231, 9340 and p. 362 [unpublished inscription]) where the feminine *Μάγνα* is also mentioned (Sartre 1982, nos. 9230, 9310). Christian examples of *Μάγνος* have been recorded in Hauran (Mdjemir: Waddington, no. 2299), Golan (Fîq: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 29), Khirbet el-Maqatî' (N. of Gerasa: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 23-25: διάκ(ονος)), Quweisme (S. of Amman: Gatier 1986, no. 54b) and Kfeir Abu Sarbut (area of Madaba: *ibid.*, no. 116). It has been suggested that *Μάγνος* is the Latin translation of the Semitic name *Πάββος* (Sartre 1985, p. 213, s.vv. *Μάγνα*, *Μάγνος*; Gatier 1986, p. 116, no. 116). The masculine *Μάγνος* and the feminine *Μάγνα* are encountered once each in the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 145 and 78 respectively). A Christian graffito from Wadi Haggag in Sinai has preserved the spelling *Μάγνιος* (Negev 1977, no. 173), while the lengthened form *Μαγνιανός* appears in a church mosaic inscription at Jericho (Augustinovich 1951, p. 80 = Meimaris 1986, no. 625: στρατιώτης).

The name *Μέγας*, Greek equivalent of the Hellenized Latin *Μάγνος*, occurs as well in Hauran (Sameh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 24; Shakka: Waddington, no. 2158) and in a Jewish inscription from Caesarea (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, p. 50 and p. 55, no. 153 = *JECM* V, no. 184). The feminine *Μεγάλη* is attested in Hauran (Ghaşm: *PAES* IIIA, no. 618), Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 15), Negev (Alt 1923, p. 61 = Figueras 1985, no. 21) and at Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 67 with more examples on *Μέγας* and *Μεγάλη*).

- l. 2: On the common name *Ἀλφιος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.




171. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the lower left and right sides and chipped all around. Present location unknown. Inv. no.: Z-72. Dimensions: 0.50x0.32x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and preserves green colour in its greatest part. The inscription

is enclosed within a square frame and set between guide-lines, both drawn in red paint. Above the frame in the centre a big incised outlined cross with serifs is depicted, flanked by two *cross-rho* monograms drawn in heavy red paint. Below the frame a similar cross is incised and painted over in red. The cross is flanked to the left by a schematic bird and to the right by a seated animal which looks like a camel or an ox; both are outlined in red colour. The script is of the round form and the letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIV

Date: 4 Dystros 337 E.P.A. = 18 February AD 443.



  
 Μνημῖον ᾠλφῖος  
 Καῖάμου, ἀποθαν-  
 οὔτας μῆτὰ καλοῦ  
 4 ἀνόματος ἐτῶν  
 ιη', ἐν ἡτοῦς τλζ',  
 ἐν μῆ(νι) Δύστρου δ',  
 ἡμ(έρα) ε'. Θάρα, οὐδῖς  
 8 ἀθάνατος. Εἷς  
 Θεὸς μάνος.  
 (bird) + (animal)

Monument of Alphios,  
 (son) of Kaiamos, who died  
 having a good name (at the age)  
 of 18 years, in the year 337,  
 on (the) 4th (day) of the month  
 Dystros, on (the) 5th day  
 (Thursday). Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal. (There is)  
 only One God.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημῖον; ᾠλφῖος for ᾠλφίου: nominative for genitive.

II. 2-3: ἀποθανούτας for ἀποθανόντος; the diphthong ou in the place of *omicron*, *mu* before *tau* is omitted, while the last vowel is written as *alpha* instead of *omicron*.

I. 3: μῆτὰ for μετά: *eta* for *epsilon*.

I. 4: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.

I. 5: ἐν ἡτοῦς for ἐν ἔτει: *eta* for *epsilon* and use of genitive in the place of dative singular which is required after the preposition ἐν; after the year numeral there is a decorative serpentine motif.

I. 6: an *eta* above *mu* forms the usual abbreviation of μηνί; Δύστρου for Δύστρω: genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is followed by the same serpentine motif as in I. 5.

I. 7: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated as usual by a *mu* above *eta*; after the weekday numeral the same decorative motif as in II. 5 and 6; θάρα; οὐδεῖς.

I. 9: μάνος for μόνος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the first syllable.

#### Commentary

I. 1: For ᾠλφῖος see discussion in inscr. no. 2.

I. 2: On the Hellenized Semitic name Καῖάμος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 69.

II. 8-9: "Εἷς Θεὸς μάνος" is a vulgar spelling for the expression "εἷς Θεὸς ὁ μόνος" discussed above in inscr. no. 20.

172. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone with purple stripes and two green diagonal veins, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken at the lower left side and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-242. Dimensions: 0.43x0.305x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, presents a few recent damages by pick. The inscription is enclosed within a carelessly incised frame and set between similarly engraved guide-lines, two of which (under II. 2,5) are painted over in red. Above the upper line of the frame a central outlined incised cross with a *chi*-motif in the middle is flanked by two schematically incised and red painted heraldic birds having a crest and bearing a schematic palm branch. The whole text is engraved and II. 1,4,7 are additionally painted in red colour. The first half of the text is written in round script, while the second half in square script except *omicrons* and *thetas*. The letters, some of which vary in size, are clearly but carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. IX

Date: 28 Panemos 338 E.P.A. = 17 July AD 443.

(bird) + (bird)  
 Μνημῖον Κύρας

Monument of Kyra, (daughter)

	Ἄλφίου, ἀπαθα- νόντος μετὰ κ-	of Alphios, who died having a good name (at the age)
4	ολοῦ ἀνάματος ἐτῶν ιζ', ἐν τλη', ἐν μηνί Πανέμου ηκ'.	of 17 years, in (the year) 338, on (the) 28th (day) of the month Panemos. Be of good cheer,
8	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάν<α>- τος.	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 2-3: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης: *alpha* for *omicron* and use of the masculine aorist participle instead of the feminine one.II. 3-4: κολοῦ for καλοῦ: the first syllable has an *omicron* instead of *alpha*.I. 4: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: there is a replacement of *omicron* with *alpha* in the first two syllables.

I. 5: the age numeral and the preposition ἐν are followed by a decorative serpentine motif.

I. 6: the year numeral is followed by the same decorative motif as above; μηνί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.I. 7: Πανέμου for Πανήμω: *epsilon* for *eta* and genitive for dative singular; the inverted month day numeral is followed by the same motif as above (II. 5,6).

I. 8: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

II. 8-9: the engraver inadvertently omitted the *alpha* of the third syllable of the word ἀθάνατος.

## Commentary

I. 1: The feminine *Κύρα* is discussed above in inscr. no. 22.

I. 2: On the name Ἄλφιος, attested also in the two previous epitaphs, see above commentary of inscr. no. 2.

173. Tombstone of greenish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right and in the lower left and right corners, chipped all around and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-147. Dimensions: 0.42x0.28x0.03 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly damaged and preserves salt crystals mainly in the upper part. The inscription is enclosed within an engraved and red painted rectangular frame and set between incised guide-lines, half of which are painted over in red colour. Below the frame between two outlined crosses with serifs a vase with handles is schematically depicted, which, if turned upside down, looks like a censer (incense pot). All the symbols are incised and bear red paint. The text is all engraved and II. 1,3,5,7,9 are in addition painted in red colour. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters, which become bigger in the last lines, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXV

Date: 24 Loos 338 E.P.A. = 12 August AD 443.

	Μνημῖον Κύρα Θεοδώρου, ἀπο- [θανο]ῦ[σα] μετὰ	Monument of Kyrá, (daughter) of Theodoros, who died having [a good name]
4	[καλοῦ ὀνόματος] ἐτῶν η', ἔτους τλη', μηνὸς Λαφου δκ',	(at the age) of 8 years in (the) year 338, on (the) 24th (day) of (the) month Loos, on (the) 5th day of
8	ἡμέρα Κυρίου ε'. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάν- ων {αν}ατος.	(the) Lord (Thursday). Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
	+ (vase) +	

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον; Κύρα for Κύρας: nominative for genitive singular.

I. 3: this line is for the most part weathered.

I. 4: this line is completely eroded.

- l. 5: the age numeral is flanked by a series of two decorative serpentine lines.  
 l. 6: the year numeral is also flanked by the same series of motifs as in l. 5.  
 l. 7: the month day numeral is inverted.  
 l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδείς.  
 ll. 9-10: the letters *alpha* and *nu* at the end of line 9 are repeated in l. 10; the text of l. 10 is flanked by a series of three same motifs as in ll. 5,6.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: On the name *Κύρα*, appearing also in the preceding inscription, see above commentary of inscr. no. 22.  
 l. 2: The patronymic is a popular Greek theophoric name discussed above in inscr. no. 112.

**174.** Tombstone of yellowish limestone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left side and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-235. Dimensions: 0.315x0.23x0.055 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly chipped on the lower left side and damaged in various places. The inscription is enclosed within a double outlined rectangular frame, the horizontal lines of which are projecting left and right, while the vertical ones upwards and downwards. The text is also set between guide-lines which continue even below the text. The frame and the guide-lines are incised and preserve traces of red paint. Red colour is also visible in the upper left corner of the tombstone. The text is engraved and painted over in red colour. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, although of varying size in some lines, are nice, clearly cut (especially in the first 6 lines) but not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXXV*

Date: 14 Dios 338 E.P.A. = 31 October AD 443.

Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῆ-	One (is) the God. Monument
ον Ἀθίλης Ἀλεξ-	of Athile, (daughter) of
άνδρου, πανσαμέ-	Alexandros, who came to rest
4 νη μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	having a good name and
ματος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	good faith (at the age) of
τεως ἑτῶν με',	45 years, in the year
ἐν ἔτι τλη', νν	338, on (the) 14th (day)
8 μηνὸς Δίου ἰδ',	of (the) month Dios,
ἡμέρα Κυριακ-	on (the) day of the Lord (Sunday).
ῆς. Θάρσει, Ἀθί-	Be of good cheer,
λης, οὐδὶς ἀθά-	Athile, no one (is)
12 νατος.	immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 3-4: πανσαμένη for πανσαμένης: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 l. 6: before the age numeral stands a decorative serpentine motif.  
 l. 7: ἔτει; the year numeral is preceded by the same decorative motif as above (l. 6).  
 ll. 9-10: Κυριακῆς for Κυριακῇ: genitive instead of dative singular.  
 l. 10: θάρσει.  
 ll. 10-11: Ἀθίλης for Ἀθίλη: use of genitive in the place of vocative singular.  
 l. 11: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: On the common acclamation "εἷς Θεός", see discussion in inscr. no. 20.  
 l. 2: Ἀθίλης is the genitive form of a feminine name as indicated by the participle πανσαμένη. The incorrect vocative Ἀθίλης instead of Ἀθίλη may be a precipitate copy of the genitive Ἀθίλης in line 2 or could be attributed to the frequent confusion of cases in the epitaph (cf. just above Κυριακῆς for Κυριακῇ). Ἀθίλη is new in the nomenclature of this area and a rare name in Palestine and Arabia. It is paralleled only by the variant name Ἀθέλε recorded by Wuthnow (1930, p. 14, s.v. = PAES IV, no. 35). Ἀθίλη could possibly be the Greek transliteration of the Arabic theophoric name Hat'el, "El has helped". The name Ἀθος, which occurs in an epitaph from

Šammet el-Burdân (PAES IIIA, no. 181), is plausibly its simple masculine form without the theophoric compound 'El.

On the popular Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 139.

175. Tombstone of purple sandstone with tiny blue grains, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower right and in the upper left corners. Inv. no.: Z-330. Dimensions: 0.45x0.27x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in the upper right part with loss of incised text and flaked off in the lower left side. Above the inscription an outlined cross with a *chi*-sign (painted over in red) in its centre is depicted; in the lower corners of the cross the symbolic letters *alpha-omega* have been engraved. The cross is flanked by two schematically incised heraldic birds (peacocks?); from the right bird only the beak is preserved, while the left one is intact and painted over in its greater part red. The inscription and the symbolic scene are enclosed within an engraved and red painted rectangular frame; the upper part of the scene is projecting out of the frame. The text is set between incised guide-lines, of which ll. 1,3,6,9,11 bear in addition red paint, while the remaining lines preserve only traces of it. The whole text is engraved and ll. 2,5,8,10 are painted over in red. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters, which vary in size, are carefully executed and fairly well aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXV

Date: 18 Loos 339 E.P.A. = 6 August AD 444.

	(bird) $\overline{\omega}$ (bird)	
	Μνημίον Κ[ύρας]	Monument of K[yra],
	Πέτρου διακ[όνου],	(daughter) of Petros,
	ἀποθανού[σης]	(the) deaconess, who died
4	μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό- ν	having a good name
	ματος καὶ καλῆς	and good faith at the age
	πίστεως ἑτῶν	of 60 years, on (the)
	ξ', ἐν μηνί Λώου η', ν	18th (day) of the month Loos,
8	τοῦ ἔτους τλθ', ν	in the year 339, on the
	ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου α'. ν	1st day of the Lord (Sunday).
	Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημίον for μνημεῖον; the last four letters are gone.
- l. 2: the last four letters of the genitive διακόνου are lost.
- l. 3: the three last letters of the genitive ἀποθανούσης are missing.
- l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the dative μηνί is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*; Λώου for Λώφ: genitive instead of dative singular.
- l. 9: the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 10: θάρσι for θάρσει; οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς; the upper part of the final *sigma* of the word ἀθάνατος projects out of the text's frame.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: The tentative restoration *Κύρας* (gen.) as the name of the deceased is based on the preserved initial letter *kappa* and the calculation of the missing letters at the end of this line. That the deceased was a woman is confirmed by the mutilated participle ἀποθανούσης in l. 3, the preserved part of which shows that it is feminine.

- l. 2: For the common Christian name *Πέτρος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.

Assuming that the name and the office of the deceased woman are properly restored, *Κύρα* would be chronologically the first of the four deaconesses who were buried in the cemetery of Ghor es-Safi within a decade in the mid-fifth c. (AD 444-454). Their number is significant for the Christian community of Zoora of this period, since the four deaconesses should have been active at approximately the same time. Διάκονος or διακόνισσα was a title bestowed by the bishop on a woman chosen from among the elderly women of a Christian community. The duties performed by the deaconess were auxiliary and were related to the care of women inside the church (keeping order during the service, offering help during the baptismal ceremony) and outside it (serving the community as a social worker) [for more information on this minor office, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 175-177; cf. Hanton 1927-1928, p. 74, n. 4; Lampe, p. 352, s.v. *διακόνισσα* and p. 353, s.v.

*διάκονος* 2C]. The title in both forms *διάκονος* and *διακόνισσα* is rather frequently attested in Palestine and Arabia in Early Byzantine inscriptions from the area of Jerusalem (Mount of Olives, Silwan), the Choziba cemetery at Deir el-Qilt, Umm Qeis (Gadara), Rihab, and Moab (for these examples and their bibliography, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 177-178, nos. 885-891; for two recent examples of deaconesses from Golan, see Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 30, 235). The most prominent among the deaconesses was Sophia, mentioned in an epitaph from the Mount of Olives (Meimaris 1986, no. 885), where she is described as "δευτέρα Φοίβη" (second Phoebe). This is probably an allusion to Phoebe, a deaconess at Kenchreai (port of Corinth), who is praised by the Apostle Paul for her benefactions (*Rom.* 16.1-2) [for Sophia and other deaconesses outside Palestine and Arabia, see *NDIEC* 4, pp. 239-242, no. 122; cf. also *NDIEC* 1, p. 121, no. 79; *NDIEC* 2, pp. 193-195, no. 109]. A deaconess *Μαναρίς* (= Φωτεινή) is also encountered in the Life of Porphyrios, bishop of Gaza (Marc. Diac., *Vita Porph.* 102, ll. 3-5, p. 78). On the office of the deacon, see above commentary of inscr. no. 86.

**176.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, originally almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners, chipped in the upper right and broken in the lower right side. Inv. no.: Z-126. Dimensions: 0.39x0.29x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered mainly in the lower part with accumulations of salt crystals in this area. The inscription is framed left and right by two vertically incised zigzag lines; the corners, formed by these lines, are decorated on either side by dots filled with red paint. Above the inscription in the centre there is an engraved and red painted *cross-rho* monogram, while below it a simple outlined incised cross, decorated in the middle with an incised and red painted *chi*-sign. The text is all engraved and ll. 2,5,8,11 are painted over in red colour. The script is of the round form with a few square exceptions. The letters, which are bigger in ll. 1-3, are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. X*

Date: 13 Hyperberetaios 339 E.P.A. = 30 September AD 444.

Ⲡ

Εἷς Θεός, ἀμήν.  
Μνημῖον Θεοφί-  
λου Σιλανού, ἀπο-  
4 θανόντος μετὰ  
καλοῦ ὀνόματος  
ἑτῶν με', ἐν μηνί  
'Υπερβερετέου ιγ',  
8 ἔτους. τλθ', ἡμέρᾱ  
<Σ>αμβάτω. Θάρσι,  
Θεόφιλε, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος.

One (is) the God, amen.  
Monument of Theophilos,  
(son) of Silanus, who died  
having a good name (at the age)  
of 45 years, on (the) 13th  
(day) of the month  
Hyperberetaios, in (the)  
year 339, on  
Saturday. Be of  
good cheer, Theophilos,  
no one (is) immortal.

+

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: μνημεῖον.

l. 6: the age numeral is preceded by three decorative serpentine motifs; the dative μηνί is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.

l. 7: 'Υπερβερετέου for 'Υπερβερεταίω: phonetic spelling of αἰ and genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar.

l. 9: <Σ>αμβάτω for <Σ>αββάτω: the first letter is written *epsilon* instead of *sigma* while the second and third letters are not clearly visible; θάρσει.

l. 10: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For "εἷς Θεός", see above commentary of inscr. no. 20.

ll. 2-3: *Θεόφιλος* is one of the Christian theophoric names of pagan origin like *Θεόδωρος*, *Θεοδόσιος* etc. Apart from this epitaph, several inscriptions of the Early Byzantine period in Palestine and Arabia record this name, which appears either alone or accompanied mainly by Greek names. It is attested in two epitaphs from the neighbouring Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 15 [el-Kerak],

210 [Ader]), as pilgrims' name in Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, nos. 76, 84, 100, 149), and in funerary inscriptions from the Choziba cemetery at Deir el-Qilt (Schneider 1931, p. 327, no. 188) and from Jerusalem where the deceased was a presbyter and hegumen (Mount of Olives: Germer-Durand 1892, p. 570). Another presbyter named *Θεόφιλος* is referred to in a church dedicatory inscription at Siyagha on Mount Nebo (Gatier 1986, no. 83 = Di Segni 1998, p. 429, no. 5).

l. 3: For a detailed commentary on the name *Σιλανός*, see above inscr. no. 34.

l. 9: The appellation *Σάμβατον* or *Σάββατον* for the seventh day of the week appears as well in inscr. nos. 214 and 234 (for other appellations of Saturday attested in the epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi, see index 5f). Moreover, the same term is used at Ghor es-Safi for the designation of the seven-day week (see above commentary of inscr. no. 131).

177. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in several places on the left side. Inv. no.: Z-350. Dimensions: 0.46x0.32x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is preserved in good condition. The inscription is framed by incised lines on the right and the right upper half sides, while the left upper half and the other sides bear a red painted frame. The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is mostly of the round form with a few square exceptions (ll. 1-2). Height of letters 0.006-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXV

Date: 21 Hyperberetaios 339 E.P.A. = 8 October AD 444.

	Μνημῖον Πέτρου	Monument of Petros,
	Γαλαέου, ἀποθα-	(son) of Galaeos, who died
	νόντος ἐτῶν κζ',	(at the age) of 27 years,
4	ἐν μηνὶ Ὑπερβε-	on (the) 21st (day) of the month
	ρετέου ακ', τοῦ ἔ-	Hyperberetaios, in the year 339,
	τους τλθ', ἡμῆ(ρᾱ) Κυρίου	on (the) 2nd day of (the) Lord (Monday).
	β'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
8	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: *μνημεῖον*.

l. 2: the second letter *alpha* seems to have been originally engraved as a diagonal *epsilon* and then transformed into *alpha*.

l. 3: a horizontal bar is incised above the age numeral.

ll. 4-5: Ὑπερβερετέου for Ὑπερβερεταίῳ: phonetic spelling of the diphthong *αι* and use of genitive instead of dative.

l. 5: the inverted month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal stroke above it.

l. 6: ἡμῆ(ρᾱ) for ἡμέ(ρᾱ): *eta* for *epsilon*; the word is abbreviated by the first two letters *eta*, *mu* and a second *eta* (instead of *epsilon*) above *mu*; the abbreviation of the sacred name Κυρίου is formed as usual by the first and last letter.

l. 7: the weekday numeral bears a horizontal bar above; θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The common name *Πέτρος* is discussed in inscr. no. 40.

l. 2: The patronymic *Γαλαέος* is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi and, to our knowledge, in that of Palestine and Arabia. A parallel could plausibly be recognized in the name *Γάλειος* attested in a sixth c. papyrus from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 79). According to Preisigke (ibid., col. 507) *Γάλειος* is the Greek equivalent of the Arabic name Ghali. An alternative reading for the patronymic could be *Γάλασος* if we suppose that the fifth letter of the name was inadvertently carved as *epsilon* instead of *sigma*. This name is attested in the form *Γάλεσος* in Senaim on Mount Hermon and in Hauran (for its etymology and the relevant examples, see Dar and Kokkinos 1992, pp. 10-12, no. 1; cf. also the form *Γόλσος* attested in an epitaph from Mushennef: Dunand 1934, pp. 48-49, no. 74 = Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 256-257, no. 12).

178. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, square in shape, chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-37. Dimensions: 0.355x0.355x0.085 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is damaged here and there and especially in the middle with partial loss of text. The inscription is engraved in



round script. The first three lines and the fifth line are written in small letters fairly well cut and aligned, but the remaining text is carved in much bigger characters, carelessly executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVI

Date: 7 Peritios 339 E.P.A. = 22 January AD 445.

Μνημῖον Θέης Ὀβόττου, {ο} ἀπαθονοῦσα μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνάματος	Monument of Thee, (daughter) of Obottos (Obodas), who died having a good name (in the year) 339,
4 τλθ', ἐν μεγί - ἐτῶν λβ', Περιτίου ζ', ἐν ἡ- μέρᾳ β'. Θάρσι, οὐ-	(at the age) of 32 years, on (the) 7th (day) of the month Peritios, on (the) 2nd day (Monday). Be of good cheer,
8 δις ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: ἀπαθονοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: the letter-cutter started writing the participle with an *omicron* but finally carved an *alpha*; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable, *omicron* for *alpha* in the third and use of nominative instead of genitive.

I. 3: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: use of *alpha* instead of *omicron* in the first two syllables.

I. 4: the year numeral is preceded by a decorative angular motif and is written in much bigger characters than the rest of the text; μεγί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*; the word is heavily eroded.

I. 5: this line was squeezed between the fourth and the sixth lines probably when the engraver realized that he had forgotten to include the age of the deceased.

I. 6: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar below.

I. 7: a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral; θάρσει; the first letter of the diphthong *ou* at the end of the line is written in red paint.

II. 7-8: οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

I. 1: On the rather infrequent feminine name *Θέη*, see discussion in inscr. no. 132.

*Ὀβόττου* is most likely a different spelling for *Ὀβόδου*, genitive of the common Nabataean name *Ὀβόδας*. On this name, see above commentary of inscr. no. 63; cf. also *Ὀβέδας* (inscr. no. 20) and *Ὀύβοδοῦς* (inscr. no. 10).

179. Tombstone of white sandstone, with grey stripes in the lower left part, almost rectangular in shape. It is curved in the upper right corner, broken at the upper left and lower right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-54. Dimensions: 0.57x0.31x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off in the lower right corner and has suffered slight recent damage. At the bottom of the text there are two incised crosses; the first bears big triangular serifs and the second tiny linear serifs. The inscription with the exception of the phrase "εἷς Θεός" (I. 1) and a small simple incised cross at its right at the top, is enclosed within an engraved and red painted frame. The text is all engraved and II. 3,6,9 are painted over in red colour. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are elongated, nicely cut and fairly well aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVI

Date: 25 Dystros 339 E.P.A. = 11 March AD 445.

+	
Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῖον Ἡσυ- χιανῆ Θεοδώρου, 4 παυσομένη μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος <καὶ> καλῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν νέ, τοῦ ἐν 8 ἔτους τλθ', μηνί	One (is) the God. Monument of Hesychiane, (daughter) of Theodoros, who died having a good name (and) good faith, (at the age) of 55 years, in the year 339, on (the) 25th (day)

Δύστρου εκ', ἐν ἡ-  
μέρᾳ Κυριακῇ. Θάρ-  
σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
12 τος.

+ +

of (the) month Dystros, on  
the day of the Lord (Sunday).  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the phrase "εἰς Θεός" and the cross to its right are outside the frame of the inscription, although they form part of the same text.  
l. 2: μνημεῖον.  
ll. 2-3: Ἑσυχιανή for Ἑσυχιανῆς: nominative for genitive singular; the letter *chi* is rather oblique.  
l. 4: παυσομένη for παυσαμένης: *omicron* for *alpha* and use of nominative instead of genitive singular.  
ll. 5-6: the phrase "καλοῦ ὀνόματος" is not connected with "καλῆς πίστεως" by the conjunction καί (*asyndeton*).  
ll. 7-8: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; τοῦ ἐν ἔτους for ἐν τῷ ἔτει: transposition of the article and the preposition and use of genitive in the place of dative singular; the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal line above.  
l. 9: Δύστρου for Δύστρῳ: genitive for dative singular; the inverted month day numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar above.  
ll. 10-11: θάρσει.  
l. 11: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: This is up to the present the first attestation of Greek names such as Ἑσυχιανή and Ἑσυχιανός in Palestine and Arabia. These are derivatives (lengthened forms) of the names Ἑσύχιος, Ἑσύχης, Ἑσυχίς (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 475, s.vv.) which did occur in inscriptions from these provinces. The masculine Ἑσύχιος is inscribed on a sixth c. column found in the area of Lydda (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 147). It appears also as the surname of a soldier at Ira (Φιλόκαλος ὁ καὶ Ἑσύχιος: Dunand 1933, p. 239, no. 163), and as the name of a governor of Arabia at Bostra in Hauran (AD 490: Sartre 1982, no. 9123; for this governor, cf. also *PLRE* II, p. 555, s.v. *Hesychius* 12). The unusual spelling Ἑσυχί<ο>ν occurs in an inscription found on Moses Mountain (Ševčenko 1966, p. 263, no. 12). The abbreviated forms Ἑσύχι(ος) and Ἑσύχ(ιος) are recorded at Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 413, nos. 92, 93). An Ἑσύχιος, presbyter and teacher of the Church of Jerusalem, is mentioned in the Life of Saint Euthymios (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 16, p. 26, l. 20; p. 27, l. 1 and index II, p. 265, s.v.). The name is encountered as well in Syria, Cyrene and Egypt (for the examples from Syria and Cyrene, see Sartre 1985, p. 204, s.v.; for Egypt, see Preisigke 1922, col. 126, s.vv. Ἑσίχιος, Ἑσύχειος, Ἑσύχιος).

Ἑσύχιος was a rather frequent name also among the Jews as is evidenced by Jewish inscriptions in Greek found in Huldah (Lifshitz 1967, no. 81b) and Jaffa (*CIJ* II, no. 922; *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 141). In the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim both the masculine contracted form Ἑσύχης as well as the feminine Ἑσυχίς are attested (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 129, 144 respectively). The feminine form Ἑσύχιον appears in a number of inscriptions of the synagogue at Apamea (for references, see *ibid.*, p. 120, n. 16; cf. also Sartre 1985, p. 203).

l. 3: For Θεόδωρος see discussion above in inscr. no. 112.

- 180.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the middle of the left side and the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-152. Dimensions: 0.57x0.30x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the text, accumulations of salt crystals are visible all around as well as lichens in the lower part. Above the inscription are depicted three incised crosses with triangular serifs which bear traces of red paint. The whole text is engraved, but ll. 1,4,7 are painted over in red. The script follows the round alphabet with letters of variable height, clearly cut and fairly well aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVI

Date: 13 Xanthikos 340 E.P.A. = 3 April AD 445.

+ + +	
Μνημῖον Κασσι-	Monument of Kassiseos,
σέου Πέτρου, υ	(son) of Petros, the reader,
ἀναγ(νώστου), τελευτέσον-	who died (at the age)
4 τος ἐτῶν λβ', ἐν ἔτι	of 32 years, in the year 340,
τμ', μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ	on the thirteenth (day) of (the)
τρῖς καὶ δεκάτη, ἡμέ-	month Xanthikos, on (the) third
ρα Κυρίου τρίτη.	day of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
8 Θάρσει, οὐδείς	Be of good cheer,
ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1. μνημεῖον.

I. 3: the word ἀναγνώστης is abbreviated by its first four letters.

II. 3-4: τελευτέσοντος for τελευτήσαντος: *epsilon* for *eta* and *omicron* for *alpha*.

I. 4: each figure of the age numeral is denoted by a separate horizontal bar above; ἔτι, phonetic spelling for ἔτει.

I. 5: the year numeral is also emphasized by a separate horizontal bar above the hundreds and tens figure.

I. 6: τρῖς καὶ δεκάτη for τρίτη καὶ δεκάτη: use of a cardinal instead of an ordinal numeral for the units and phonetic spelling of καὶ.

I. 9: the line ends with a simple incised cross.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: The name *Κασσισέος*, which is found also in inscr. nos. 220, 242, 286 and 312, transcribes in Greek the Arabic name Qassis, "priest" (Milik 1959-1960, p. 160; cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 417, s.v.). It is derived from the Semitic root qss, "to follow after, to chase" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 63, 166; Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 121, s.v.). In Palestine and Arabia *Κασσισέος* is attested almost exclusively in Christian inscriptions originating mainly from Hauran, Transjordan, the Negev and the Sinai. In these areas the name appears in a variety of spellings: *Κασσισέος* (Shakka: Waddington, no. 2159; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1987, pp. 206-207, no. 48 = Piccirillo 1994, pp. 259-260, no. 15), *Κασσισέος* (Shakka: Waddington, no. 2160; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 387, no. 76; 'Ayun Musa: Di Segni 1998, p. 456, no. 69; Shivta: Negev 1981, nos. 53, 55; 'Avdat: *ibid.*, nos. 32, 38), *Κασσισέως* (Kh. el-Mekhayyat: Gatier 1986, no. 109 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 444-445, no. 45), *Κασσίσηος* ('Ayun Musa: Gatier 1986, no. 96c = Di Segni 1998, p. 451, no. 58; Kh. el-Mekhayyat: Gatier 1986, no. 101 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 441-442, no. 40), *Κασίσοος* (Fiq, Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 22; Wadi Haggag, Sinai: Negev 1977, no. 29), *Κασσείσοος* ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 6), *Κασσίσας* (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 26). The name occurs also in the lengthened form *Κασσισάνης* (Tafha, Hauran: Waddington, no. 2171) and in the peculiar form *Κασσισένας* (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 52).

I. 2: On the common Christian name *Πέτρος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 40.

I. 3: The office of ἀναγνώστης (reader) was held by a cleric of minor order. The anagnostes was appointed by the bishop and had to be an educated person since his main duty was to read the Scriptures and even to expound them. Occasionally the anagnostes was also given by the bishop auxiliary titles like that of hegumen, periodeutes or paramonarios (for further details on this minor ecclesiastical office, see Hanton 1927-1928, p. 63, and mainly Meimaris 1986, p. 251; for anagnostes and hegumen, see Meimaris 1986, p. 251, nos. 1256, 1257 and for anagnostes and periodeutes, see *ibid.*, p. 252, no. 1258). Apart from Ghor es-Safi, the term ἀναγνώστης appears in a number of fifth to seventh c. AD inscriptions and papyri from Palestine and Arabia. More specifically it has been attested at 'Evron, Carmiel, Bahan Nahalaim (N. of Tulkarem, W. Samaria), Rihab (E. of Gerasa), 'Ozem (E. of Ascalon), Magen (S. of Gaza), el-Kerak (Moab), Nessana and Shivta (Negev) [for a list of these examples and their bibliography, see *ibid.*, pp. 251-253, nos. 1256-1267; of the unpublished inscriptions nos. 1260-1262 ('Evron) have been published by Tzaferis 1987, p. 39\*, no. 2; p. 42\*, no. 5; p. 44\*, no. 7 = *SEG* 37 (1987), nos. 1511, 1514, 1516; no. 1263 (Carmiel) by Tzaferis 1992, p. 133, no. 13 = *SEG* 42 (1992), no. 1466; no. 1264 (Magen) by Tzaferis 1985, pp. 26-27, no. 3 = *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1551; no. 1265 ('Ozem) is referred to in *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 1467; to this list add the anagnostes Leontios from Shivta (Negev 1981, no. 48), as well as the anagnostai Ilarion and Barachon from Jabaliyeh near Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 394-396,

nos. 2, 3) and an anonymous anagnostes from Khirbet-es Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 388-389, no. 79)]. Worth noting are the exceptional cases of Saint Euthymios and Saint Kyriakos who are mentioned to have been named ἀναγνώσται in their youth by the bishop of their city as a complimentary gesture (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 3, p. 10, l. 20; *Vita Cyr.*, p. 223, l. 7 respectively).

**181.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top, broken in the lower side and lower right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-91. Dimensions: 0.44x0.37 m; thickness not recorded. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is damaged in several places and flaked off at the edges. Below the inscription a cross with four dots in its corners is drawn in red paint and just to the right of it an outlined red painted sun-disc. The whole front surface was originally divided with painted guide-lines, traces of which are discernible above and below the inscription; in the text only ll. 2,5 and 7 have been underlined. The text is engraved and ll. 3,6,8 are painted over in red. The script is of the round form with a few square exceptions. The letters are small, symmetrical, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01 - 0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVI

Date: 28 Apellaios 341 E.P.A. = 14 December AD 446.

Μνημῖον Τάβθα, δι- ακόνου, ἀποθανοῦ- <σ>α μετὰ καλῆς πίσ-	Monument of Tab(i)tha, (the) deaconess, who died having good faith (at the age) of 70 years,
4 τεως ἐτῶν ο', ἐν ἔτι τριακοσσιοστοῦ μ', μη(νός) Ἀπελλέου κη', ἡμ(έρα) Κ(υρίο)υ ζ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	in the three hundred and 41st year, on (the) 28th (day) of (the) month Apellaios, on (the) 7th day of (the) Lord (Saturday). Be of good cheer,
8 <i>vacat</i> ἀθάνατος. + + (sun-disc)	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον; Τάβθα for Τάβθας: nominative for genitive.

ll. 2-3: ἀποθανοῦ<σ>α for ἀποθανοῦ<σ>ης: nominative instead of genitive singular following the nominative Τάβθα and ignoring the genitive διακόνου; the first letter *sigma* in l. 3 has been carved by mistake as *omicron*.

l. 4: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; ἔτει.

l. 5: τριακοσσιοστοῦ for τριακοσσιοστῶ: duplication of *sigma* and use of genitive instead of dative singular; the hundreds of the year numeral are given in ordinal number, while the tens and the units in numerical figures crowned by a horizontal bar.

l. 6: an *eta* above *mu* stands for the abbreviated word μηνός; Ἀπελλαίου; a *mu* above *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα.

l. 7: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter with a horizontal bar above them which covers also the following weekday numeral; θάρσει; οὐδείς.

l. 8: the word ἀθάνατος is preceded by an uninscribed area and followed by an engraved and red painted cross.

#### Commentary

l. 1: On the Semitic feminine name Τάβθα, contracted form of Ταβιθά, see above commentary of inscr. no. 101.

ll. 1-2: For the ecclesiastical office of the deaconess, see analytical discussion in inscr. no. 175.

ll. 3-4: This is the only case in which the phrase "μετὰ καλῆς πίστεως" is not accompanied by that of "καλοῦ ὀνόματος" (for the full formula, see commentary of inscr. no. 91). The term "καλή πίστις" renders most likely the idea of the Christian faith as the orthodox, correct faith (for this use of καλός, see Lampe, p. 698, s.v. B6). This is more clearly expressed by the phrase "ἐν τῇ ὀρθῇ πίστει" employed in a fourth-century epitaph from Philippi (Feissel 1983, no. 234). Apart from ὀρθή and ὀρθόδοξος various other epithets are applied to the Christian orthodox faith by the Church fathers, such as ὑγιαίνουσα, ἐκκλησιαστική, ἀποστολική, καθολική (Lampe, p. 1087, s.v. *πίστις* IIIG).

**182.** Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken at the edges and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-128. Dimensions: 0.53x0.37x0.04 m. The inscribed surface is badly chipped in the lower part and flaked off in many places with loss of text. Below the text the symbolic scene of a cross flanked by two heraldic birds is engraved twice. The crosses are outlined and filled with *chi*-signs and the birds are schematically depicted and filled with trellis and linear decoration. The text is only engraved. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters are nice, symmetrical, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XXXVII*

Date: 27 Audynaïos (?) 342 E.P.A. = 12 January AD 448.

Μνημῖον Κασσιανοῦ  
Σάβα, παυσάμενος  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-  
4 τος καὶ καλῆς πίστε-  
ως ἔτ(ων) κζ', ἐν ἔτι τμβ',  
μη(νός) Αὐ[δοναί]ο]υ κζ', ἡμ(έρα)  
Κ(υρίου)υ β'. Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθά-  
8 νατος.  
(bird) + (bird) (bird) + (bird)

Monument of Cassianus, (son) of  
Sabas, who died having a good name  
and good faith (at the age) of  
27 years, in the year 342, on  
the 27th (day) of (the) month  
Audynaïos, on (the) 2nd day of  
(the) Lord (Monday). Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 2: παυσάμενος for παυσαμένον: the past participle is given in nominative although the preceding name is in genitive.

l. 5: the word ἔτ(ων) is abbreviated by its first two letters (partially preserved) and the sign S; the age numeral is covered by a horizontal bar; ἔτι for ἔται; the year numeral is preceded by a decorative serpentine motif.

l. 6: a small *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of μηνός; from the month's name only the first, the lower part of the second and the last letter have been preserved; from the month day numeral the tens and a small part of the units figure are preserved with a horizontal bar above; faint traces of a *mu* above *eta* comprise the abbreviation of ἡμέρα.

l. 7: the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters covered by a horizontal bar; the same bar denotes the weekday numeral; θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: Cassianus, son of Sabas, seems to be the son of Sabas, son of Cassianus, mentioned in the inscr. no. 142. For the Hellenized Latin name *Κασσιανός*, see commentary of the same inscription.

l. 2: The Semitic name *Σάβας* is discussed above in inscr. no. 134.

**183.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved below and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-238. Dimensions: 0.44x0.28x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the lower part, and is weathered in the right part of the text. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame. The vertical left line and part of the horizontal lines of the frame are engraved and painted over in red; the remaining frame as well as the guide-lines are drawn in heavy red paint. Above the frame in the middle a symbolic motif is depicted, consisting of an outlined cross decorated with four small circles in its corners and inscribed in a double outlined circle which is filled with a linear pattern. This motif is crowned by a small cross and flanked by two schematically represented heraldic birds of which only traces are preserved. The whole scene, with the exception of the small cross above the circle which is also engraved, is executed in red paint. In the case of the birds the red colour has mostly faded. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,5,8,11 are painted over in red. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters, which are much bigger in the three first lines, are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. X*

Date: 1 Artemisios 343 E.P.A. = 21 April AD 448.

+		
(bird) (cross motif) (bird)		
	Μνημῖ<ο>ν	Monument of Paulus,
	Παῦλος Ὁφρ-	(son) of Ofrotas,
	ότου, ἀποθ-	who died having
4	ανόντος μετὰ κ<α>-	a good name (at the age)
	λοῦ ὀνόματ(ος) ἐτ-	of eight years, on
	ῶν ὀκτώ, μηνὶ	the first (day) of (the)
	Ἀρτεμεσίῳ πρώ-	month Artemisios,
8	τῇ, το<ῦ> ἑτους τρι-	in the three
	ακοσσιοστοῦ τε-	hundred and
	σαρακοστοῦ τ-	forty-third year.
	ρίτου. + + + + +	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; the right vertical stroke of the square *omicron* is projecting below.  
 l. 2: Παῦλος for Παύλου: nominative instead of genitive.  
 l. 4: the vowel *alpha* in the first syllable of the word καλοῦ is omitted by mistake.  
 l. 5: the genitive ὀνόματος is abbreviated by the first six letters and the sign S.  
 l. 7: Ἀρτεμισίῳ.  
 l. 8: the last letter *upsilon* of the genitive article τοῦ is forgotten by the engraver.  
 ll. 8-9: τριακοσσιοστοῦ for τριακοσιοστοῦ: dittography.  
 ll. 9-10: τεσσαρακοστοῦ for τεσσαρακοστοῦ: haplography.  
 l. 11: after the text the remaining space of the line is filled with five crosses.

## Commentary

- l. 1: On the common Christian name Παῦλος, see above commentary of inscr. no. 3.  
 ll. 2-3: The patronymic Ὁφρότου (gen.) is not attested so far elsewhere in Palestine and Arabia. In our opinion it could be a vernacular form of one of the similar names *Εὐφράτας* (or -ᾶς) or *Εὐφράτης* attested in Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions from Greece, S. Italy and Cyrenaica (*LGPNI*; p. 189; II, p. 189; IIA, p. 181; Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 430) and in papyri of the third c. AD from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 115, s.v.). The form *Ἐφραθά* is attested already in the Old Testament as a personal name (*Chron.* 1,4,4), but also as a toponymic (*Gen.* 35,16, 19). *Εὐφράτας* (or *Εὐφρατᾶς*) appears as a monk's name in a Byzantine mosaic inscription (6th-7th c. AD) from the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 100-101, no. 147 = Meimaris 1986, p. 232, no. 1154). It is also borne by a bishop mentioned as a basilica's founder in a mid fifth-century inscription from Eleutherna in Crete (Tzifopoulos 2000, pp. 241-243, no. 1). The feminine *Εὐφρατίς* finally occurs in a Hellenistic (?) inscription from Crete (*LGPNI*, p. 189, s.v.).

**184.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, irregular in shape, curved at the left side and the top, chipped all around and broken in the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-104. Dimensions: 0.485x0.39x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in several places. Above the inscription there are three incised outlined crosses in a row; the interior of the first two is decorated with a simple incised cross and that of the third cross with *chi*-signs partially preserved. The text is only engraved in square elongated script. The letters are clearly and carefully cut and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVII

Date: 20 Dystros 343 E.P.A. = 6 March AD 449.

+ + +		
	Εἷς Θεός. Μνη- μῖον Σαμμασέου Ἄντυος, ὑποδιακ(όνου), 4 ἀποθανόντος μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό- ματος ἐτῶν ν', ἐν ἑτὶ τμγ', μηνὶ	One (is) the God. Monument of Sammaseos, (son) of Antys, (the) subdeacon, who died having a good name (at the age) of 50 years, in the year 343, on (the) 20th (day) of (the) month Dystros. Be of good cheer,

8 Δύστ(ρω) κ'. Θάρ(σει), οὐ(δεις) ἄθ(άνατος). no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

II. 1-2: μνημῖον.

I. 3: the abbreviation ΥΠΟΔΙΑΚ stands for the genitive ὑποδιακόνου.

I. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and below.

I. 7: ἔτι for ἔτει.

I. 8: the month's name is abbreviated by the first four letters; the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below (see also I. 6); the expression "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἄθάνατος" appears in a rare abbreviated form: the first word with the first three letters, while the second and the third with the first two letters.

#### Commentary

II. 2-3: *Σαμμασέος*, a common name at Ghor es-Safi (see also nos. 188,254,290,317), seems to be a derivative of *Σαμμαάσας* also used by the local people (inscr. nos. 192,267). Both names are probably derived from the Semitic root *šmš* (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 104,105,172; Al-Qudrah 2001, pp. 175-176; cf. Canova 1954, p. 213, no. 223). As a personal name *Σαμμασέος* is frequently attested in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia, especially in that of Hauran and Moab, in the following variants: *Σαμμασέος* (Moab: Canova 1954, nos. 222 [Samrah], 237 [Ainun]); *Σαμμασαῖος* (Rihab: Piccirillo 1980, p. 329 = id. 1981, pp. 74-75, presbyter); *Σαμασαῖος* (Sebsebeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 60); *Σομμασέος* (Kh. el-Kursi, Amman: Piccirillo and 'Amr 1988, p. 366, no. 1); *Σαμσαῖος* (Gerasa: Welles 1938, pp. 422-423, no. 136; Rakhle: Waddington, no. 2557c); *Σαμσέος* (Salchad: *CIG* 4642); *Σάμσος* (Lubbên: *PAES* IIIA, no. 793<sup>4</sup>); *Σήμσηος* (Djdîyeh: *ibid.*, no. 783<sup>4</sup>); *Σόμσος* (Sha'arah: *ibid.*, no. 803<sup>4</sup>). For the form *Σαμάσας* and its parallels, see below commentary of inscr. no. 192.

The fact that Sammaseos shares the same rare patronymic Ἰαννυος with Petros mentioned in inscr. no. 162, combined with the age and year of death of these two men, makes it highly possible that they were brothers.

The ecclesiastical office of ὑποδιάκονος (subdeacon), auxiliary to that of the deacon, is discussed above in inscr. no. 96.

II. 8-9: This is one of the rare occurrences of the exhortation "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἄθάνατος" in an abbreviated form.

**185.** Tombstone of greenish sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved on all sides and broken in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-264. Dimensions: 0.345x0.265x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is partially flaked off in the lower right side and at the bottom. The upper half of the surface is partially weathered due to accumulations of salt crystals. Below the text four symbolic motifs are engraved from left to right: an outlined cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre, a schematic bird facing left, another similar cross and a so far unique motif resembling a flower of a lotus or lily. Except for the first cross, all the other motifs preserve traces of red paint. The text and the decorative zone are enclosed within an incised frame, the right vertical line of which is heavily painted over in red. The frame is crowned by a red painted pediment missing the upper corner. The text is set between irregularly incised guide-lines, three of which (under II. 3,6,9) bear additionally heavy red paint. The text is all engraved and a few letters in each line are emphatically painted over in red for decorative reasons. The script is basically square with some round exceptions and a rhomboid *theta*. The letters are of variable size (smaller towards the end), not carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVII

Date: Xanthikos 344 E.P.A. = 22 March - 20 April AD 449.

Μνημῖον	Monument of
Ἀλουλόθ-	Aloulothe, who
η, ἀποθαν-	died having a
4 οὔσα μητὰ	good name (at the age)
καλοῦ ἀνό-	of 50 years, in the
ματος ἐτῶ(ν)	year 344, in the
ν', <ἐ>τους τμδ',	month of Xanthikos.
8 μηνὸς Ξαν-	Be of good cheer,

θικοῦ. Θάρσι, οὐ<δὲς ἀθάνατος>. no one (is) immortal.  
+ (bird) + (flower)

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.
- ll. 2-3: Ἀλουλόθη for Ἀλουλόθης: nominative instead of genitive singular.
- ll. 3-4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: again use of nominative in the place of genitive singular.
- l. 4: μητὰ for μετά: *eta* for *epsilon*.
- ll. 5-6: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: the initial vowel is *alpha* instead of *omicron*.
- l. 6: the word ἐτῶν is abbreviated by the first three letters and a horizontal bar above *omega*.
- l. 7: the age and the year numerals are both denoted by a horizontal bar above; the first letter *epsilon* of the word ἔτους is omitted by the engraver.
- l. 9: Θάρσει; from the following words οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος the engraver carved only the first syllable οὐ, skipping over the rest.

#### Commentary

- ll. 2-3: The name of the deceased woman, Ἀλουλόθη, appears for the first time at Ghor es-Safi. It consists plausibly of the Greek transcription of the Arabic feminine name Lu'lu'ah, preceded by the article "al" and means "the pearl". The name devoid of the article is encountered in an 11th-13th c. Arabic manuscript found in 1975 at Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, which contained among others "a letter to a certain bishop Ibrahim from his sister Ouazira, daughter of Mariam, daughter of Lu'lu'ah..." (Meimaris 1985, p. 43, no. 23, n. 51 [Greek text]; p. 46, no. 23, n. 48 [Arabic text]). It is worth noting that the patronymic (?) Λευελευε, recorded in a 6th-7th c. AD papyrus from Nessana (Nessana 3, no. 90.88 [98], 182, 202), has been considered by Kraemer as the Greek transliteration of the masculine Arabic name Lu'lu' (ibid., index XII, p. 355, s.v.).
- l. 3: The omission of patronymic is a rather infrequent phenomenon at Ghor es-Safi (see above inscr. no. 4).

- 186.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, broken on all sides and chipped all around. It is mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-289. Dimensions: 0.32x0.20x0.05 m. The inscribed surface had been smoothed and is flaked off at places and especially in the lower part with loss of text. Above the inscription to the right a simple cross is incised. The preserved text is engraved and ll. 1,5 are painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are not well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVII

Date: 344 (?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 449 - 21 March AD 450 (?).

+	
	[Εἰ]ς Θεός. Μνη-
	[μῆ]ον Ἀλεξάνδ-
	[ρο]ν Σαμιράββ-
4	[ου], ἀποθανόν-
	[τος] ἐτῶν ξ', ἐν
	[ἔτου]ς τμδ', ἐν
	[μηνί - - -]
8	[- - - -]
	[- - - -]
	[- - - -]

One (is) the God.  
Monument of Alexandros,  
(son) of Samirabbos,  
who died (at the age)  
of 60 years,  
in the [year] 344, in (the month)...

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the first two letters are effaced.
- ll. 1-2: μνη[μεῖ]ον; the first two letters in l. 2 are lost.
- l. 3: the first two letters are missing.
- l. 4: the genitive ending -ου and the left part of *alpha* are lost.
- l. 5: the three first letters are obliterated; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 6: [ἔτου]ς for [ἔτ]ει: the first four letters are lost; genitive instead of dative singular; from the year numeral only the hundreds figure is certain.



ll. 7-10: the number of the missing lines is more or less four.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The Greek name *Ἀλέξανδρος* is discussed above in inscr. no. 139.

ll. 3-4: On the common at Ghor es-Safi Hellenized Semitic name *Σαμίραββος*, see above inscr. no. 15.

ll. 7-10: These damaged lines would have originally included the month day and the weekday of the death, as well as the formula "θάρσει, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος".

- 187.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, with extensive grey spots, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-17. Dimensions: 0.41x0.30x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the bottom. The text (except for the last line) is enclosed within an incised square frame and set between incised guide-lines some of them preserving traces of red paint. Above the frame there are faint traces of an engraved pediment. Left and right of the frame serpentine decorative motifs are depicted in red paint, in the concavities of which there are red painted dots. Below the text an outlined cross flanked by two birds is hardly discernible due to the faded red colour. The whole text is engraved and ll. 3,5 are painted over in red. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVIII

Date: Dios 344 E.P.A. = 18 October - 16 November AD 449.

Εἷς Θεός. Μνη-	One (is) the God.
μίαν Καϊάμου	Monument of Kaiamos,
Καϊάμου, ἀπαθ-	(son) of Kaiamos, who
4 ανών <μ>ετὰ κα-	died having a good name
λοῦ ὀνόματος	(at the age) of 21 years,
ἡτῶν κα', ἔτου-	in (the) year 344, in (the)
ς τμδ', μη(νός) Δίου,	month of Dios, on (the)
8 ἡμ(έρα) ζ'.	7th day (Saturday).
(bird) + (bird)	

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: *μνημίαν* for *μνημεῖον*: phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει* and use of *alpha* instead of *omicron*.

ll. 3-4: *ἀπαθανών* for *ἀποθανόντος*: aorist participle in nominative instead of the correct genitive as the name of the deceased implies; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.

l. 4: the letter *mu* of *μετὰ* is carved as an inverted *nu*.

l. 5: *ὀνόματος* for *ὀνόματος*; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.

l. 6: *ἡτῶν* for *ἔτῶν*: the initial vowel is written *eta* instead of *epsilon*; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar.

l. 7: the year numeral is also emphasized by a horizontal line above; an *eta* above *mu* is the abbreviation of *μηνός*.

l. 8: this line lies below the frame and contains only the abbreviated word *ἡμ(έρα)* in the form of a small *mu* above *eta*, as well as the weekday numeral.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: In this epitaph father and son have the same name. This phenomenon occurs also in inscr. nos. 134, 237 and 265. On the name *Καϊάμος*, see discussion in inscr. no. 69.

- 188.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all sides except for the left one. Inv. no.: Z-331. Dimensions: 0.33x0.24x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in the lower left side and at the bottom. Below the text in the middle a hollowed rosette-like cross is engraved. The text is carved in square script. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVIII

Date: 30 Daisios 345 E.P.A. = 19 June AD 450.

+	Εἷς Θεός. ++	One (is) the God.
	Μνημῖον Σαμ-	Monument of Sammaseos,
	ασέου Πέτρου,	(son) of Petros,
4	ἀποθανόντος	who died (at the age)
	ἑτῶν ϛ', τοῦ ἐν	of 6 years, in the year
	ἔτι τμεί, μη-	345, on (the) 30th (day)
	νι Δεσίου λ', ἡμέ-	of (the) month Daisios,
8	ρα Κυρίου β'. Θάρ-	on (the) 2nd day of the Lord (Monday).
	σι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
	+	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the line starts with one and ends with two simple crosses.

I. 2: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

II. 5-6: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below; τοῦ ἐν ἔτι for ἐν τῷ ἔτει: transposition of the preposition and the article, which should have been in dative instead of genitive, and phonetic spelling of ἔτει.

I. 7: Δεσίου for Δαισίῳ: phonetic spelling of αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar below.

I. 8: the first two letters are almost faded.

II. 8-9: θάρσει.

I. 9: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

II. 2-3: The name Σαμμασέος is commented on above in inscr. no. 184.

I. 3: For the common Christian name Πέτρος, see inscr. no. 40.

189. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, irregular in shape, broken on all sides and pointed at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-84. Dimensions: 0.46x0.30x0.095 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped at the edges. The text is enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame. The corners of the frame externally are decorated with four drop-like motifs drawn in red paint. In the centre below the frame there is an outlined red painted cross with a *chi*-sign in the middle. The whole text is engraved and II. 1,3,5,7,9 are additionally painted in red colour. The script is of the round form with a few square exceptions. The letters are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVIII

Date: 1 Apellaios 345 E.P.A. = 17 November AD 450.

	Μνημῖον Ἀμ-	Monument of Amrili(o)s,
	<ρ>ίλις Ζηνοβίου,	(son) of Zenobios,
	ἀποθανόντος	who died having
4	μετὰ κολου ἄν-	a good name (at the age)
	όματος ἑτῶν	of 25 years, in the (year) 345,
	κέ', ἐν τ(ῷ) τμεί,	on (the) 1st (day)
	μη(νός) Ἀπελλέου α'.	of (the) month Apellaios.
8	Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ν	Be of good cheer,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	+	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Ἀμ<ρ>ίλις for Ἀμ<ρ>ιλίου: nominative instead of genitive; the letter *rho* has been carved as *gamma*.

I. 4: κολου for καλου: *omicron* in the place of *alpha* in the first syllable.

II. 4-5: ἄνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* as initial vowel.

l. 6: the age numeral is covered by a horizontal bar; the letter *tau* followed by the abbreviation sign S stands probably for the dative article τῷ.

l. 7: μηνός is abbreviated by the usual *eta* above *mu*; Ἀπελλαίου; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

l. 9: ἀθάνατος for ἀθάνατος; *omicron* for *alpha* (see also l. 4); the line ends with three serpentine red painted decorative motifs.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: Ἀμρίλις is the contracted form of the Hellenized Semitic name Ἀμρίλιος which is discussed in inscr. no. 92.

l. 2: For an analytical commentary on the Greek theophoric name Ζηνόβιος, see inscr. no. 33.

**190.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved on the upper and lower corners, broken in the lower side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-48. Dimensions: 0.455x0.30x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is damaged in several places. The frame originally designed to include the inscription was engraved and painted red, but due to a miscalculation of the letter-cutter, two new red painted lines were added in the right and lower sides of the frame. Above the upper line of the frame a red painted cross is faintly preserved. The text is all engraved and ll. 3,6,9 are painted over in red colour. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are not carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.024 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXVIII

Date: 1 Dios 346 E.P.A. = 18 October AD 451.

	+	
	Εἷς Θεός.	One (is) the God.
	Μνημῖον/ Δου-	Monument of Dousarios,
	σάριον Νίλου,	(son) of Nilos, who died
4	ἀποθανόντος	having a good name
	μητὸ καλοῦ ὁ/νό-	(at the age) of 26 years,
	ματος ἐτῶν κς΄	in the year 346, on (the) 1st (day)
	ἐν ἔτι τμς΄, μηνὶ	of (the) month Dios, on (the)
8	Δίου α΄, ἡμέρᾱ	5th day of (the) Lord
	Κυρίου ε΄. Θάρσει, οὐδὲις	(Thursday). Be of good cheer,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: μνημῖον; half of the letter *delta* and the diphthong *ou* are engraved outside the frame.

ll. 2-3: Δουσάριον for Δουσαρίου; accusative in the place of genitive.

l. 3: Νίλου, phonetic spelling for Νείλου; the genitive ending -ου is written outside the frame.

l. 4: the ending -ος lies also outside the frame.

l. 5: μητό for μετά; *eta* for *epsilon* and *omicron* for *alpha*; the last two letters are outside the frame.

l. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 7: ἔτι, phonetic spelling for ἔτει; an emphatic horizontal bar above the year numeral.

l. 8: Δίου for Δίῳ; genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar.

l. 9: ΚΥ stands for the genitive Κυρίου; the weekday numeral is denoted by the characteristic horizontal bar; θάρσει; οὐδείς: the last two letters are written out of the frame.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: Δουσάριον may have been the accusative form of Δουσάριος (for the name of the deceased in accusative after the word μνημῖον, see inscr. nos. 12, 103; for Δουσάριος see also inscr. nos. 197, 215) which is derived from Δουσάρης (Nabataean *Dšr*), the name of the supreme Nabataean god (on the cult of this god, the etymology of his name and its epigraphical attestations, see Sourdel 1952, pp. 59-68; KP 2 [1967], cols. 184-185, s.v. *Dusares*; cf. also Wuthnow 1930, p. 43, s.v. Δουσαρίου and Canova 1954, p. 83). The diffusion of the personal name Δουσάριος in

Palestine and Arabia seems to follow the geographical expansion of Dushares' cult in the areas of the former Nabataean kingdom. The bulk of the relevant epigraphical evidence (14 examples) originates in Moab where the name occurs in the spellings *Δουσάριος* (Canova 1954, nos. 62, 72, 74, 147, 207, 312, 356, 424), *Δουσάρις* (ibid., no. 73: contracted form appearing also in Ghor es-Safi no. 315), *Δουσαρίας* (ibid., no. 71) and in the abbreviated forms *Δουσάρι(ος)* (ibid., nos. 244, 330) and *Δουσάρ(ιος)* (ibid., nos. 133, 201, 372). The area of Petra, native land of Dushares, has yielded another example of *Δουσάριος* (Sartre 1993, no. 21; in no. 28 the god's name occurs). This name is also recorded in four inscriptions from Bostra in S. Hauran, another cult place of Dushares (Sartre 1982, nos. 9112, 9129, 9133, 9439), and recently in an epitaph from Rihab (Gatier 1998, p. 401, no. 111 and p. 416, s.v.). In Hauran this theophoric name occurs as well in the compound forms *Ἀβδουσάρης*, *Θειμοδουσάρης* etc. (on these names, see Sartre 1985, p. 168, s.vv. *Ἀβδουσάρης*, *Ἀβοδοουσάρης* and pp. 198-199, s.v. *Δουσάριος*).

The fact that the vast majority of the *Δουσάριος* occurrences are Christian, indicates the long survival and the popularity of this pagan theophoric name among the indigenous population.

l. 3: The name *Νίλος* occurs also in inscr. no. 89, where it is discussed in detail.

191. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone with purple stripes, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left and lower right corners. Inv. no.: Z-220. Dimensions: 0.45x0.30x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off especially at the upper left corner. The text is enclosed within an engraved rectangular frame which is double outlined on the right side. Above the frame towards the left there is an incised cross with linear serifs, while below it towards the right a simple outlined cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre. The text is also engraved in a mixed round and square alphabet. The letters, which are of variable size, appear more widely spaced from l. 5 onwards. They are fairly well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIX

Date: 8 Peritios 346 E.P.A. = 23 January AD 452.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖον Καϊάμου νν  Ἀβιδακάρου, ἀποθο-  νόντος μετὰ καλοῦ ὀ-  4 νόματος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-  τεως ἐτῶν ν λθ', νν  ἐν ἔτι τμζ', ν ἐν ν  μη(νι) Πιριτίου ν η'. Θά-  8 ρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθά-  νν νατος. + ν</p> <p style="text-align: center;">+</p>	<p>Monument of Kaiamos,  (son) of Abidakaros, who died  having a good name and  good faith (at the age) of  39 years, in the year 346,  on (the) 8th (day) of (the)  month Peritios.  Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημῖον.

ll. 2-3: ἀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.

l. 6: ἔτι, *iotacism* for ἔτει.

l. 7: the dative μνηνί is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*; Πιριτίου for Περίτιου: *iota* for *epsilon* in the first syllable.

ll. 7-8: θάρσει.

l. 8: οὐδείς.

l. 9: the last two syllables of the word ἀθάνατος are flanked left by two empty spaces and right by a cross and an uninscribed area.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For the common Semitic name *Καϊάμος*, see discussion in inscr. no. 69.

l. 2: The patronymic *Ἀβιδάκαρος* is a Semitic name evidenced for the first time in Palestine and Arabia. It could be the Greek transcription of the Arabic compound name 'Abd-'Aqqar. The second component appears as an independent personal name in the forms *Ἀκᾶρ* and *Ἀκᾶρις* in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 14, 505; cf. also Wuthnow 1930, pp. 15, 159).

**192.** Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the top and at the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-268. Dimensions: 0.35x0.27x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped in a few places and weathered in the upper right part. Below the inscription a simple outlined cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre is flanked by two schematic heraldic birds filled with linear decoration. The whole scene is engraved and painted over in red. The text and the symbolic scene are enclosed within a vaulted incised and red painted frame on the three sides except for the lower one. The sides of the frame are decorated with a schematic leaf-like motif drawn in red paint. Incised and red painted guide-lines are preserved under the first two lines of the inscription. The text is all engraved and ll. 2,4,6,8 are painted over in red colour. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIX

Date: 25 Xanthikos 347 E.P.A. = 15 April AD 452.

Εἷς Θεὸς β(οηθό)ς. Μνημῖον	One (is) the God, who helps.
Παῦλος Σαμμάσας,	Monument of Paulus, (son) of Sammasas,
ἀποθανόντος με-	who died having a good name
4 τὰ καλοῦ ἀνάματο-	and good faith (at the age) of
ς καὶ καλῶς πίστεως	65 years, in the year 347, on (the)
ἑτῶν ξε', ἐν ἔτι τμζ', ν	25th (day) of (the) month Xanthikos,
μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ κε',	on (the) 4th day of (the) Lord
8 ἡμέρα Κυρίου δ'. Θάρ-	(Wednesday). Be of good cheer,
σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
(bird) + (bird)	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the abbreviation BC, denoted by the horizontal bar above, stands for the word βοηθός; μνημεῖον.

l. 2: Παῦλος for Παύλου: nominative for genitive; Σαμμάσας for Σαμμάσα: same phenomenon.

ll. 4-5: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: the initial vowel is *alpha* instead of *omicron*.

l. 5: καλῶς for καλῆς: *omega* instead of *eta*; spelling probably attracted by the genitive ending -ως of the following word.

l. 6: the age and the year numerals are both denoted by a horizontal line above; ἔτι for ἔτει.

l. 7: the month day numeral is also covered by a horizontal bar.

l. 8: ἡμέρα for ἡμέρα: *eta* for *epsilon* in the second syllable; the weekday numeral bears a horizontal bar above.

ll. 8-9: θάρσει.

l. 9: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The expression "εἷς Θεὸς β(οηθό)ς" is a variant form of the common acclamation "εἷς Θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν" appearing in two epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, one earlier (no. 159, where both phrases are commented on) and one later (see below no. 197).

l. 2: The popular Christian name Παῦλος is discussed in detail in inscr. no. 3.

The patronymic is incorrectly written in nominative form (for this phenomenon see above inscr. no. 13). The name Σαμμάσας appears also in inscr. no. 267, but it is more frequent at Ghor es-Safi in the form Σαμμασέος (see above commentary of inscr. no. 184 which includes also the etymology). There are two examples of Σαμμάσας so far recorded at el-Mote in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 306) and at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 79).

**193.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, pointed at the top, broken in the lower part, chipped all around and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-287. Dimensions: 0.36x0.28x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the edges. The inscription is enclosed within an incised frame, the lower line of which is preserved only at the edges. The upper line of the frame is painted over in red, while its vertical lines preserve only traces of red colour. Above the frame there is an outlined hollowed cross with traces of green paint and above it a smaller red painted cross. The outlined cross is flanked by two heraldic birds in red paint, the right of which is partially faded. Engraved traces in the lower part suggest the existence of another symbolic scene below the inscription. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9,10 are

additionally painted in red. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters vary in size, and in l. 9 are crowded; they are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. X

Date: 30 Xanthikos 347 E.P.A. = 20 April AD 452.

+	
(bird) + (bird)	
Εἷς Θεός. Μνη- ν	One (is) the God. Monument
μίον Οὐαλεντί-	of Oualentina (Valentina),
να Μαγδίου, ἀπ-	(daughter) of Magdios, who
4 οθανούσης ν	died (at the age) of
ἑτῶν κ', ἐν ἔτι ν	20 years, in the year 347,
τμζ', μηνι Ξαν-	on (the) 30th (day) of (the)
θικοῦ λ', ἐν ἡμέ-	month Xanthikos, on
8 ρα Παρασκευῇ. ν	Friday.
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer,
vacat τος. vacat	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: Οὐαλεντίνα for Οὐαλεντίνης: nominative instead of genitive although the following participle is in genitive.

l. 5: ἔτι is phonetic spelling for ἔτει.

l. 6: the year numeral is denoted by an elongated horizontal incised and red painted line above.

ll. 6-7: Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ: genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 7: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

l. 10: the last syllable of the word ἀθάνατος is written almost at the end of the line.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The deceased *Οὐαλεντίνα*, despite her Latin name (*Valentina*), seems to be a native as indicated by her patronymic. This feminine name is also attested in an epitaph from Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9242) and is borne by a pilgrim at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 132). The masculine *Οὐαλεντίνος* is more frequent in Palestine and Arabia (see above commentary of inscr. no. 22).

l. 3: The Hellenized Semitic name *Μάγδιος* has been already attested in inscr. no. 84 where it is fully commented on.

194. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-219. Dimensions: 0.34x0.26x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the left and lower left sides. An outlined red painted cross filled with *chi*-signs and decorative dots divides the first line of the text in two parts. The inscription is framed on the three sides by a red painted zigzag pattern curved at the upper corners. The text is all written in red paint which is faded. The script belongs to the square alphabet. The letters are nicely drawn and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XXXIX

Date: 16 Peritios 347 (?) E.P.A. = 31 January AD 453(?)

Ἐν + θάδε	Here lies Abdous,
κεῖται Ἀβδο-	who lived 70 years
ῶς, ζήσασα	(and) died in
4 ἔτη ο', τε-	the year 347 (?),
λευτήσασα	on (the) 16th
ἐν ἔτι τμζ',	(day) of (the)
[μην(νός)] Περιτίου	[month] Peritios.
8 vacat ις.	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: a big cross after the second letter *nu* separates the word ἐνθάδε in two parts.  
 l. 4: the age numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar.  
 l. 6: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral is partially faded.  
 l. 7: the *eta* above *mu* abbreviation for μηνός could probably be restored in the beginning of the line.  
 l. 8: this line is left blank except for the month day numeral placed at its end and covered by a horizontal bar.

## Commentary

- ll. 1-2: The burial formula "ἐνθάδε κεῖται" is discussed in inscr. no. 76.  
 ll. 2-3: Ἀβδοῦς may be the Hellenized form of the Arabic name 'Abdah which is the feminine of Ἀβδος, 'Abd, a name derived from the Semitic root 'bd, "slave, servant (of god)" (for the name Ἀβδος, see Wuthnow 1930, p. 8, s.v.; Dunand 1934, pp. 52-53, no. 84; cf. also Gatier 1998, p. 379, no. 55 and p. 414, s.v.). So far there has been no parallel of the feminine Ἀβδοῦς in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia.  
 l. 3: For the omission of the patronymic, see above inscr. no. 4.

**195.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally almost rectangular in shape, narrower and curved at the top, chipped all around with damage in the upper right part. Inv. no.: Z-123. Dimensions: 0.475x0.39x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and slightly hollowed in the middle in order to receive the inscription. The remaining area has been left unwrought and presents a few salt crystals. Above the frame there are traces of an outlined red painted cross flanked by two crosses with serifs filled with red paint. Below the inscription four birds in a row facing left are drawn naively in red paint; only the first two of them are clearly preserved. The text and the scene are enclosed within an incised rectangular frame. The whole text is engraved, while ll. 1,3,5,7,9 are painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are small, well cut with a slightly ascending alignment especially towards the end. Height of letters: 0.006-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. X

Date: 18 Artemisios 348 E.P.A. = 8 May AD 453.

+ + +

Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῖον  
 Σίλθας Ἀλεξάνδρου,  
 διακόνου, ἀποθανού-  
 4 σης μετὰ καλῆς πίσ-  
 τεως καὶ καλοῦ ὀ-  
 νόματος ἐτῶν  
 κε', ἐν ἔτι τμη', μη-  
 8 νι Ἀρτεμεσίου ηι',  
 ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ζ'. Θάρσει,  
 οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.  
 (four birds)

One (is) the God. Monument  
 of Siltha, (daughter) of Alexandros,  
 (the) deaconess, who died having  
 good faith and a good name  
 (at the age) of 25 years,  
 in the year 348, on (the)  
 18th (day) of (the) month  
 Artemisios, on (the) 6th day  
 of (the) Lord (Friday).  
 Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 6: after the word ἐτῶν follows a series of decorative serpentine motifs.  
 l. 7: the age as well as the year numeral are emphasized by horizontal lines above them; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.  
 l. 8: Ἀρτεμεσίου for Ἀρτεμισίῳ: *epsilon* for *iota* in the third syllable and genitive instead of dative singular; the inverted month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and decorated on one side by three angular motifs facing left and on the other by the same motifs facing right.  
 l. 9: the letters *kappa* and *upsilon* with a horizontal bar above form the abbreviation of Κυρίου; the weekday numeral is denoted by the horizontal bar and flanked by two angular motifs as in l. 8; θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδείς; the line ends with two decorative angular motifs facing left.

## Commentary

- l. 2: For the common at Ghor es-Safi feminine name *Σίλθα*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 13. *Ἀλέξανδρος* is commented on in inscr. no. 139.  
 l. 3: For the ecclesiastical title of the deaconess and its epigraphical attestations, see inscr. no. 175.

**196.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and broken on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-95. Dimensions: 0.57x0.40x0.08 m. The inscribed surface was deeply hollowed and smoothed in the middle in order to receive the inscription; this cavity is of rectangular shape. The area around the cavity has been left almost unwrought and is badly damaged. Above the inscription three double outlined crosses are depicted and below it in the centre a kantharos, out of which vine twigs with bunches of grapes are sprouting. The vase is flanked by two heraldically depicted birds. Both scenes are drawn in red colour which is partially faded. Just above the cavity to the right an outlined incised cross is represented and in the centre engraved traces of another cross are visible. Below the cavity a schematically incised bird is discernible. The text is set between incised guide-lines, half of which are painted over in red. The text itself is also engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9 bear red paint. The script is of the square form. The letters are small, symmetrical, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.013 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. XI*

Date: 24 Panemos 348 E.P.A., 6th indiction = 13 July AD 453.

	+ +	
	+ + +	
	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God, the Lord
	Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον	of all. Monument of Ogezōn
	῾Ογέζωνος ὁ καὶ ῾Ιωάν-	also (called) Ioannes, son of
4	νου Σαδάλλου, διδασ-	Sadallas, (the) teacher, who died
	κ(άλου), ἀποθανόντος με-	having a good name (at the age)
	τὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος	of 22 years, in (the) year 348, on
	ἐτῶν κβ', <ε>(τους) τμη', μη(νὸς) Πα-	(the) 24th (day) of (the) month
8	νέμου κδ', ἡμ(έρα) Κυ(υρίου) β',	Panemos, on (the) 2nd day of (the)
	ἐν χρό(νο)ις ζ' ἰνδ(ι)κ(τιῶνος). Θάρσει,	Lord (Monday), in the 6th indiction year.
	οὐδὲις ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
	(bird) (vase) (bird)	
	(bird)	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 2: *μνημεῖον*.  
 ll. 3-4: the phrase ὁ καὶ ῾Ιωάννου is in apposition with the genitive ῾Ογέζωνος, therefore the article should be in genitive (τοῦ) instead of nominative (ὁ).  
 ll. 4-5: the genitive διδασκάλου is abbreviated by the first six letters and a small sign S.  
 l. 7: the age and the year numerals are denoted by horizontal bars above; the genitive ἔτους is given only by the initial letter *epsilon*, written without the middle horizontal bar as *sigma*; the word μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu* and a small sign S.  
 ll. 7-8: Πανέμου for Πανήμου: *epsilon* for *eta*.  
 l. 8: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; a small *mu* above an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; *kappa* and *upsilon* covered with a horizontal bar stand for the abbreviation of Κυρίου; the weekday numeral is followed by a decorative serpentine motif.  
 l. 9: XPO is the abbreviation of the dative plural χρόνοις; the indiction numeral ζ' looks like an inverted *zeta* and is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first three and the fifth letters; θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

- ll. 1-2: On the common religious acclamation "εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης", see discussion in inscr. no. 20.





expressed (contra Lewis 1989, p. 64, n. 38 and Isaac 1992, pp. 73-74). Six instances of the profession of *λιβλάριος* are attested in the Babatha archives found in the Cave of Letters (AD 125: Lewis 1989, nos. 15.39; 17.43; 18.73; 20.45; 21.33; 22.39).

**198.** Tombstone of brown and white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the left, upper and right sides and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-19. Dimensions: 0.41x0.30x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and slightly hollowed in the middle in order to receive the text. The remaining area has been left unwrought. Just above the text three small crosses with serifs are incised and painted over in red; the first one is placed between two small vertical lines. Below the inscription in the centre a cross with triangular serifs is represented; its vertical bar is filled with green colour and its horizontal one outlined in red paint. The cross is flanked by two widely open palm branches, of which the left is drawn in red and the right in green paint (the latter faded). The text and the symbols are enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame, the left line of which is irregular. The text is all engraved and ll. 3,6,9 are painted over in red, while ll. 8,11 and partially l. 5 in green colour. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XL*

Date: 24 Peritios 348 E.P.A. = 8 February AD 454.

<p>+ + +  Εἰς Θεός. &lt;M&gt;νη-  μίον Νετίρο-  υ Νεσρέου,  4 ἀποθ&lt;α&gt;νόντ-  ος μετὰ καλο-  ῦ ὀνόματος  ἐτῶν κβ', ἐν ἔ-  8 τι τμη', μηνὸς  Περιτίου κδ', ἡμ(έρα)  Κυρίου β'. Θάρσει,  οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.  (palm + (palm  branch) branch)</p>	<p>One (is) the God. Monument  of Netiros, (son) of  Nesreos, who died  having a good name  (at the age) of 22 years,  in the year 348,  on (the) 24th (day) of (the)  month Peritios, on (the)  2nd day of (the) Lord  (Monday). Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: *μνημεῖον*; the initial consonant *mu* was engraved as an inverted *nu*.

ll. 4-5: the *alpha* of the third syllable of the participle *ἀποθανόντος* is missing the horizontal bar.

l. 7: the age numeral is flanked in the upper part by two small decorative angular motifs and covered by an elongated horizontal bar.

ll. 7-8: *ἔτι* for *ἔτει*.

l. 8: the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 9: the month day numeral is also covered by a horizontal bar; the word *ἡμέρα* is abbreviated by a *mu* above an elongated *eta*.

l. 10: a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral; *θάρσει*.

l. 11: *οὐδεὶς*.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The Hellenized Semitic name *Νετίρας* is already attested in a Roman dedicatory inscription from Senaim on Mount Hermon (Dar and Kokkinos 1992, pp. 13-16, no. 2; esp. p. 15). At Ghor es-Safi it appears also in the spelling *Νατίρας* (inscr. no. 299). This form is encountered in a graffito from Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 182), and at Gerasa (Gatier 1988, p. 154, no. 6) where it is also met as *Νατείρας* (Welles 1938, pp. 422-423, no. 136; p. 457, no. 235). In Hauran the name is attested in the variants *Νατάρως* (Burâk: Waddington, no. 2537b) and *Νατοῦρος* ('Ahire: *ibid.*, no. 2448; this form probably transcribes the Arabic *Natur*), and occurs as the first component in the theophoric name *Νατάρηλος* (Qanawât: Waddington, no. 2351). The forms *Νείτειρος* and *Νίτειρος* are recorded in second c. AD papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, cols. 227 and 236 respectively). The hypocoristicon of *Νατίρας*, *Νότιρος*, is found once at Nessana in the Negev

(*Nessana* 3, no. 45.2,12), but mainly in Hauran (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 307) where it appears also in the variant spellings *Νότερος* (es-Summaḳiyât: *PAES* IIIA, no. 89; Umm el-Jimâl: *ibid.*, nos. 287, 340) and *Νόταρος* (Umm el-Jimâl: *ibid.*, no. 377). All the above mentioned names comprise various Greek transcriptions of the Nabataean name Ntyrw, in Arabic naṭir, "guard, watch", derived from the Semitic root nṭr, "to guard, to protect" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 82, 83, 151; Negev 1991, p. 43, no. 727a).

In the Christian literary sources the name *Νετρᾶς* (or *Νατῆρας*) is borne by a monk who around AD 400 became the first bishop of Pharan (*PG* 65, 312A; cf. also *HEO* II, p. 1044).

l. 3: The patronymic *Νεσρέος* is already known from Mitrahineh in Egypt (Wuthnow 1930, p. 83, s.v. *Νεσραίου*; Preisigke 1922, col. 229). It is most likely a variant of the Hellenized Semitic names *Νάσερος* (Arabic Naṣir, "helper, supporter") or *Νάσρος* (Arabic Naṣr, "victory") both derived from the Semitic root nṣr, "to help, to support" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 82, 152; *PAES* IIIA, pp. 159, 318; Negev 1991, p. 44, no. 746; for the Nabataean, Safaitic and Palmyrene forms, see Atallah 1997, p. 10, no. 1). The name *Νάσερος* was especially popular in S. Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 278 [Umm el-Jimâl], 689, 692, 696, 698?, 702 [ʿOrmân]; Waddington: nos. 2041, 2042, 2048 [Awwas]; Dunand 1939, p. 570, no. 287 [Ghâriyeh el-Gharbiyeh]; Mittmann 1970, p. 200, no. 41 [Qaṣr el-Baʿīk]; Atallah 1997, pp. 9-10, no. 1 [al-Khan]). The variant form *Νάσρος* is also attested in the same area (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 122 [Ṣabḥah], 803<sup>2</sup> [Shaʿārah], 805<sup>1</sup> [Sahr]; Dunand 1934, no. 204 [Umm er-Rummân]).

199. Tombstone of purple sandstone, chipped on the three sides, except for the left one. Inv. no.: Z-223. Dimensions: 0.445x0.275x0.10 m. The inscribed surface is flaked off in the upper part with loss of text and it has not been properly smoothed. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame and set between guide-lines. The text as well as the frame and the guide-lines are engraved. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters are of variable size, rather well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XL

Date: 5 Artemisios 349 E.P.A. = 25 April AD 454.

+	Εἷς Θεός.	+	One (is) the God.
	Μνημῖον		Monument of
	Ἀννιονοῦ ν		Annionos (Annianus),
4	Φίδωνος, ν		(son) of Pheidon,
	ἀποθανόν-		who died having
	τος μετὰ +		a good name
	καλ(οῦ) ὀνόματι(ος)		(at the age) of 65 years,
8	ἐτῶν ξε', ἐν μηνί(νι) ν		on (the) 5th (day) of
	Ἀρτεμηςίου ε',		the month Artemisios,
	ἐν ἔτι τμθ'. +		in the year 349.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the phrase "εἷς Θεός" is flanked by two crosses; from this phrase only traces of letters are preserved.

l. 2: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: Ἀννιονοῦ for Ἀννιανοῦ: *omicron* for *alpha*.

l. 4: for Φίδωνος see commentary below.

l. 6: the line ends with a cross.

l. 7: the adjective genitive καλοῦ is abbreviated by the three first letters and a small sign S while the genitive ὀνόματος by the first six letters and an oblique sign S.

l. 8: the age numeral is emphasized by a wavy horizontal bar above; the dative μηνί is abbreviated as usual by an *eta* above *mu*.

l. 9: Ἀρτεμηςίου for Ἀρτεμισίῳ: *eta* for *iota* in the third syllable and genitive in the place of dative singular; a horizontal bar above denotes the month day numeral.

l. 10: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; the line probably ended with a cross.

## Commentary

l. 3: Ἀννιονός is a misspelling for Ἀννιανός, Greek transcription of the Latin *Annianus*. This name has already been encountered in inscr. no. 144 where it is commented on.

l. 4: Φίδωνος might have been the iotacized genitive of the Greek name Φείδων (for this name see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1608, s.v.; *LGPN* I, p. 457, s.v.; *ibid.* II, p. 444, s.v.; Preisigke 1922, col. 458, s.v.; Foraboschi 1967, p. 328, s.v.). The form Φιδόνου, appearing in a dedicatory inscription of the eighth c. (AD 718) in the Church of Saint Stephen at Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, pp. 244-246, no. 2) could be a heteroclitic genitive form (following the second instead of the third declension) of the same name. It seems more likely, however, that Φίδωνος and consequently Φιδόνου are a heteroclitic genitive of the Hellenized Latin name Φίδος (*Fidus*) which appears frequently in the area of Mount Nebo ('Ayun Musa: Di Segni 1998, pp. 454-456, nos. 62 [and p. 463, n. 108], 65, 69). In the Chapel of Priest John on this Mount Φίδος occurs as the name of a bishop of Madaba who was probably active in the late fifth-early sixth c. AD (*ibid.*, pp. 445-446, no. 47). Two bishops of Palestine, mentioned in the Life of Saint Euthymios, bore also this name: Φίδος, bishop of Joppe (AD 415-431, Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 22, p. 35, ll. 6-7; *HEO* II, p. 1025), and his grandson, an anagnostes and deacon of the Church of Resurrection in Jerusalem, who was later consecrated bishop of Dora (AD 484-485, Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.*: for the references see *ind.* II, p. 280, s.v. Φίδος 2; cf. also Meimaris 1990, p. 401; *HEO* II, p. 1020).

**200.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone with a grey stripe on the left side; it is rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-196. Dimensions: 0.57x0.37x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed especially in the area of the text. It is also flaked off on the left side and the upper left corner. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame. The text, the symbols in it and the frame are all engraved. The script is of the round-oval alphabet with a few square exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are elongated, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XL

Date: 23 Gorpiaios 349 E.P.A. = 10 September AD 454.

Εἷς Θεός. + ✠	One (is) the God.
Μνημῖον Μαρθό-	Monument of Marthone,
νης Ἀψητος, διά-	(daughter) of Apses, (the)
4 κωνος, ἀποθα- ν	deaconess, who died
νούσης μετὰ κα-	having a good name
λοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ	and good faith
καλῆς πίστεως ν	(at the age) of fifty years,
8 ἐτῶν πεντήκον-	in the year 349, on (the)
τα, ἐν ἔτι τμή, ἐν ν	23rd (day) of (the) month
μηνὶ Γαρπιέου	Gorpiaios, on (the) 6th
γκ', ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ς.	day of (the) Lord (Friday).
12 Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
ννν νατος. ✠+ +	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: the numerical adjective εἷς is underlined; the line ends with a simple cross and a *cross-rho* monogram.

l. 2: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: for the genitive Ἀψητος, see commentary of inscr. no. 27.

ll. 3-4: διάκωνος for διακόνου: nominative instead of genitive singular.

l. 9: ἔτι, iotacism for ἔτει.

l. 10: Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίω: *alpha* for *omicron* in the first syllable, phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive for dative singular.

l. 11: the inverted month day numeral is flanked by two vertical lines for emphasis.

l. 12: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

l. 13: an uninscribed area before the last two syllables of the word ἀθάνατος; the line ends with a *cross-rho* monogram, and two crosses, the second with linear serifs.

## Commentary

Il. 2-3: The feminine name *Μαρθόνη* occurs also in inscr. no. 248, while in nos. 298 and 313 it is found as *Μαρθίνη*. Both spellings are variants of *Μαρθάνη*, the lengthened form of *Μάρθα* which is derived from the Aramaic *mrt'* (Marta) meaning "lady, mistress" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 72, 149; Negev 1991, p. 41, no. 695). The name, especially frequent in N. Syria (Sartre 1985, p. 215, s.v. *Μαρθείνη*), is attested in Palestine and Arabia mainly in the areas of Hauran and Moab. In the former region it appears as *Μαρθίνη* (Der'a: Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 698, no. 171) and *Μαρθείνη* (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9344), while in the latter as *Μαρθάνη* (Canova 1954, nos. 118, 119 [el-Kerak], 255 ['Ainun]) and *Μαρθόνη* (ibid., no. 30 [el-Kerak]). The name [*Μ*]αρθόνη has been restored in an epitaph from el-'Al in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 57). Moab has also yielded the masculine forms *Μαρθάνης* (Canova 1954, no. 120 [el-Kerak]) and *Μαρθώνης* (ibid., no. 214 [Ader]). *Μαρθόνης* is also recorded at Tell Abyad near Tafas (Wuthnow 1930, p. 73, s.v.).

I. 3: For the interesting name *\*Αψης*, its etymology and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 27.

Il. 3-4: *Marthone* is one of the four deaconesses mentioned in the Ghor es-Safi inscriptions. On this office, see discussion in inscr. no. 175.

**201.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower right corners and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-55. Dimensions: 0.52x0.35x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in the lower right corner. The inscription is enclosed within an incised and red painted almost square frame. Above in the middle of the frame there is an outlined incised cross, with a few dividing lines in the vertical and horizontal bars. This cross is flanked by two engraved and red painted crosses of different shape: the left one is characterized by triangular serifs and the right one is formed by four triangles. The text is all engraved and Il. 1,4,7 are painted over in red colour. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are well carved but not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: K.D. Politis, "Biblical Zoar: The Looting of an Ancient Site", *Minerva* 5, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1994), p. 13, fig. 5 (only photograph and legend with English translation of the epitaph).

Date: 16 Audynaioi 349 E.P.A. = 1 January AD 455.

Photo Pl. XL

<p>+       +       +</p> <p>Εἷς Θεός. Μνημῆ- ον Μαργαλῆς Θεοδούλου, ἀπ- 4 οθανούσης μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος ἐτῶν ιη', ἐν μηνὶ Αὐ- δονέου ις', τοῦ ἑτο- 8 υς τμη', ἐν ἡμέρῃ ζ'. Θάρ- σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.</p>	<p>One (is) the God. Monument of Margalie, (daughter) of Theodoulos, who died having a good name (at the age) of 18 years, on (the) 16th (day) of (the) month Audynaioi, in the year 349, on (the) 7th day (Saturday). Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.</p>
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## Critical apparatus

Il. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

I. 5: the *mu* of the word ὀνόματος is written as an *eta*.

Il. 6-7: Αὐδονέου for Αὐδυναιῷ: *omicron* for *upsilon* in the second syllable, phonetic spelling of *αι* in the third and use of genitive instead of dative singular.

I. 8: the dative ἡμέρῃ is abbreviated by a small *mu* above a large *eta*.

Il. 8-9: θάρσει.

I. 9: οὐδεὶς.

## Commentary

I. 2: The feminine Hellenized Semitic name *Μαργαλίη* is new in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It could be a theophoric name compound of the word *marg*, "garden", and the divine element 'El. The only parallel we were able to locate is the name *Μαργούλη* attested at Saida in Phoenicia (Wuthnow 1930, p. 72, s.v.).

l. 3: For the common Christian name *Θεόδουλος*, see discussion in inscr. no. 160.

202. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-61. Dimensions: 0.39x0.255x0.095 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off on the upper right side and badly weathered with significant loss of text especially on the left side. The preserved text is engraved, while red paint is visible in ll. 3,6,9. As can be judged by the surviving text, the script is of the square alphabet with small letters, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLI

Date: [3]50 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 455 - 21 March AD 456(?).

[Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν]τ[ων]	[One (is) the God,
[Δεσπότης. Μνη]μῆ[ον]	the Lord of all]. Monument
῾Ολέ[φθας ῾Οβ]όδον,	of Ole[ftha], (daughter) of
4 [ἀποθανούσης] με[τ]-	[Ob]odas, [who died having
[ἀ καλοῦ ὀνόμ]ατος	a good] name and good faith,
καὶ καλῆς πίστεως	[(at the age) of .. years,
[ἐτῶν .. , ἔτους τ]γ', μ-	in (the) year 3]50, [on (the)...
8 [ηνὸς ca.7], ἐν ἡμ(έρα)	(day) of (the) month..., on the ...
[Κυρίου .]. Θάρσι, οὐ-	day of (the) [Lord]. Be of good cheer,
[δὲς ἀθάνατος]. +	[no one (is) immortal].

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: [μνη]μῆ[ον].

l. 8: an *eta* above *mu* for the abbreviation of ἡμέρα.

l. 9: θάρσι for θάρσει.

ll. 9-10: οὐ[δεῖς].

l. 10: the line ends with a cross.

#### Commentary

The text of the epitaph is mostly effaced due to the weathering of the inscribed surface of the tombstone. The attempt for a complete - within the bounds of possibility - restoration of the text was based on the few preserved letters in each line and on the almost standard phraseology employed in most of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs.

l. 3: The restoration of the name of the deceased is highly conjectural since its three first letters are hardly discernible. The same could be said for the patronymic, the first two letters of which are lost. Both names were common in Ghor es-Safi; on the feminine *῾Ολέφθα*, see inscr. no. 32, while on *῾Οβόδα*, see inscr. no. 63.

l. 7: The use of the formula "εἷς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης" which is usually dated at Ghor es-Safi in the second half of the fifth c., as well as the lettering of the inscription, prompted us to restore the hundreds figure of the year numeral as τ' = 300 which gives a Julian date compatible with the above mentioned data.

203. Tombstone of reddish sandstone with purple spots, rectangular in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-247. Dimensions: 0.49x0.28x0.075 m. The inscribed surface, which had been originally smoothed, is flaked off in the lower left corner, badly weathered and covered almost totally (except for the top) by salt crystals and lichens; as a result of this a great part of the text is lost. Above the inscription a *cross-rho* monogram inscribed in a circle is flanked by two outlined crosses with *chi*-signs in the middle, of which the left is faded. All the symbols are drawn in red paint. The preserved text is engraved with visible traces of red paint. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets with small letters, well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLI

Date: 15 Apellaios (?) 350 (?) E.P.A. = 1 December AD 455(?).

+      ϣ      +  
Εἷς Θεός. Μνημ-

One (is) the God. Monument

	[τον ca.5] Ἰωάννου, ἀποθανόντος μετὰ	of ..., (son) of Ioannes, who died having a [good name
4	[καλοῦ ὀνόματος] [καὶ καλῆς πίστεως] ἔτ[ων.. , ἔτους] τγ', μη(νός) Ἀπελλέου ιε',	and good faith] (at the age) of .. years, [in (the) year] 350 (?), on (the) 15th (day) of (the) month Apellaios, on
8	ἡμέρα) vacat Κυρίου νν δ'. [Θάρσει, οὐδεὶς] ἀθάνατος.	(the) 4th day of (the) Lord (Wednesday). [Be of good cheer, no one (is)] immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

II. 1-2: μνημ[τον] for μνημ[εῖον]: the three last letters of the word and the name of the deceased are lost.

II. 4-5: these two lines are missing but have been restored on the basis of the common phraseology of these epitaphs.

I. 6: except for two partial letters in the beginning and at the end the rest of the line is not preserved.

I. 7: only traces of the first two words are preserved; the word μινός seems to be abbreviated by the *eta* above *mu*; Ἀπελλέου is phonetic spelling of Ἀπελλαίου.

I. 8: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by a *mu* above *eta*; the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter and flanked by uninscribed spaces.

I. 9: this line is completely lost.

#### Commentary

I. 2: For a detailed commentary on the common name Ἰωάννης, see inscr. no. 57.

204. Tombstone of white sandstone, irregular in shape, broken on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-201. Dimensions: 0.42x0.28x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which had been smoothed, is weathered. The text is written in red paint which has mostly faded. Below the text there is a red painted zigzag line. The inscription and the decoration are included in a rectangular frame drawn in red paint. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets with small letters, nicely written and carefully aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLI

Date: 14 Peritios 350 E.P.A. = 29 January AD 456.

	Μνημῖον Ἀλουφάθης Σιλανοῦ, ἀπο-	Monument of Aloufathe, (daughter) of Silanus,
4	θανοῦσα με- τὰ καλοῦ ὀνό- ματος καὶ κα- λῆς πίστεως	who died having a good name and good faith (at the age)
8	ἔτων ν', ἔτους τγ', μη(νός) Περιτίου ιδ', ἡμέρα Κυρ- ίου [α'].	of 50 years, in (the) year 350, on (the) 14th (day) of (the) month Peritios, on the [1st] day of (the) Lord (Sunday).

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

II. 3-4: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: use of nominative instead of genitive although it refers to the genitive Ἀλουφάθης.

I. 9: the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the abbreviation of the genitive μινός is an *eta* above *mu*.

I. 11: the weekday numeral *alpha* is restored on chronological grounds.

#### Commentary

I. 2: The feminine Ἀλουφάθη, which occurs also in inscr. nos. 294 and 309, may be a variant form of Ὀλεφάθη (see discussion on Ἀλολεφάθη in inscr. no. 164).

- l. 3: On the use of the name *Σιλανός* in Palestine and Arabia, see above commentary of inscr. no. 34.  
 l. 11: The restoration of the weekday numeral is based on the other two preserved dating elements, the era year and the month day.

**205.** Tombstone of grey sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved at the upper and lower left corners and broken in the upper and lower right corners and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-92. Dimensions: 0.40x0.30x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the left side and damaged by chiselling at places with loss of text in the upper part and the middle. The inscription is cross-shaped. Below the text in the lower part of the vertical bar is depicted an outlined cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre which is flanked by two heraldic birds filled with linear and dotted decoration. Dots are also scattered here and there. The whole scene is incised and the birds are painted over in red. The inscription and the scene are enclosed within an incised frame in the form of a cross. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9,11 bear also red paint. The script belongs to the square alphabet with letters well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.021 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLI

Date: 30 Dystros 350 E.P.A. = 15 March AD 456.

	† [[Εἷς Θεός]]-	One (is) the God.
	ς. Μνημῖο-	Monument of
	ν Μάρων-	Maron, (son) of
4	ος Καίου-	Kaioumos, who died
	μου, ἀπαθανούντο-	having a good name
	ς μ[ετ]ὰ καλῶν <ὀ>νόμα-	(at the age) of 20 years,
	τος ἐτῶν κ', ἔτους	in (the) year 350, on (the)
8	τν', μενὸς Δύστρου λ',	30th of (the) month Dystros,
	ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ε'. (palm branch)	on (the) 5th day of (the) Lord
	Θάρσι, ο-	(Thursday). Be of
	ὕδις ἀθά-	good cheer, no one
12	νατος.	(is) immortal.
	(bird) † (bird)	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the phrase "εἷς Θεός" (except for the last letter *sigma* written in l. 2) is deliberately erased.  
 ll. 2-3: μνημεῖον.  
 ll. 5-6: ἀπαθανούντος for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and the diphthong *ou* instead of *omicron* in the fourth syllable.  
 ll. 6-7: the initial letter of the word ὀνόματος is carved as *mu* instead of *omicron*.  
 l. 7: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.  
 l. 8: the year and the month day numerals are both denoted by horizontal bars above; μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*.  
 l. 9: the weekday numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar above and followed by a palm branch in horizontal position facing to the right.  
 l. 10: θάρσι for θάρσει.  
 ll. 10-11: οὕδις for οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: For the name *Μάρων*, see discussion in inscr. no. 166.

ll. 4-5: The name *Καίουμος* corresponds to the Arabic Qayyum, "firm", and is derived from the Semitic root *qwm* just as the name *Καῖάμος* (common at Ghor es-Safi, see commentary of inscr. no. 69) and its variants (Sartre 1985, p. 211, s.v. *Κοέμας*). Clermont-Ganneau (1903, p. 369), however, makes a distinction between *Καίουμος* and *Καῖάμος*, claiming that *Καίουμος* is not a Nabataean but an Aramaic name equivalent to the Palmyrene Qymw, "protector". Al-Qayyum is also one of the epithets attributed to Allah (for a list of these epithets, see Jeffery 1989, pp. 93-98).

In Palestine and Arabia the name *Καίουμος* is attested mainly in Hauran (PAES IIIA, nos. 20a [Qaṣr el-Ḥallbât], 261, 267, 268 [Umm el-Jimâl], 678 [el-Kufr]; Waddington, no. 2089 [ʿAmra: dubious]), but also at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 223-224, no. 39), in the area of Mount Nebo (Siyagha: Gatier 1986, no. 75 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 430-431, no. 7 [mosaicist]; Khirbet el-



Mekharryat: Piccirillo 1988, p. 302 = Di Segni 1998, p. 446, no. 50 [deacon]), in Moab (Maḥna: Canova 1954, no. 297) and in the Negev (Alt 1921, nos. 19 [᾿Αἰλήσιος], 67 [Beersheba], 93 [Rehovot]). A bishop of Feinan in Palaestina Tertia, who participated in the Second Council at Ephesus of AD 449 (*Mansi* VI, 919; cf. *HEO* II, p. 1044), bore as well the name *Καϊούμος*. This name is also encountered in the variants *Καειούμος* at Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 79.33) and *Καεούμω* at Amman (Gatier 1986, no. 46). The forms *Καϊούμ* at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 375, no. 37) and *Καηούμ* at Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, p. 251, no. 8a) are of some interest since they are exact transcriptions of the Arabic name. The feminine *Καϊούμη* occurs only once in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 335).

206. Tombstone of reddish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-232. Dimensions: 0.37x0.215x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped on the upper and left sides and weathered. There is an incised cross to the left of the first line. Below the text in the middle there are traces of an engraved bird and to the right an incised *cross-rho* monogram inside a circle. The text is only engraved in square script. The letters, which vary in size, are small, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.013 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLII

Date: 15 Artemisios 351 E.P.A. = 5 May AD 456.

+	Εἷς Θεός. Μνημί-	One (is) the God. Monument
	ον Θεοδώρου	of Theodoros, (son) of
	Πατρικίου, ἀπ-	Patricius, who died
4	οθονόντο<ς>	(at the age) of 4 years,
	ἔτων δ', ἐν ἔτι	in the three hundred and
	τριακοσσιοσ{ι}-	fifty-first year, on (the)
	τοῦ πεντηκοστο-	15th (day) of (the)
8	ῥ πρώτου, μη(νός) ᾿Αρτε-	month Artemisios,
	μησίου ιε', ἡμ(έρα) ζ'. Θ{α}-	on (the) 6th day (Friday).
	ἄρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
	νατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	(bird) ⚔	

#### Critical apparatus

II. 1-2: the inscription starts with a cross; μνημεῖον.

II. 3-4: ἀποθονόντο for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable and omission of the final *sigma*.

I. 5: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; ἔτει.

II. 6-8: τριακοσσιοσ{ι}τοῦ πεντηκοστοῦ πρώτου for τριακοσιοστῶ πεντηκοστῶ πρώτῳ: duplication of *sigma* and a superfluous *iota* in the hundreds numeral, also use of genitive instead of dative singular in the whole ordinal numeral; μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*.

II. 8-9: ᾿Αρτεμυσίου for ᾿Αρτεμίου: *eta* for *iota*.

I. 9: ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the letter *mu* above *eta*.

II. 9-10: Θ{α}ἄρσι for θάρσει: the vowel *alpha* is carved twice by the letter-cutter at the end of l. 9 and the beginning of l. 10.

I. 10: οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

I. 2: For the common Greek theophoric name *Θεόδωρος*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 112.

I. 3: With the exception of a few Christian examples from Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9041), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 125, no. 10: deacon), and the present one, all the attestations of the Hellenized Latin name *Πατρικίος* (*Patricius*) are concentrated at Nessana in the Negev where the name appears in sixth-seventh c. inscriptions (*Nessana* 1, nos. 12, 14, 73, 77, 101, 106, 117: 8 instances) and papyri (*Nessana* 3, index IV, p. 339, s.v.: 6 cases).

207. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved all around and broken on the left side. Inv. no.: Z-78. Dimensions: 0.38x0.30x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed

except for the upper right corner. Salt crystals have accumulated from left to right a little higher than the middle of the tombstone with loss of text in ll. 6-7. The text is enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame, the four corners of which are externally decorated with small red painted triangles. Above the inscription a simple cross is engraved, flanked by two heraldic birds, while below a bird in the middle facing right is flanked by two crosses: the left one is a simple outlined cross, while the right is formed by four triangles drawn with one stroke. The two scenes are engraved and painted over in red. In the middle of the left side outside the frame a dovetail of a tabula ansata is outlined in red paint. The text is set between incised guide-lines most of which are also painted red. The text is engraved but ll. 2,4,5,8,9,11,12,14,15 bear additional red colour. At the end of ll. 9,11,12,13,15 there are superfluous meaningless letters written in red paint; these letters and the dovetail mentioned above could be remains of an earlier painted inscription. The script follows the round alphabet with a few square exceptions. The letters are small, symmetrical, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLII

Date: 17 Artemisios 351 E.P.A. = 7 May AD 456.

(bird) + (bird)	
+ Εἷς Θεός. ++	One (is) the God.
Μνημῖον τοῦ	Monument of
δούλου Σου Κλαυδίου,	Your servant Claudius,
4 ἀποθανώντος	who died having a
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	good name and
ματος καὶ καλῆς	good faith
πίστεως ἐτῶν	(at the age) of
8 δεκαεπτὰ, ἐν ν	seventeen years,
νν ἔτους ν τνά, {NE}	in the year 351, on (the)
ἐν μηνὶ Ἀρτεμεισί-	17th (day) of the month
ου ιζ', ἐν ἡμέρᾳ {O}	Artemisios, on (the) second
12 δευτέρᾳ τοῦ {H}	day of the week (Monday).
σάμβατος. {KH}	Be of good cheer,
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-	no one (is) immortal.
νατος. {O} + {Y}+{T}	
+ (bird) +	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line starts with a cross and ends with two crosses.
- l. 2: μνημεῖον.
- l. 3: Κλαυδίω for Κλαυδίου: use of *omega* in the place of the diphthong *ou*.
- l. 4: ἀποθανώντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omega* for *omicron*.
- ll. 8-9: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: use of genitive for dative singular.
- l. 9: at the end of the line two superfluous letters, *nu* and *epsilon*, in red paint.
- ll. 10-11: Ἀρτεμεισίω for Ἀρτεμεισίω: *eta* for *iota* and genitive for dative singular.
- l. 11: the month day numeral is followed by a serpentine decorative motif; a superfluous red painted *omicron* at the end of the line.
- l. 12: δευτέρᾳ for δευτέρα: *eta* for *epsilon* in the second syllable; a superfluous *eta* in red paint at the end of the line.
- l. 13: σάμβατος for σαββάτου: use of heteroclitic genitive ending; at the end of the line two superfluous letters (KH) in red paint.
- l. 14: θάρσει; οὐδείς.
- l. 15: at the end of this line there are three red painted superfluous letters interrupted by two engraved crosses the first of which bears a dot in each corner.

#### Commentary

- l. 3: The attribute "δούλου Σου" applied to Claudius is also attested in feminine form in inscr. no. 129. The epithet "δοῦλος, δούλη (Σου or τοῦ Θεοῦ or τοῦ Χριστοῦ)" is employed both for dead and living and expresses the idea of a person devoted to God. It appears in this sense first in the Old and then in the New Testament and continued to be used in the Patristic writings and the

Christian inscriptions (Bandy 1970, p. 16). It is frequently encountered in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia (Canova 1954, p. CI) but it is especially common in Egypt (*IGA* V, p. XXXI). For the Latin name *Κλαύδιος* (*Claudius*), see above commentary of inscr. nos. 54 and 128. A genitive ending in -ω instead of -ου is observed also in inscr. nos. 65 and 274 (cf. also chapter on Phonetics, p. 59). This phenomenon appears as well in Bostran inscriptions (Sartre 1982, nos. 9126, 9255).

l. 13: For the word σάμβατον as the designation of week, see above commentary of inscr. no. 131.

**208.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, narrower at the bottom and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-98. Dimensions: 0.615x0.33x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the lower part which is left unwrought and is flaked on the left and right sides. Below the text an outlined cross filled with *chi*-signs and bearing four dots in its corners is flanked by two heraldic birds, all drawn in red paint. The text and the scene are enclosed within a rectangular frame, the right side of which is in red paint, while its other three sides are incised and painted over in red. Above the frame a similar symbolic scene is depicted. This scene is also incised with traces of red paint. The text is set between engraved guide-lines some of which are additionally painted red. The text is also engraved and bears red paint in ll. 2,4,6. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo XI*

Date: 3 Xanthikos 356 E.P.A. = 24 March AD 461.

(bird) + (bird)	
Μ<ν>ημῖον Κύρα Ὀβό-	Monument of Kyrā, (daughter)
δου, ἀποθανοῦσα	of Obodas, who died having
μετ<α> καλοῦ ὀνόμα-	a good name (at the age) of 35
4 τος ἔτων λ', ἐν ἔτι	years, in the year 356, on (the)
τνς, μη(νός) Ξανθικοῦ γ',	3rd (day) of (the) month Xanthikos,
ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου ζ'. Θάρσαι, οὐδὶς	on (the) 6th day of (the) Lord
ἀθάνατος. + + +	(Friday). Be of good cheer,
(bird) + (bird)	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: ΜΗΜΙΟΝ on the stone for μνημεῖον: omission of the second letter *nu* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει*; Κύρα for Κύρας: nominative for genitive.

l. 2: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative instead of genitive in accordance with the nominative Κύρα.

l. 3: the last letter *alpha* of the preposition μετά is left unfinished.

l. 4: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

l. 5: a small *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of μηνός.

l. 6: the usual *mu* above *eta* is the abbreviation of ἡμέρα; KY stands for the abbreviation of the sacred name Κυρίου; θάρσαι; οὐδεὶς.

l. 7: the line ends with three simple crosses.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The name *Κύρα* is discussed in inscr. no. 22.

ll. 1-2: For the common Nabataean name *Ὀβόδας*, see commentary of inscr. no. 63.

**209.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, slightly curved and broken at the corners. Inv. no.: Z-136. Dimensions: 0.32x0.24x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly weathered with loss of text at places. The text is engraved and preserves traces of red paint. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are small and poorly executed. Height of letters: 0.005-0.013 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XLII*

Date: 3 (?) Panemos 356 E.P.A. = 22 (?) June AD 461.

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντ-

One (is) the God,

ων Δεσπότης. Μνη-	the Lord of all. Monument
μῖον Γοδέου Βάσσου,	of Godeos, (son) of Bassus,
4 ἀποθανόντος	who died having a
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	good name (at the age)
ματος ἑτῶν κέ',	of 25 years, in (the)
ἔτους τνς', με-	year 356, on (the) 3rd
8 νος Πανέμου γ',	(day) of (the) month Panemos,
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυ(υρίο)υ ε'.	on the 5th day of (the) Lord
Θάρσι, οὐδὲς	(Thursday). Be of good cheer,
ὁθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

II. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

II. 7-8: μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 8: Πανέμου for Πανήμου: *epsilon* for *eta* in the second syllable.

I. 9: the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter.

I. 10: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

I. 11: ὁθάνατος for ἄθάνατος: the initial vowel is written as *omicron* instead of *alpha*.

## Commentary

I. 3: The Semitic name *Γοδέος* occurs also in inscr. no. 59 where there is a concise commentary.

The patronymic *Βάσσος*, Greek transliteration of the Latin cognomen *Bassus*, is a popular name in the Orient including Palestine and Arabia. In these two provinces the name is borne by Roman officials but also by natives (for a plausible Semitic origin of *Βάσσος*, see Wuthnow 1930, pp. 34-35, 130; *PAES* IIIA, p. 88, no. 143; *ibid.*, p. 160, nos. 281, 282; Canova 1954, p. 83, no. 62; and mainly Sartre 1985, p. 188, s.v.). The great bulk of the relevant examples is concentrated in the area of Hauran (Waddington, ind. I, p. 4, s.v. *Βάσσος*; *PAES* IIIA, ind. I, p. 457, s.v.; Sartre 1982, ind. I, p. 390, s.v.), while occasional instances have been recorded at Horvat Karkara (N. of 'Evron: Avi-Yonah 1966, pp. 209-210= Meimaris 1986, no. 1077), 'Evron (Tzaferis 1987, p. 40\*, no. 3; p. 42\*, no. 5 [same person, a subdeacon]), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 213, no. 30), Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 71-72, no. 2A, B [same person]; pp. 78-79, no. 6A [paramonarios]; pp. 84-85, no. 8A), Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 134-135, no. 238) and its area (Moza, Qalonia [Qalunia]: Meimaris 1986, p. 181, no. 902 [archdeacon]; Choziba Monastery at Wadi el-Qilt: Schneider 1931, p. 317, no. 4; p. 326, no. 171 [monks]), Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 62) and Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 35). The latter occurrences are mostly Early Christian in contrast to the Hauranian ones which date in their vast majority to the Roman period.

The most distinguished person attested in the above mentioned inscriptions is *Bassus* (Umm ez-Zeitûn, Hauran: Waddington, no. 2546a), consul together with *Ablabius* of the year AD 331 (*PLRE* I, pp. 154-155, s.v. *Junius Bassus* 14).

The feminine name *Βάσσα* occurs twice in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 62 [el-Kerak], 328 [Ga'far: *Βάσα*]). A Saint Bassa appears as mother superior of a hermitage in Jerusalem in a letter addressed to her by the empress Pulcheria (*ACO* II. 1, 3, p. 494, l. 1) and as the founder of a Martyrium of Saint Menas in the same city in the Life of Saint Euthymios (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euth.* 30, p. 49, ll. 20-22).

**210.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, originally rectangular in shape. It is broken in the right side and the lower right corner and mended from three fragments. Inv. no.: Z-286. Dimensions: 0.39x0.255x0.04 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed except for the top, is flaked off at the upper left corner, chipped at the upper and right sides and badly weathered. Above the text in the middle there are traces of an incised simple outlined cross. Below the text the once existing decoration has been chiselled away. At the left margin of the inscription a coral branch-like motif is cut with a chisel. The text is engraved in square and round scripts. The letters are small, well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Date: 10 Xanthikos 357 = 31 March AD 462.

Photo Pl. XLII

+

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντ-  
των Δεσπότης. Μνημ-  
ῖον Φασέλης Καρπ-  
4 ωνίου, ἀποθανού-  
σης μετὰ καλοῦ  
ὀνόματος ἐτῶν ο',  
ἐν ἔτι τνζ', ἐν μηνί  
8 Ξανθικοῦ ι', ἐν ἡ-  
μέρᾳ ζ'. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
δὲς ἀθάνατος. ϣ

One (is) the God, the  
Lord of all. Monument of  
Fasele, (daughter) of Carponius (?),  
who died having a good name  
(at the age) of 70 years,  
in the year 357, on the 10th  
(day) of (the) month Xanthikos,  
on (the) 7th day (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: the line begins with a simple cross.

II. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

II. 3-4: the first four letters of the patronymic are hardly discernible.

I. 6: the age numeral is emphatically denoted by a horizontal bar above and below.

I. 7: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal line above; μηνί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 8: Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ: genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is also placed between a horizontal bar above and below as in I. 6.

I. 9: the double horizontal bar denotes also the weekday numeral; θάρσει.

II. 9-10: οὐδείς; at the end of the text a *cross-rho* monogram in slightly oblique position.

## Commentary

I. 3: The feminine name *Φασέλη*, encountered also as *Φασήλη* at Ghor es-Safi, is commented on in inscr. no. 92.

II. 3-4: The name *Καρπώνιος* is discussed above in inscr. no. 104.

**211.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-118. Dimensions: 0.46x0.32x0.09 m. This tombstone as well as no. 78 were found in the same grave and used as cover slabs. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the top, chipped on the right side and weathered mainly on the left side. The inscription is set between double incised guide-lines with remains of red paint on them. Traces of red colour are visible in the text which is also engraved. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are big, mostly symmetrical, carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.02-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XLIII*

Date: 18 Daisios 357 E.P.A. = 7 June AD 462. The hundreds figure of the year numeral as well as the month day numeral are quite doubtful. After revision of the tombstone the hundreds number seems to have been C instead of T and the month day KB instead of HI. If this is the case, then the date could be modified as follows: 22 Daisios 257 E.P.A. = 11 June AD 362 and the inscription should be placed after inscr. no. 21.

[Μν]ημεῖον  
Κλαυδίου Βόνου,  
τελευτήσαντος  
4 ἐτῶν κα', ἐν ἔτι  
τνζ', ἐν μηνί Δε-  
σίου η'. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
δὲς ἀθάνατος,  
8 Κλαύδιε. +  
Ἡμέρᾳ ᾠ Ἀρεως.

Monument of  
Claudius, (son) of Bonus,  
who died (at the age) of 21  
years, in the year 357, on  
(the) 18th (day) of (the)  
month Daisios. Be of good  
cheer, no one (is) immortal,  
Claudius. (He died) on (the)  
day of Mars (?) (Tuesday).

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: [μν]ημεῖον[v]: the first two and the last letters of the word are effaced, *mu* is clear, while the rest are partially preserved.

- I. 2: only faint traces of the three last letters of the patronymic are preserved.  
 I. 4: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.  
 II. 5-6: Δεσίῳ for Δαισίῳ: phonetic spelling of αι and use of genitive in the place of dative singular.  
 I. 6: the month day numeral is inverted; θάρσει.  
 II. 6-7: οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς.  
 I. 8: the name is not clearly visible but is implied by the genitive Κλαυδίου in I. 2; the line ends with a cross.  
 I. 9: faint traces of the two words are preserved.

#### Commentary

I. 2: For the Latin name *Κλαύδιος*, see above commentary of inscr. nos. 54 and 128.

The partially restored name *Βόνος*, Hellenized form of the Latin cognomen *Bonus*, is rather infrequent in Palestine and Arabia. It is only known by two inscriptions found in Hauran at el-Kefr (Waddington, no. 2293a = *PAES* IIIA, no. 670) and at Djâsim (*OGIS* II, no. 613) which refer to the same person, *Φλαοῦιος Βόνος*, governor of Arabia in AD 392 who bore the titles of *comes* and *dux*. In the same year a letter is addressed to *Bonus* by Libanius (*Epist.* 1035) who praises him for his government (on *Bonus*, see *PAES* IIIA, p. 309, no. 670; *PLRE* I, p. 164, s.v. *Fl. Bonus*; Sartre 1982a, p. 105, no. 73).

**212.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-281. Dimensions: 0.415x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is furred with a salt and soil mixture in several parts. The text and an uninscribed area below it (which originally was occupied by painted decoration as the traces of red paint indicate) are enclosed within an almost square frame, the left side of which is incised and red painted, while the other three sides are only in red paint. Above the frame in the middle there is a *cross-rho* and *chi* monogram flanked by two heraldic birds, pecking at the soil, all incised. Traces of red paint are visible in the birds and the monogram which is also decorated with two red painted dots placed diagonally. The inscription is set between incised guide-lines with the exception of those under lines 3 and 7 which are only red painted. The text is all engraved and II. 1,5 are painted over in red. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters, which vary in size, are not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XI

Date: 14 Audynaïos 358 E.P.A. = 30 December AD 463.

(bird) ✱ (bird)  
 Μνημῖον Κλαυ-  
 δίου Ἀβδάλγου,  
 ὑποδ<ι>ακόνου, ἀπα-  
 4 θανούντας ἔτ(ους) τηγ',  
 ἐτῶν κγ', μενός Αὐ-  
 δογέρον ιδ', ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) β'.  
 Θάρσαι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατ-  
 8 vacat ος. vacat

Monument of Claudius, (son)  
 of Abdalges, (the) subdeacon, who  
 died in (the) year 358, (at the  
 age) of 23 years, on (the) 14th  
 (day) of (the) month Audynaïos,  
 on (the) 2nd day (Monday).  
 Be of good cheer, no one  
 (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 3: traces of the three first letters are preserved while the fifth letter *iota* was engraved as *gamma*.  
 II. 3-4: ἀπαθανούντας for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second and last syllables and use of the diphthong ου instead of *omicron* in the fourth syllable.  
 I. 4: the genitive ἔτους is abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign S; the year numeral is denoted by a short horizontal bar (covering only the units figure) above.  
 I. 5: a horizontal bar over the age numeral; μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*.  
 II. 5-6: Αὐδογέρον for Αὐδυνγείρον: *omicron* for *upsilon* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.  
 I. 6: the dative ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the first letter *eta* and the ligature of the two next consonants *mu* and *rho* (*rho* is inserted in the middle of *mu*).

l. 7: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: For the name *Κλαύδιος*, which appears also in the previous inscription, see discussion in inscr. nos. 54 and 128.

l. 2: For the Semitic name *ʾΑβδάλγης*, its etymology and its parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 12.

l. 3: The minor clerical order of the subdeacon (ὑποδιάκονος, ὑποδιάκων) is commented on in inscr. no. 96.

**213.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped all around and broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-109. Dimensions: 0.33x0.24x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed. The text is engraved in a mixed square and round script. The letters are of variable size, carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.018-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XLIII*

Date: 359(?) E.P.A. = 22 March AD 464 - 21 March AD 465(?).

Μνημ-	Monument of
ιον Αὐρή-	Aurelius,
λις Οὐα-	(son) of Valerius,
4 λερίου, ἀ-	who died
ποθαν-	(at the age) of
όντας	9 years,
ἔτῳν θ',	in (the) year
8 [ἔτ]ους τνθ'.	359 (?).

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: Αὐρήλις for Αὐρηλίου: nominative instead of genitive singular.

ll. 4-6: ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.

l. 7: the age numeral is dubious.

l. 8: the first two letters of the word ἔτους are obliterated; dubious is the reading of the year numeral which is denoted by a wavy line above.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: *Αὐρήλιος*, here in the contracted form *Αὐρηλῖς* (this form appears also at Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 368, no. 4 and p. 415, s.v.), was a Roman nomen which became especially popular after the Antoninian Constitution (AD 212). In Christian times it was used as an individual name but with less frequency than in the past (Kajanto 1963, pp. 21-22). This is confirmed by the epigraphical evidence in Palestine and Arabia, where *Αὐρηλῖος*, with the exception of the Christian example of Ghor es-Safi, occurs as a nomen in several third c. inscriptions from Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, nos. 9008, 9009, 9083, 9108, 9277, 9278) and Khisfin in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 71). Among its bearers - mostly Roman officials - the most distinguished is *Αὐρηλῖος Πέτρος*, governor of Arabia in AD 278/9 (Sartre 1982a, p. 99, no. 56). The feminine *Αὐρηλία* occurs also at Bostra either as a nomen (Sartre 1982, nos. 9276, 9409) or as an individual name (ibid., no. 9399).

ll. 3-4: The patronymic *Οὐαλέριος* is Roman too and is encountered in two inscriptions from Bostra (Sartre 1982, nos. 9115, 9116). The person recorded in both texts was *Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Εὐσέβιος Ἰωάννης*, governor of Arabia probably in the first half of the fifth c. AD (Sartre 1982a, p. 106, no. 75).

**214.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved in the upper left corner and broken on the lower side. Inv. no.: Z-205. Dimensions: 0.36x0.25x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the lower right side and has a crack in the lower left side. Throughout the inscribed surface there are visible traces of a previous engraved text. Below the text in the middle there is a big engraved and red painted, outlined cross with serifs, decorated with four large drops drawn in red paint at the edges of its horizontal bar. In its centre there is an incised small cross while above its vertical bar a similar red painted cross is depicted. The inscription and the cross are

enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame. The extension of its vertical and horizontal lines form four right angles in which four small semicircles are inscribed, serving as decorative elements. In the lower left corner inside the frame a small cross with linear serifs is incised. The text is all engraved and ll. 2,6,10 are additionally painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters are of variable size, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XI

Date: 1 Peritios 359 E.P.A. = 16 January AD 465.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ἃ πάγγ/ωγ	One (is) the God, the Lord of all.
	Δεσπότης. Μνημῶ/ν	Monument of Kaiame,
	Καϊάμη<ς> Ζηνοβίου,	(daughter) of Zenobios,
4	ἀποθανούσης με-	who died having a
	τὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματ-	good name (at the age) of
	ος ἑτῶν λεί, ἐν ἔ-	35 years, in the year 359,
	τι τνθ', μηνὸς (palm branch)	on (the) 1st (day) of (the)
8	Περιτίου ἁ', ἐν ἡ- ν	month Peritios, on
	μέρα σαμβάτου.	Saturday.
	Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ννν	Be of good cheer,
	ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	+ (cross motif)	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: ἃ πάντων for ὁ πάντων: the nominative of the masculine article ὁ has been engraved as *alpha*; half of the letter *omega* and the whole *nu* are engraved outside the frame.
- l. 2: μνημεῖον: the last letter *nu* lies outside the frame.
- l. 3: ΚΑΙΑΜΗΘ for Καϊάμη: the engraver probably carved the last letter as *theta* instead of *sigma* (for the name see commentary below); *mu* and *eta* are in ligature.
- l. 6: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below.
- ll. 6-7: ἔτι for ἔτει.
- l. 7: each figure of the year numeral bears a horizontal bar above and below; the line ends with a palm branch in upright position.
- l. 8: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 9: σαμβάτου for σαββάτω: genitive for dative singular.
- l. 10: Θάρσει; οὐδεὶς; this line may have also ended with a symbol which has been chiselled away.

#### Commentary

l. 3: The deceased woman's name is most likely *Καϊάμη*, if we consider that its final letter *theta* on the stone represents a letter-cutter's error for *sigma* which denotes a genitive ending. The feminine *Καῦμη*, appearing below in inscr. no. 234 of Ghor es-Safi, as well as the name *Καϊούμη*, known from el-'Amaqa in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 335), could be considered as variants of *Καϊάμη*. The mention of the masculine name *Καϊάμαθος* in an inscription from Hauran (Têma: PAES IIIA, no. 751) might also imply that ΚΑΙΑΜΗΘ, as written on the stone, is a variant of the feminine *Καϊαμάθη* spelled here in the Semitic way, i.e. devoid of a Greek ending. *Καϊάμη* (or less possibly *Καϊαμάθη*) is the feminine form of the Hellenized Semitic name *Καϊάμος* (for the etymology and the parallels of *Καϊάμος*, see discussion in inscr. no. 69; cf. also *Καϊοῦμος* in inscr. no. 205).

For a commentary on the Greek theophoric name *Ζηνόβιος*, see inscr. no. 13.

215. Tombstone of purple sandstone with white stripes, rectangular in shape and broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-317. Dimensions: 0.43x0.28x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered in the lower part. The surface presents a shallow rectangular cavity in its centre which serves also as a frame for the inscription. Below this frame to the left and right edges there are two deeply engraved outlined crosses with serifs (for the depiction of the back surface see no. 322). The text is also engraved in a mixed square and round script. The letters are almost symmetrical, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIII



Date: 19 Artemisios 360 E.P.A. = 9 May AD 465.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πᾶ-	One (is) the God,
	ντων Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Δο-	Monument of Dousari(o)s,
4	υσαρίου Ῥωμύ-	(son) of Romulus,
	λλου ἀποθανόν-	who died having a
	τος μετὰ καλοῦ	good name and good faith
	δνόματος καὶ κ<α>λ-	(at the age) of 23 years,
8	ῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν	in the year 360,
	κγ', ἐν ἔτι τξ', μηνὶ	on the 19th (day) of (the) month
	Ἀρτεμησίου ιθ', ἡ-	Artemisios, on
	μέρα Κυριακῇ. +	Sunday.
12	Θάρασι, Δουσάρι, οὐ-	Be of good cheer, Dousari(o)s,
	δεῖς ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
	+ +	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the text begins with a simple incised cross.  
 l. 3: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 4-5: Ῥωμύλλου for Ῥωμύλον: duplication of *lambda*.  
 ll. 7-8: the second letter *alpha* of the adjective καλῆς is inadvertently omitted.  
 l. 9: both the age and the year numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above; ἔτι, iotacism for ἔτει.  
 l. 10: Ἀρτεμησίου for Ἀρτεμισίῳ: *eta* for *iota* in the third syllable and use of genitive in the place of dative singular; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.  
 l. 11: a simple cross at the end of the line.  
 l. 12: θάρασι; the correct vocative form is Δουσάριε; the type Δουσάρι may indicate a contracted nominative Δουσάρις.

#### Commentary

- ll. 3-4: The Nabataean theophoric name Δουσάριος is discussed above in inscr. no. 190.  
 ll. 4-5: Ῥωμύλος (*Romulus*) was one of the mythological founders of Rome. As a personal name it was frequent in the Western part of the Roman Empire (*LGPN* IIIA, p. 386), borne even by emperors and consuls (see *PLRE* I and II, s.v. *Romulus*). In the Eastern part it was rare with a few second c. examples from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, p. 355, s.v). The use of the name Ῥωμύλος in this epitaph is not only unique so far for Palestine and Arabia but also indicative for the survival of this name in Christian times. This may be due to the cult of a martyr Ῥωμύλος who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (AD 97-117). His memory is commemorated on the 6th of September (Delehay 1902, p. 20).

**216.** Tombstone of white and yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape and broken in the upper left corner with loss of text. Inv. no.: Z-200. Dimensions: 0.33x0.28x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the text, is chipped in the lower right corner and weathered mainly in the upper right corner with loss of text. The inscription is enclosed within an incised and red painted frame; the latter does not always coincide with the incised one. Below the frame there are traces of red paint. The text is all engraved and ll. 4,7,10 are painted over in red; l. 1 preserves also traces of red paint. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIII

Date: 12 Apellaios 360 E.P.A. = 28 November AD 465. After a recent revision of the tombstone the second figure of the year numeral proved to be the units digit Z instead of the tens figure Ξ as thought before. In this case the date should be given as follows: 12 Apellaios 307 E.P.A. = 28 November AD 412 and the inscription should be placed after inscr. no. 101.

[+ Εἷς Θε]ός, ὁ πᾶντω-  
[ν Δε]σπότης. Μνημῖον

One (is) the God, the Lord of all.  
Monument of Sophronia,

	Σωφρονία Σαδάλλο-	(daughter) of Sadallas, who
4	υ, ἀποθανούσης μετὰ	died having a good name
	καλοῦ ὀνόματος.	(at the age) of 20 years, in the
	ἔτῳ κ', ἐν ἔτι τξ',	year 360, on (the) 12th (day)
	μηνὶ Ἀπελλαίου ιβ',	of (the) month Apellaios,
8	ἡμέρᾳ Ἄρεος. Θάρ-	on (the) day of Mars (Tuesday).
	σι, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer,
	+ τος. ++	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: probably a cross and the first five letters are lost; faint traces of the last five letters are preserved.  
 l. 2: the three first letters are effaced; μνημεῖον: its letters are partially preserved.  
 l. 3: Σωφρονία for Σωφρονίας: nominative instead of genitive.  
 ll. 3-4: from the patronymic only the first and last letter are clear, while the rest are faded.  
 l. 6: the age as well as the year numeral are both denoted by a horizontal bar above and below; ἔτι for ἔτει.  
 l. 7: Ἀπελλαίου for Ἀπελλαίῳ: genitive in the place of dative singular; the month day numeral bears a horizontal bar below and shares the upper horizontal bar with the year numeral.  
 l. 8: Ἄρεος is phonetic spelling of Ἄρεως.  
 ll. 8-9: θάρσει.  
 l. 9: at the end of the line a ligature of *nu* and *alpha* is most likely.  
 l. 10: the last syllable of the word ἀθάνατος is flanked by simple crosses, one to the left and two to the right, of which the last is only in red paint.

#### Commentary

- l. 3: *Σωφρονία*, feminine of *Σωφρόνιος*, seems to be a later form of the ancient Greek name *Σωφρόνη* or *Σωφρονίς* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1478; *LGPN* I, p. 428, s.vv.; II, p. 423, s.vv.). In Palestine and Arabia it is attested mainly in Christian epitaphs from Moab in the spellings *Σωφρονία* (el-Mote: Canova 1954, no. 320) and *Σοφρονία* (el-Kerak: *ibid.*, no. 161). The masculine name *Σωφρόνιος*, in its contracted form *Σωφρόνις*, is encountered in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 796). The reading of the names *Σωφρονίας* and *Σοφρόνης* in Moab (Maḥaiy: Canova 1954, no. 358) and at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 83) respectively is rather doubtful. An eminent historical person bearing this name was Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638). He was a teacher of rhetoric in Damascus (usually identified with Sophronios the Sophist) and later he joined the Monastery of St. Theodosios. He was the author of liturgical and hagiographical texts *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1228-1229, s.v. *Sophronios*). The feminine names *Σωφρονία*, *Σωφρόνη*, *Σωφροσύνη* as well as the masculine *Σωφρόνιος* and *Σώφρων* appear in papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, p. 402, s.vv.).  
 ll. 3-4: On the Semitic theophoric name *Σαδάλλας*, see commentary of inscr. no. 126.

**217.** Tombstone of white sandstone, curved all around, broken in the upper and lower left corners. Inv. no.: Z-328. Dimensions: 0.40x0.37x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed especially in the area of the text. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame (the left line is curved), the upper line of which is incised and red painted, while the other three sides are drawn in red paint. Above the frame there are three incised crosses with linear serifs, the left and right of which bear traces of red paint and are smaller than the central one. Below the frame in the middle a similar cross is flanked by two birds with crests, both heading to the right. This graceful scene is engraved, but the cross, the legs, the tails, the crests and the eyes of the birds are emphasized in red. The text bears red painted guide-lines on every other line; of them the first and the third are also engraved. The lines 1 and 4 of the text bear an extra incised guide-line. The text is all engraved and ll. 2,4,6,8,10 are additionally painted red. The script is of the round type with a characteristic projecting horizontal bar in the letters *eta* and *theta*. The letters are of variable size, some of them carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIV

Date: 23 Apellaios 360 E.P.A. = 9 December AD 465.

+ + +	
Μνημῖον Πέ- τρον Παύλου, ν τελευτήσοντος	Monument of Petros, (son) of Paulus, who died (at the age)
4 ἐτῶν εἴκασει ἐν ἡ- ν μέρᾳ πέμτῃ τοῦ σάβωτος, ἐν μη- ν νὶ Ἀπελλήου ν	of twenty years, on the fifth day of the week (Thursday), on the twenty-third (day) of the month Apellaios,
8 ἱκοσ<τῇ> τρίτῃ, ἥτους τ<ρ>ι- + <α>κοσσιοστοῦ ξ'. ν Θόρσι, οὐδὶς ἄθ(άνατος).	in the year three hundred and sixty. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
(bird) + (bird)	

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον: the first letter is carelessly incised.  
 I. 3: τελευτήσοντος for τελευτήσαντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the fourth syllable.  
 I. 4: εἴκασει for εἴκοσι: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and *ει* for *iota* in the last syllable.  
 I. 5: πέμτῃ is phonetic spelling for πέμπτῃ.  
 I. 6: σάβωτος for σαββάτου: haplography of *beta*, *omicron* for *alpha* in the second syllable and genitive ending in -ος instead of -ου.  
 I. 7: Ἀπελλήου for Ἀπελλαίω: *eta* for the diphthong *αι* and use of genitive in the place of dative singular.  
 II. 7-8: ΕΙΚΟCTPITH is a haplographic mistake for the ordinal εἴκοστῇ τρίτῃ; similarly haplography of the letter *eta* has been probably used for the final letter of this ordinal and the initial letter of the following word ἥτους.  
 II. 8-9: ΤΙΑΚΟCCTOCTOY for τ<ρ>ι<α>κοσσιοστοῦ: the second letter is inadvertently omitted, the fourth is missing the middle bar, while the seventh is doubled.  
 I. 9: this line begins with a cross with serifs similar to those above the text but badly executed; the tens figure of the year numeral is given in numerical sign while all the other numerals are ordinal.  
 I. 10: Θόρσι for θάρσει: the second letter *omicron* of this word is slightly connected with the third letter *rho*; οὐδεὶς; the word ἄθ(άνατος) appears abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign *S* connected with *theta*.

## Commentary

- II. 1-2: Both the name of the deceased and the patronymic are well attested at Ghor es-Safi. For Πέτρος see commentary of inscr. no. 40, while for Παῦλος see discussion in inscr. no. 3.  
 I. 6: The use of the term σάβωτον for the designation of week is already discussed in inscr. no. 131. The peculiar genitive σάβωτος seems to reflect the local pronunciation of the word. The phenomenon of phonetic spelling is obvious throughout the text.

**218.** Tombstone of red sandstone, almost rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-364. Dimensions: 0.465x0.23x0.12 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered in the middle of the text. The text is enclosed within an incised rectangular frame. Above the frame in the middle there is an engraved *cross-rho* monogram, while below it a simple incised cross. The text, in small characters, is engraved and painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIV

Date: 16 Audynaios 360 E.P.A. = 1 January AD 466.

Ⳟ	
Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντ- ων Δεσπότης. Μνη- μῖαν Κυριακῇ Ἰακ- 4 ὄβου, ἀπαθανών- τας μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνάματος <καὶ> καλῆς πίστεως ἐν ἔτι τξ'.	One (is) the God, the Lord of all. Monument of Kyriake, (daughter) of Iakovos, who died (having) a good name (and) good faith in the year 360, (at the age)

8	ἐτῶν κ', ἐν μηνὶ Αὐδ<α>νέου ιζ'. Θάρ- σι, οὐδὲς ἀ<θ>άνατος.	of 20 years, on the 16th (day) of the month Audynaios. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.
	+	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the masculine article ὁ is given as ἁ.
- l. 2: Δεσπάτης for Δεσπότης: *alpha* for *omicron*.
- ll. 2-3: μηνῶν for μηνέων: *iotacism* and use of *alpha* instead of *omicron*.
- l. 3: Κυριακή for Κυριακῆς: *nominative* in the place of *genitive*.
- ll. 4-5: ἀπαθανώντας (correct form ἀποθανόντος) for ἀποθανούσης: use of a vulgar form of the second aorist masculine participle instead of the feminine.
- l. 6: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: double substitution of *alpha* for *omicron*; the letter-cutter omitted the conjunction καί (*asyndeton*).
- l. 7: ἔτι for ἔτει: *phonetic* spelling of the diphthong *ει*; the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above it.
- l. 8: the age numerical figure is also stressed with a horizontal bar; μηνί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.
- l. 9: Αὐδ<α>νέου for Αὐδυνάϊω: the fourth letter, *lambda* on the stone, was intended for an *alpha*, but the letter-cutter forgot to carve the middle bar; *phonetic* spelling of *αι* and use of *genitive* instead of *dative*.
- ll. 9-10: θάρσει.
- l. 10: οὐδεὶς; the middle bar of *theta* in the word ἀθάνατος was inadvertently omitted by the letter-cutter (see also l. 9).

#### Commentary

- l. 3: For a commentary on the Christian names *Κυριακή* and *Κυριακός*, see inscr. no. 140.
- ll. 3-4: The name *Ἰάκωβος*, which is known from the Old and the New Testament (for the epigraphical evidence from Palestine and Arabia concerning the patriarch Jacob, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 89-90; cf. also Di Segni 1990e, p. 390, appendix; Piccirillo 1987, p. 208 = Piccirillo 1994, p. 260, no. 16), is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi. This example enriches the Christian epigraphic material on *Ἰάκωβος* from Palestine and Arabia, which is so far confined to two instances, an *Ἰάκκοβος* from Kh. Seilun in Samaria (SEG 8 [1937], no. 148), and an *Ἰάκοβος* presbyter from Rehovot in the Negev (Tsafrir 1988, pp. 154-159, no. 1; for the infrequency of this name among Christians in general, see Kajanto 1963, p. 95 and n. 1). The use of the personal name *Ἰάκωβος* among the Jews of Palestine was much more common, as is evident from an ossuary found in Jerusalem (Ilan 2001, pp. 92-95) but mainly from the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim where the name occurs in a variety of spellings: *Ἰάκωβος* (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 125), *Ἰάκκωβος* (ibid., no. 6), *Ἰκουβος* (ibid., nos. 94, 96), *Ἰακώβ* (ibid., no. 75), and in the abbreviated forms *Ἰακώς* (ibid., no. 203) and *Ἰακώ* (with the *beta* dropped, ibid., nos. 83, 126, 130). The form *Ἰακώ* is also encountered in a bilingual Greek-Jewish inscription from Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 144-145, no. 37), while *Ἰάκωβος* is mentioned in a Jewish (?) inscription from Tafas (Lifshitz 1967, pp. 49-50, no. 63). The papyrological evidence on *Ἰάκωβος* from Egypt presents an even greater diversity in spelling (for the various forms, see Preisigke 1922, col. 145; Foraboschi 1967, p. 142).

- 219.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost square in shape, broken in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-97. Dimensions: 0.41x0.39x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is weathered in the middle with loss of text. The inscription is enclosed within a double incised rectangular frame; the lower part of the internal frame preserves traces of red paint and its corners are decorated with red painted outlined drops. The middle of the upper part of the double frame is interrupted by an outlined incised cross filled with a *chi*-sign and four crosses. The text is all engraved with l. 11 painted over in red and ll. 7,9 preserving traces of red paint. The script is basically square with a few oval exceptions. The letters are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIV

Date: 15 Hyperberetaios 363 E.P.A. = 2 October AD 468.

+

	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πόν- των Δεσπότης. Μ- νημῖον [Μ]ολέχη Π<αύ>-	One (is) the God, the Lord of all. Monument of Moleche,
4	λου, ἀπ[οθα]νούσης μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμ- ατος καὶ καλῆς <πίστεως> ἐτ- ῶν λεί, ἐν ἔτους	(daughter) of Paulus (?), who died having a good name and good faith (at the age) of
8	τριακοσσιοστοῦ ἑξή- κοστοῦ τρίτου, μη(νός) Ὑπ- ερβερ(εταίου) ιε'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.	35 years, in the three hundred and sixty-third year, on the 15th (day) of (the) month Hyperberetaios. Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

In the upper left corner above the frame the letters IECΘ may be taken as an unsuccessful attempt of the engraver to write the phrase EIC ΘEOC (initial diphthong written ιε instead of ει).

Il. 1-2: πόντων for πάντων: *omicron* for *alpha* in the first syllable.

Il. 2-3: μνημεῖον; the letters *nu* and *eta* are in ligature.

I. 3: the first letter *mu* of the deceased woman's name is obliterated and from the remaining letters only the last letter *eta* is clearly visible; the diphthong *au* of the patronymic is inadvertently omitted.

I. 4: the third, fourth and fifth letters of ἀποθανούσης are effaced.

I. 6: the genitive πίστεως was omitted probably by a haplographic mistake.

I. 7: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: use of genitive instead of dative singular after the preposition ἐν.

Il. 8-9: τριακοσσιοστῷ ἑξήκοστῷ τρίτῳ: dittography of *sigma* in the hundreds numeral and genitive for dative, following the genitive ἔτους.

I. 9: the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*.

Il. 9-10: the month Ὑπερβερεταῖος is abbreviated by the first nine letters and the sign S.

I. 10: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

I. 11: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

I. 3: The remaining traces of the deceased woman's name point to the restoration *Μολέχη*. This Semitic name and its variants are commented on in inscr. no. 76 where it appears as the masculine *Μολέχης*.

Il. 3-4: The preserved letters of the patronymic could only fit the genitive *Παύλου*. The missing diphthong *au* might have been inadvertently omitted by the letter-cutter who in I. 6 has skipped a whole word.

**220.** Tombstone of white and brownish sandstone, almost square in shape, broken in the upper right corner and flaked off on the right side. Inv. no.: Z-193. Dimensions: 0.345x0.325x0.095 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off also on the right side. The text is enclosed within a rectangular frame drawn in red paint. Above the frame there is a small incised and red painted cross. In the lower right margin of the inscription is depicted in red paint an outlined cross with a *chi*-sign inside a square in its centre. The whole text is engraved and Il. 1,3,9,11 are painted over in red, while Il. 4,5,7 are partially painted red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIV

Date: 21 Artemisios 365 E.P.A. = 11 May AD 470.

+

	+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πά- ντων Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον Φι- λήμωνος Κασσ- ισέου, ἀπαθανόγ- τος μετὰ καλοῦ ὀ- νόματος <καί> καλῆς	One (is) the God, the Lord of all. Monument of Philemon, (son) of Kassiseos, who died having a good name (and) good faith (at the age)
4		

8	πίστεως ἐτῶν ιε', ἐ-	of 15 years, in the year
	ν ἔτι τξέ', ἐν μην(νι) Ἀρτ- +	365, on (the) 21st (day)
	εμεσίου ακ', ἐν ἡμ(έρα)	of (the) month Artemisios,
	Κυρίου γ'. Θάρσι, οὐδ-	on the 3rd day of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
12	ἰς ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line starts with a simple cross.  
 I. 3: μνημεῖον.  
 II. 5-6: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.  
 I. 7: the conjunction καί is omitted (*asyndeton*).  
 I. 8: the age numeral bears a horizontal bar only over the tens figure.  
 I. 9: ἔτι for ἔτει; the dative μηνί is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.  
 II. 9-10: Ἀρτεμεσίου for Ἀρτεμισίω; *epsilon* for *iota* in the third syllable and use of genitive for dative singular.  
 I. 10: the month day numeral is inverted; ἡμέρα is abbreviated by a *mu* above *eta*.  
 I. 11: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by its first and last letter; θάρσει.  
 II. 11-12: οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

II. 3-4: *Φιλήμων* was a common Greek name attested already from the fifth c. BC (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1618; *LGPV* I, p. 460, s.v.; ib. II, pp. 447-448, s.v.; ib. IIIA, p. 449, s.v.). It is an adjectival name derived from the verb φιλέω and has the meaning of "affectionate" (*DELG*, vol. IV. 2, p. 1206; *SEG* 41 [1991], no. 1798). The Ghor es-Safi example seems so far to be the first epigraphical attestation of *Φιλήμων* in Palestine and Arabia, while the name was rather frequent in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 462; Foraboschi 1967, p. 331, s.vv. *Φιλήμμων*, *Φιλήμων*). *Φιλήμων* was also one of the seventy Apostles whom St. Paul consecrated bishop and sent to Gaza to preach Christianity (Delehay 1902, index, col. 1175).

II. 4-5: The Hellenized Semitic name *Κασσιέος* is discussed above in inscr. no. 180.

221. Tombstone of purple sandstone, oval in shape, broken on the right side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-32. Dimensions: 0.425x0.235x0.125 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off on the right and lower sides, cracked in the upper part and badly weathered with loss of text. Below the text there are in a row four incised crosses of different size with linear serifs. The inscription and the crosses are enclosed within an incised rectangular frame, the right side of which is missing. Above the frame three similar crosses are incised. The text is engraved in square script. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLV

Date: 3(?) Peritios 366 E.P.A., [10th] indiction = 18 January (?) AD 472.

+ + +	
+ Εἷς Θεός, [ὁ πᾶν]-	One (is) the God,
των Δεσπ[ότης].	the Lord of all.
Μνημῖον Μ[ca. 8]	Monument of M....., (son)
4 Ἀβδά[λγου, ἀ]ναπ[αν]-	of Abdalges (?), who
σάμενος μετ[ὰ καλοῦ]	came to rest having a good
ἀνόματος κα[ὶ καλῆς]	name and [good] faith (at the age)
πίστεως ἐτῶν [., ἐν]	of .. years, on (the) third (day)
8 μηνί Περιτίου τ[ρίτη],	of (the) month Peritios, in (the)
ἔτους τξς, ἐν ἡμ[έρα Κυρίου]	year 366, on the third day of (the)
τρίτη, ἐν χρόνοις [ι' ἰν]-	Lord (Tuesday), during the [10th]
δικτιδόνος. Θάρσι, οὐδ-	indiction year. Be of good cheer,
12 δις ἀθόνοτος.	no one (is) immortal.
+ + + +	

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line begins with a cross; the last four letters are missing.  
 I. 2: the last four letters are lost.  
 I. 3: μνημεῖον: the word is badly weathered; the name of the deceased person is lost.  
 I. 4: from the patronymic only the first four letters are faintly preserved.  
 II. 4-5: [ἀ]ναπ[αυ]σάμενος for [ἀ]ναπ[αυ]σαμένον: nominative for genitive.  
 I. 5: the last six letters are obliterated.  
 I. 6: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the first and *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable; the last six letters are also lost.  
 I. 7: the age numeral and the preposition ἐν are missing.  
 I. 8: Περιτίω for Περιτίω: genitive instead of dative singular; the last four letters are lost.  
 I. 9: the year numeral is covered by a horizontal bar; from the word ἡμέρα only the first two letters are preserved; the end of the line, where the abbreviated word Κυρίου (KY) stood, is missing.  
 I. 10: the last three letters of the line are lost.  
 II. 10-11: [ιν]δικτιόνος for ἰνδικτιῶνος: the first two letters are missing; phonetic spelling of *omega*.  
 I. 11: θάρσει.  
 II. 11-12: οὐδείς.  
 I. 12: ἀθόντος for ἀθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the second and third syllables.

## Commentary

- I. 3: The deceased must have been a man as indicated by the participle [ἀ]ναπ[αυ]σάμενος; of his name only the first letter *mu* is partially preserved.  
 I. 4: We have restored the patronymic as Ἀβδάλογου on the grounds of its frequency in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi. Another possible name could be Ἀβδάλλα.  
 II. 8-11: The month day and the indiction year have been restored on the analogy of the other two dating particles, the era year and the weekday.

222. Tombstone of white to yellowish sandstone, square in shape. Kept in a private collection in Jordan. Inv. no.: Z-87 (in our records). Dimensions: 0.315x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is preserved in good condition. The text is all written in red paint in square script. The letters are nicely drawn and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

No plate

Date: Apellaios 367 E.P.A. = 17 November - 16 December AD 472.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God, the Lord of all.
	Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον	Monument of Siltha,
	Σίλθα, τελευτησάσης	who died having a good name
4	μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος	and good faith (at the age)
	καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ἐ-	of 30 years, in (the) year 367,
	τῶν λ', ἔτους) τξξ', ἐν μηνὶ	in the month of Apellaios,
	Ἀπελλέου, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ [...]	on the ... day.
8	Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer,
	τος. +	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: this inscription starts with a red painted cross.  
 I. 2: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 3: Σίλθα for Σίλθας: nominative for genitive singular, although the following participle is in genitive.  
 I. 6: the word ἔτους is abbreviated by the first two letters.  
 I. 7: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίω: phonetic spelling of αὐ and use of genitive instead of dative singular; the weekday numeral is missing.  
 I. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.  
 I. 9: a red painted cross at the end of the text.

## Commentary

l. 3: *Σιλθα*, a common feminine name in the Ghor es-Safi epigraphy, is discussed in inscr. no. 13. The deceased woman's patronymic is omitted (for this phenomenon see inscr. no. 4).

**223.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved in the upper left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-16. Dimensions: 0.44x0.25x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the upper and lower part. Above the inscription in the middle there is a simple incised cross. The whole text is deeply engraved and painted over in red colour. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters are elongated, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.014-0.044 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLV

Date: 23 Audynaïos 367 E.P.A. = 8 January AD 473.

+	
Μνημῖον	Monument of
Ὀβόδου	Obodas, (son) of
Γάσου, τεληυ-	Gasos, who died in
4 τησαντ(ος) ἐν Χ(ριστο)ῦ,	Christ, in the year
ἐν ἔτι τξξ', ἐν μ(η)-	367, on the 23rd (day)
ν(ι) Αὐδον(αίω) κγ',	of (the) month Audynaïos,
ζήσα<ς> ἔτη	having lived 108
8 ρη'. +	years.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: τεληυτήσαντ(ος) for τελευτήσαντ(ος): the diphthong is in ligature; the participle is abbreviated by a curvilinear sign facing left after the last consonant *tau*.

l. 4: XY with a horizontal bar above is the abbreviation of the genitive Χριστοῦ which was used instead of the abbreviated dative ΧΩ (Χριστῷ).

l. 5: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal line above.

ll. 5-6: the dative μηνί is abbreviated by the two consonants (*mu* and *nu*) of the word.

l. 6: Αὐδον(αίω) for Αὐδυν(αίω): *omicron* for *upsilon* in the second syllable and abbreviation of the word with the first five letters; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 7: ζήσα<ς> for ζήσαντος; the last letter of ζήσας is engraved as *iota*, that is, an incomplete *sigma*.

l. 8: the age numeral is followed by a cross.

## Commentary

l. 2: On the Nabataean name Ὀβόδας, see commentary of inscr. no. 63.

l. 3: The patronymic Γάσος is attested for the first time in Palestine and Arabia. At first sight it looks like a Greek transcription of the Latin cognomen *Cassus* (on the analogy of *Caius* = Γάιος). However the name of the deceased, Obodas, which is a characteristic Nabataean one, points rather to a Semitic origin of the patronymic. A suggestion would be that Γάσος is derived from the divine name Qws (= bow). Qws was the national god of the Edomites (Maraqten 1988, p. 60, s.v.). He was also worshipped by the Nabataeans as is evidenced by a Nabataean inscription from Bostra (Milik 1958, pp. 235-237).

ll. 3-4: The death in Christ, "τελευτήσας ἐν Χριστῷ", is expressed in a similar way in inscr. nos. 121 (ἀνεπάη ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ) and 147 (ἐν Κ(υρίῳ) παυσσαμένη). Cf. also nos. 254, 258.

l. 8: Obodas is the oldest person recorded in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi (see chapter on Age and causes of death).

**224.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-222. Dimensions: 0.45x0.29x0.14 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the upper and lower left corners and chipped on the right side. Below the text towards the right there is an outlined incised and red painted cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre. To the left of the cross, a bird facing toward it and drawn in red paint is hardly



discernible. The inscription and the symbols are enclosed within an engraved and red painted almost rectangular frame with a small decorative drop in the upper right corner. Above the frame towards the right there is another cross similar to the lower one but bigger. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,3,5,6,8,10 bear additional red paint. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters, which are small in the first line and much bigger in the last lines, are fairly well cut but not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLV

Date: 5 Dystros 367 E.P.A. = 19 February AD 473.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων          Δεσπότης. Μνημί-          ον Κῦρος Οὐλπίου,          4 ἀποθανούντος ν          μητά καλοῦ ὁ- ν          νόματος καὶ κα- ν          λῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν          8 ν', ἐν ἔτι τξξ', μη(νός) ν          Δύστρου ε', ἐν ἡ(μ)έ(ρᾱ)          Κυρίου β'. Θάρσει, ν          οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος.          (bird) +</p>	<p>One (is) the God, the Lord of all.          Monument of Kyros, (son) of          Ulpius, who died having a          good name and good faith          (at the age) of 50 years,          in the year 367, on (the)          5th (day) of (the) month          Dystros, on the 2nd day          of (the) Lord (Monday).          Be of good cheer,          no one (is) immortal.</p>
--	---

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: Κῦρος for Κύρου: nominative for genitive singular.

l. 4: ἀποθανούντος for ἀποθανόντος: diphthong ou in the place of *omicron* in the fourth syllable.

l. 5: μητά for μετά: *eta* for *epsilon*.

l. 8: the age numeral *nu* is denoted by an elongated horizontal bar which covers also part of the following letter; ἔτι for ἔτει; the year numeral is also denoted by a long horizontal bar; the genitive *μηνός* is abbreviated by an *eta* above a large *mu*.

l. 9: the elongated horizontal bar above the month day numeral is continued over the next letter *epsilon* as in l. 8; the abbreviation of ἡμέρα consists of the third letter *epsilon* (instead of the usual *mu*) above the first letter *eta*.

l. 10: a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral; θάρσει.

l. 11: οὐδεῖς; the two last letters of ἀθάνατος are smaller and placed higher than the others.

#### Commentary

l. 3: *Kῦρος* was the Greek form of the old Persian name *curash*, "sun", borne by Persian kings, which was completely Hellenized in later periods (*Hesychius*, p. 558, s.v.; *Preisigke* 1922, p. 747, s.v.; *LGPN* I, p. 279; II, p. 277; IIIA, p. 263, s.v.; cf. *Solin* 1977, p. 218). In Palestine and Arabia it is encountered in Christian inscriptions from Hauran (Umm es-Surab: *PAES* IIIA, no. 51), the Choziba Monastery in the Judaean Desert (*Schneider* 1931, p. 321, no. 62), and Nessana (*Nessana* 3, no. 133.1). *Kῦρος* was also the name of a bishop of Madaba before Elias, bishop in AD 530, who is attested in an inscription of 'Ayun Musa (*Gatier* 1986, no. 96d = *Di Segni* 1998, pp. 451-452, no. 59) as well as in an inscription in the baptistery of the Cathedral of Madaba (*Gatier* 1986, no. 138). *Kῦρος* and *Ἰωάννης* are known as a pair of healing Saints (ἀνάργυροι) who were martyred during the reign of Diocletian. Their memory is commemorated on the 31st of January (*Delehay* 1902, p. 433 and index, col. 1117; *Grossmann, Jones and Meimaris* 1998, p. 357). For the feminine name *Κύρα*, see inscr. no. 22.

The Latin gentilicium *Ulpius*, *Οὐλπίος*, which became popular thanks to Trajan, is attested frequently in inscriptions of the Roman period mainly from Hauran (Bostra: *Sartre* 1982, nos. 9006, 9007, 9031, 9088, 9089, 9403; Der'a: *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 951; Tarbâ: *Dunand* 1932, pp. 573-574, no. 115; *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1069; el-Umta'îyeh: *PAES* IIIA, no. 45 and Umm ez-Zeitûn: *ibid.*, no. 765<sup>13</sup>), but also from Golan (Khisfîn: *Gregg and Urman* 1996, no. 71), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 387, no. 24; p. 432, no. 164), Petra (*Sartre* 1993, no. 49), and Iram (S. of Petra: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 347). In all these examples *Οὐλπίος* is used as a gentilicium, while in the present epitaph it appears as an individual name as a consequence of the Christian nomenclature. The name *Οὐλπίος* was also

borne by a friend of Procopius of Gaza, who was probably an advocate (*PLRE* II, pp. 1181-1182, s.v. *Ulpus*).

225. Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost square in shape, curved in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-249. Dimensions: 0.32x0.265x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the upper left and right corners and the lower right side. The inscription in its greater part is enclosed within an incised and red painted frame in the form of a cross. In the upper corners of the cross two schematic heraldic peacocks are depicted, each one accompanied by a small cross with linear serifs. Both the birds and the crosses are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The lower left corner is decorated with a big linear incised cross with triangular serifs which bears also traces of red paint. The lower right corner is occupied with the continuation of the epitaph (Il. 17-21) which was not included in the cross-shaped frame. The text (inside and outside the frame) is engraved, but ll. 1,3,5,7,9,11,13,15 are additionally painted red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are small, not so carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XII

Date: 11 Xanthikos 368 {369} E.P.A. = 1 April AD 473 {474}.

	Εἷς Θεός,	One (is) the God,
	ἃ πά<v>των	the Lord of all.
(peacock)	Δησπάτης. (peacock)	Monument
4	Μνεμ(εῖον) Φασ-	of Fasele,
	+ ἔλη Σίλου, +	(daughter) of Silas,
	ἀπαθαγούσ-	who died
	ης{ι} μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ	having a good name and
8	καλῆς πίστεω<ς> {ἔτω<ς>} ἔτῶ-	good faith, (at the age) of 75 years,
	ν οε', τοῦ {ἔτου<ς>} ἔτους τξή'	in the year 368 (369),
	{τξθ'}, ἐν μενὸς Ξαθι-	on the 11th (day) of (the) month
12	κο<ῦ> ια', ἡμή(ρα) Κυρίου Κυρ<ι>-	Xanthikos, on (the) day of (the) Lord,
	ακῆ. Θάρο-	Sunday. Be of good cheer,
	+ ι, {ς} οὐδὶς	no one (is) immortal.
	ἀθάν<α>-	May God
	ος. Ὁ Θε(ε)ς	give you rest
16	ἀναπού-	among the
	σι σ<ε>	righteous
	μετὰ	(people).
	τῶν δι-	Amen.
20	κέων.	
	Ἀμέν.	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: ἃ in the place of the masculine article ὁ; the *nu* of the word πάντων is omitted.

l. 3: Δησπάτης for Δεσπότης: *eta* for *epsilon* in the first syllable and alpha for *omicron* in the second one.

l. 4: μνεμ(εῖον) for μνημ(εῖον): *epsilon* for *eta*; the word is abbreviated by its first four letters.

ll. 4-5: Φασέλη for Φασέλης: nominative for genitive or haplography of *sigma* since the patronymic begins also with *sigma*.

ll. 6-7: ἀπαθαγούσης for ἀποθαγούσης: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.

l. 7: the third letter *iota* is superfluous.

l. 8: the letter *nu* has been carved by mistake in the place of the final *sigma* of the genitive πίστεως; the letters ETWC are probably a first (mistaken) attempt of the letter-cutter to carve the word ἐτῶν which he repeated correctly right after.

l. 9: the age numeral is partially covered by a horizontal bar and followed by an angular decorative motif; the phenomenon of the repetition of a word, met in l. 8, occurs also in this line with the genitive ἔτους, which is first engraved incompletely ETOY (without the final *sigma*) and then correctly ἔτους; the year numeral, τξή', is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

- l. 10: an additional year numeral,  $\tau\xi\theta'$  (see commentary below), is also covered by a horizontal bar;  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \mu\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}$ : *epsilon* for *eta* and use of genitive instead of dative singular after  $\epsilon\upsilon$ .
- ll. 10-11:  $\Xi\text{ΑΘΙΚΟΗ}$  for  $\Xi\alpha\nu\theta\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$ : the engraver omitted the letter *nu* before *theta*, wrote by mistake *eta* instead of *upsilon* at the diphthong *OY* and used genitive for dative singular; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; the dative  $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  is abbreviated by the first two letters and the third letter *epsilon* (mistakenly engraved as *eta*) above the second letter *mu*; the abbreviation is denoted by a horizontal bar above it which continues partly over the next letter *kappa*.
- ll. 11-12: from the word  $\text{Κυριακῇ}$  the fourth letter *iota* is inadvertently omitted.
- ll. 12-13:  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota$  for  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota$ .
- l. 13: the second letter *sigma* is superfluous;  $\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ .
- ll. 14-15: the engraver forgot to carve the fifth letter *alpha* of the word  $\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ .
- l. 15: the sacred word  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  is abbreviated by the first and last letter and an elongated horizontal bar above covering almost all the preceding letters of this line.
- ll. 16-17:  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\sigma\eta$ : *alpha* for *omicron* in the diphthong *au* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong *η*, since the verb is in the third person singular of the aorist subjunctive; the engraver omitted the accusative ending *-ε* of the personal pronoun.
- ll. 19-20:  $\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  is phonetic spelling of the genitive plural  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ .
- l. 21:  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\nu$ : *epsilon* for *eta*.
- ll. 17-21 are written outside the cross-shaped frame just below the right horizontal bar of the cross and are aligned to ll. 12-16 inside the cross frame.

#### Commentary

- ll. 4-5: The feminine Hellenized Semitic name  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$  or  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\eta\lambda\eta$  is commented on above in inscr. no. 92.
- l. 5:  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$  is most likely the genitive of the name  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  which is discussed in inscr. no. 77.
- ll. 9-10: Of the two year numerals given in these lines, only the first one,  $\tau\xi\eta'$  (368), is perfectly compatible with the other dating elements of the inscription, i.e. month day and weekday. The second year numeral,  $\tau\xi\theta'$  (369), is plausibly a repetition of the first one with a wrong spelling of the units figure.
- ll. 15-20: The epithet in plural  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\iota$ , "righteous", was usually attributed to some Old Testament figures of high morality, such as Noah, Lot, Job etc. (on this epithet, see Lampe, p. 368, s.v.  $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$  B.2; Meimaris 1986, pp. 136-137). The invocation to God for the repose of the deceased "among the righteous" appears repeatedly in the funeral services for the laymen, the priests and the monks in various forms:  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \sigma\kappa\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  (Goar 1730, *passim*). Epigraphically the expression for the repose  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  occurs in an epitaph of a man from Caesarea Maritima found at Tomis (Popescu 1976, no. 44). The augmented phrase  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\omicron}<\sigma>\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \kappa(\alpha\acute{\iota})\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  is encountered in a Byzantine epitaph from Egypt (*SEG* 43 [1993], no. 1175). For more parallels on this formula as well as related expressions such as  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ , see inscr. no. 89 and Feissel 1983, p. 223, no. 267; cf. also commentary of inscr. nos. 28 and 106.

The main feature of this epitaph is the numerous solecisms which reveal the poor knowledge of the Greek language possessed either by the compiler of the text or by the letter-cutter. The latter, having failed to accomodate the entire text within the cross-shaped frame, continued it in the lower right corner of the cross, an area which should normally be occupied by a cross similar to that of the left corner.

- 226.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone with semicircular stripes in the upper right part, originally rectangular in shape. It is broken on the upper right side and chipped mostly on the upper side. Inv. no.: Z-173. Dimensions: 0.38x0.265x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, has several cracks and is weathered in the upper half. The inscription is enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame. Above the frame in the centre there is a red painted simple cross. Attached to the upper left corner of the frame there is an incised and red painted cross with linear serifs in diagonal position. Attached to the opposite right corner there is an incised diagonal line. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,5,9 are painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet with letters well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLV

Date: 9 Loos 369 E.P.A. = 28 July AD 474.

	+	
	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πά-	One (is) the God,
	ντων Δεσπ-	the Lord of all.
	ότης. Μνημῆ-	Monument of
4	ον Κυρίλλου	Kyrrillos,
	Αἰανοῦ, ἀπο-	(son) of Aianos, who
	θανόντος μ-	died having a good name
	ετὰ καλοῦ ὁ-	(at the age) of 30 years,
8	νόματος ἐτ-	in the year 369,
	ῶν λ', τοῦ ἔτ(ους)	on (the) 9th (day)
	τξθ', μη(νός) Λώου	of (the) month Loos.
	θ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
12	ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 3-4: μνημεῖον.

l. 9: a horizontal bar above the age numeral; the word ἔτους is abbreviated by the first two letters and a small sign S.

l. 10: an *eta* above *mu* stands as abbreviation of the genitive μηνός.

l. 11: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

l. 12: the line ends with a cross.

## Commentary

l. 4: On the Greek name *Κύριλλος* and its parallels, see commentary of inscr. no. 96.

l. 5: *Αἰανοῦ* (see also inscr. no. 240) is the genitive of the Greek mythological names *Αἰανός* or *Αἰάνης* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 27), in Latin *Aianus*, which according to some scholars could transcribe in this area the Arabic Ḥaiyan (*PAES* IIIA, p. 413, no. 794; cf. Wuthnow 1930, p. 139) derived from the Semitic root ḥyy, "to live" (Negev 1991, p. 28, no. 432). Examples in the genitive *Αἰανοῦ* have been recorded in Hauran at Sûr (Ewing 1895, p. 135, no. 60), Ḥarrân (*PAES* IIIA, no. 794) and Tarba (*SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1069) as well as at Khirbet ed-Deir, S. of Bethlehem (*SEG* 37 [1987], no. 1494: *Αἰανοῦ μονάζοντος*). The epigraphical attestations of this name include also the variants: *Αἰάνης* at Rakhle in Hermon (*PA* II, p. 248c), *Αἰάνης* at Luzit in the Judaeian Shephelah (Di Segni 1990c, p. 315, nos. 1-2 [same person]), *Ἀειάνης* at Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 342) and in Anti-Lebanon (de Vogüé 1896, p. 328), *Ἀϊάν* at Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 3, no. 93.58). The latter form appears as well in Egypt along with the following variant spellings: *Αἰανός*, *Αἰάνιος*, *Ἀειανός*, *Ἀειάν* (Preisigke 1922, cols. 9, 11, 12; Foraboschi 1967, pp. 19, 21). The variants of the name spelled with the diphthong *ei* seem to correspond better to the Semitic Ḥaiyan.

227. Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right corner and chipped all around. Now kept at the Museum of Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem. Inv. no.: Z-187. Dimensions: 0.46x0.32x0.092 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the inscription. In the lower part there are remains of a mixture of salt and soil and at the bottom remains of plaster of lime. The text is enclosed within an incised and red painted cross-shaped frame. At the edges of the bars of the cross decorative drops filled with red paint have survived. In the upper corners of the cross two birds, each with a small cross on its head, are heraldically represented. In the lower corners of the cross two amphora-type vases are schematically depicted with a cross in their mouths. Both birds and vases are incised and painted over in red. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9,11,13,15 bear additionally red paint. The script follows the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XII

Date: 15 Apellaios 369 E.P.A. = 1 December AD 474.

+	Εἷς Θε-	One (is) the God,
	ός, ὁ πάντ-	the Lord of all.
	ων Δεσπ-	Monument of

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>4 (bird) ὅτης. Μνη- (bird)<br/>               μῖον Ζεβ-<br/>               ίνθα Μουββάνου, ἀπο-<br/>               θανοῦσα μετὰ καλο-<br/> 8 ὃ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς<br/>               πίστεως ἐτῶν ξ', ἐν ἔ-<br/>               τι τξθ', ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπελ- ν<br/>               λέου εἰ', ἐν ἡμ(έρα) Κυριακῇ.<br/> 12 Θάρσει, Ζεβ-<br/> (vase) ίνθα, οὐδὶς (vase)<br/>               ἀθάνατ- ν<br/>               νν ος. +</p> | <p>Zebinthā,<br/> (daughter) of<br/> Moubbanos, who died<br/> having a good name and<br/> good faith (at the age) of<br/> 60 years, in the year 369,<br/> on (the) 15th (day) of the<br/> month Apellaios, on<br/> Sunday. Be of good<br/> cheer, Zebinthā,<br/> no one (is) immortal.</p> |
|--|--|

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line begins with a cross.  
II. 4-5: μνημεῖον.  
II. 5-6: Ζεβίνθα for Ζεβίνθας: nominative for genitive singular.  
II. 6-7: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative instead of genitive singular in compliance with the nominative Ζεβίνθα.  
I. 9: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.  
II. 9-10: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.  
I. 10: the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.  
II. 10-11: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίω: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αἰ and use of genitive in the place of the dative singular.  
I. 11: the inverted month day numeral is covered by a horizontal bar; a small *mu* above an elongated *eta* forms the abbreviation of the dative ἡμέρα.  
I. 12: θάρσει.  
I. 13: οὐδεὶς.  
I. 15: the line ends with a cross.

#### Commentary

- II. 5-6: The feminine Hellenized Semitic name *Ζεβίνθα* is found also in an epitaph from Jurniyye in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 112). It appears in the form *Ζεβινθοῦ* in inscr. no. 146 where the name is briefly commented upon.  
I. 6: The Semitic patronymic Μουββάνος (or Μουββάνης) is attested here for the first time in Palestine and Arabia. It could be the Greek transcription of a Semitic name derived from the root *bn̄y* = 'to build' (Wuthnow, p. 32, s.v.v. *Βάνης*, *Βάνιος*; Stark 1971, p. 77, ss.v. *BNY*; Al-Qudrah 2001, p. 74, s.v. *Βάνιος*).

**228.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost round in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-256. Dimensions: 0.37x0.33x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame and set between guide-lines, all incised with traces of red paint. The text is engraved and preserves also traces of red colour. The script is of the round form. The letters are fairly well cut with a slightly ascending alignment. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. XLVI*

Date: 21 Apellaios 369 E.P.A. = 7 December AD 474.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>Μνημῖον Μαρ-<br/> κέλλα Σεοῦ-<br/> ήρου, ἀποθα- ν<br/> 4 νόντος μετὰ<br/> καλοῦ ὀνόμα-<br/> τος, ζήσας ἐ-<br/> τῶν ο', μηνὸς<br/> 8 Ἀπελλέου κα',<br/> τοῦ τξθ'. Θάρσει,</p> | <p>Monument of Marcella,<br/> (daughter) of Severus,<br/> who died having<br/> a good name,<br/> - having lived 70 years,-<br/> on (the) 21st (day)<br/> of (the) month<br/> Apellaios, in the<br/> (year) 369. Be of good cheer,</p> |
|---|---|

οὐδείς ἀθάνατος.

no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 1-2: Μαρκέλλα for Μαρκέλλας: nominative for genitive singular (or haplography of the final *sigma* with the first letter of the patronymic).

ll. 3-4: ἀποθανόντος for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine aorist participle instead of the feminine one.

l. 6: ζήσας for ζησάσης: the masculine aorist participle in nominative is used in the place of the feminine one in genitive.

l. 8: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίου; the units figure of the month day numeral is faded.

l. 9: the genitive ἔτους, which usually follows the article τοῦ, is omitted.

l. 10: the last four letters are faded.

## Commentary

ll. 1-2: The Hellenized Latin name Μαρκέλλα (*Marcella*) is discussed above in inscr. no. 125.

ll. 2-3: *Σεουήρος*, *Severus*, was one of the most common Latin cognomina (Kajanto 1963, p. 30). It is so abundantly attested in the epigraphy of the Roman and Early Byzantine Palestine and Arabia that the following inventory is far from exhaustive. It was especially popular in the nomenclature of Hauran (for the reasons of this local fashion, see Sartre 1985, p. 237, s.v.) where it is frequently borne by natives (for the occasional correspondence of *Σεουήρος* to the Safaitic swr, see *ibid.*). The village of Umm el-Jimâl alone has so far yielded 12 examples (for the Hauranian epigraphical evidence, see Waddington, index I, p. 7; *PAES* IIIA, index I, p. 463; *SEG* 7 [1934], nos. 252, 1076; *SEG* 38 [1988], no. 1664; Sartre 1982, nos. 9084, 9124, 9272, 9298- 9300, 9421; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 251-252, no. 7). Outside Hauran *Σεουήρος* instances have been recorded at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 223-224, no. 39), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 367-368, no. 3), Beersheba in the Negev (Alt 1921, nos. 8, 9, 10, 34 [same person]), and Iram, S. of Petra (Sartre 1993, nos. 142, 143 [same person]). The name *Σεουήρος* has also been encountered in the spellings *Σεοήρος* in Hauran (Dibîn: *SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1166), *Σευήρος* in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2070b; *SEG* 7 [1934], nos. 948, 1244), at Tiberias, borne by a Jew (*SEG* 33 [1983], nos. 1297 *Σευέ[ρος]*, 1298), and at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 112). A graffito from the latter area presents as well the spelling *Σεβαῖρος* (*ibid.*, no. 40).

Among the eminent persons bearing the cognomen *Σεουήρος* in the inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia are: the emperors Septimius Severus (Qanawât, Hauran: *AAES* III, no. 406) and Severus Alexander (*ibid.*, nos. 382 [el-Mushennef], 432g [Zor'a]), the consul of AD 235 Cl. Severus (el-Mushennef: Waddington, no. 2215), and the first governor of Arabia (C. Claudius Severus, AD 107-115, Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 401, no. 56/57; on his career, see Sartre 1982a, pp. 78-80, no. 1).

229. Tombstone of white sandstone, irregular in shape, broken at the top and at the left and right parts of the lower side. Inv. no.: Z-5. Dimensions: 0.37x0.36x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is cracked in the lower left part and slightly chipped all around. In several places it is covered with a thin layer of a mixture consisting of salt and sand. The whole text, except for two syllables in the last line, is enclosed within an almost square incised frame which preserves traces of red paint. Above the frame in the centre there is an outlined incised cross with triangular serifs (its lower part is red painted), flanked by two schematically engraved birds heraldically placed. The upper part of this scene is lost. In the middle of the left and right sides of the frame two outlined crosses are attached. Both crosses are incised, but the right one is painted over in red and its centre is decorated with a *chi*-sign in red paint. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,4,7 bear also red paint. The script is of the square alphabet with letters fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XII

Date: Panemos 370 E.P.A. = 20 June - 19 July AD 475.

(bird) + (bird)

Εἷς Θεός, ἁ πόν-  
των Δεσπότης.

Μνημῖαν &lt;Μ&gt;αγα-

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.

Monument of Magadele,

4	δέλη Φυάλου,	(daughter) of Phialos,
	+ ἀπαθανοῦσα ἐτῶ- +	who died (at the age) of
	ν δεκαπένται, ἐν ἔ-	fifteen years, in the year 370,
	τους το', μηνᾶς Παν-	in the month of Panemos,
8	έμου, ἡ<μ>έρα τε<τ>άρ-	on (the) fourth day (Wednesday).
	τη. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθά/νατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

Il. 1-2: the article ὁ has been written as ᾰ; πόντων for πάντων: *omicron* for *alpha*.

I. 2: Δεσπάτης for Δεσπότης; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable.

I. 3: μνημίαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of εἰ and *alpha* for *omicron*.

Il. 3-4: <M>αγαδέλη for Μαγαδέλης: nominative for genitive; the first letter *mu* has been carved as *nu*.

I. 5: ἀπαθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: *alpha* for *omicron* and nominative instead of genitive singular.

I. 6: δεκαπένται for δεκαπέντε.

Il. 6-7: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει: the preposition ἐν is followed by a genitive instead of a dative singular.

I. 7: the tens figure of the year numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar; μηνᾶς for μηνός: *alpha* for *omicron*.

Il. 7-8: Πανέμου for Πανήμου: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 8: the second letter *mu* of the word ἡμέρα is engraved as *nu* (see also I. 3).

Il. 8-9: the third letter *tau* of the ordinal τετάρτη is carved as *gamma*.

I. 9: θάρσει; οὐδέις; the last two syllables of ἀθάνατος are written outside the frame.

#### Commentary

Il. 3-4: The feminine theophoric name Μαγαδέλη appears in the variant Μαγοδέλη in inscr. no. 47 where both forms are commented upon.

I. 4: The patronymic is so far unparalleled in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It could have been a misspelling of the mythological Greek name *Φίαλος* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1615, s.v.) which is epigraphically attested in the Latin script *Phialus* in Campania (*LGPN* IIIA, p. 446, s.v.). The feminine *Φιάλη*, known also as the name of a lake in Golan (Tsafir, Di Segni and Green 1994, p. 203, s.v. *Phiale*), occurs in inscriptions from Illyria and S. Italy (*LGPN* as above, s.v.). However, the rare attestation of the Greek name *Φίαλος* combined with the indigenous character of the deceased girl's name points in this case to a Greek transliteration of a Semitic original. The closest parallel to *Φίαλος* is the Semitic name *Φειλα* which in a bilingual inscription from Palmyra (*CIS*, no. 4160) comprises the Greek transcription of the name pyl' = "elephant, ivory" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 118, s.v. *Φειλα*; Stark 1971, p. 108, s.v. *PYL'*).

**230.** Tombstone of grey sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved all around. It is broken on the upper side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-27. Dimensions: 0.38x0.28x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for a small part on the left side. Damage is visible in the middle and the upper right side of the surface with loss of text. There are traces of a slightly incised rectangular frame on the three sides (upper, left and right). The text is engraved and Il. 3,6,9,12 preserve traces of red paint. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are of variable size, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVI

Date: 11 Panemos 370 E.P.A. = 30 June AD 475.

	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Ἀνασ-	Monument of Anastasia,
4	τασία Οὐάλεν-	(daughter) of Valens,
	τος, ἀπαθανού-	who died having a good name
	σης μετὰ καλῶ	and good faith (at the age)
	δνόματος καὶ κα-	of 30 years, in the year
8	λῆ{η}ς πίστεως ἔ-	370, on (the) 11th (day) of

<p>τῶν λ', ἐν ἔτι το',  μη(νὸς) Πανέμ(ου) ια', ἡ(μέ)ρ(α) Κυρι-  ακῇ. &lt;Θ&gt;άρσι, οὐδὶς  12 ἄθάνατος.</p>	<p>(the) month Panemos, on  Sunday.  Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
---	---

#### Critical apparatus

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: Ἀναστασία for Ἀναστασίας: nominative for genitive.

ll. 5-6: ἀποθανούσης for ἀποθανούσης: *alpha* for *omicron*.

ll. 7-8: the vowel *eta* of the adjective καλῆς is incised twice.

ll. 8-9: the vowel *omega* of the word ἐτῶν consists only of three vertical lines not connected to each other.

l. 9: there is a horizontal bar above the age numeral; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

l. 10: the word μνηγός is abbreviated by the usual *eta* above *mu*; ΠΑΝΕΜ stands as abbreviation of the genitive Πανήμου; *eta* is replaced by *epsilon*; the letters *eta*, *rho*, which form the abbreviation of the dative ἡμέρᾱ, are given in ligature.

l. 11: θάρσει: the initial letter *theta* looks like an *omicron* since it is missing the middle horizontal stroke; οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: The Greek names Ἀναστάσιος, Ἀναστασία were popular in Christian times since they expressed the fundamental Christian notion of ἀνάστασις, i.e. the resurrection (Kajanto 1963, p. 11). The name, whose earliest so far epigraphical attestation dates to the mid-fourth c. (ibid., p. 117 and n. 1), was common in the upper classes and the clergy (ibid., p. 121).

Both the feminine and the masculine forms of the name appear with high frequency in inscriptions from Moab (Ἀναστασία: Canova 1954, nos. 12, 18, 43, 48-51, 206, 240, 244, 245, 280, 423; Ἀναστάσιος: ibid., nos. 9, 25, 27, 52, 53, 207, 239, 281, 314), the Negev (Ἀναστασία: Elusa: Alt 1921, no. 60; Rehovot: ibid., no. 95; Nessana: Nessana 1, no. 77; Ἀναστάσιος: Beersheba: Figueras 1985, p. 20, no. 12, presbyter; Figueras 1986, pp. 270-273, no. 2, *illustris*; ibid., pp. 273-276, no. 3, *subscribindarius*; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 184, no. 264), and in pilgrims' graffiti at Wadi Haggag in Sinai (Ἀναστασία: Negev 1977, nos. 28, 42, 67, 79, 98, 99; Ἀναστάσιος: ibid., nos. 2, 26, 51, 140, 145, 159). Sporadic occurrences of Ἀναστασία have been encountered at the Choziba Monastery in the Judean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 328, no. 197, deaconess), at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist by the Jordan River (Meimaris 1986, no. 1155, nun), at Gaza (Glucker 1987, nos. 17, 20, 21), and at Khirbet el-Mekhayyat on Mount Nebo (Gatier 1986, no. 97 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 442-443, no. 42). Respectively the masculine Ἀναστάσιος is sporadically attested in Hauran (Qasr el-Ḥallabât: PAES IIIA, no. 18, governor; Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9134, silversmith), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 218, no. 34; pp. 233-235, nos. 50-51, emperor), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: SEG 8 [1937], no. 35, governor; FitzGerald 1939, pp. 13-14, *comes*; Di Segni 1999, pp. 638-639, two inscriptions mentioning the emperor Anastasios as benefactor), Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 469-470, nos. 277, 278, governor), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 379-380, no. 58; p. 388, no. 78, mosaicist; see also p. 415, s.v.), Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 52, no. 99; Meimaris 1980, pp. 225-228, no. 1, bishop), Deir Muqallik (St. Theoktistos Monastery) in the Judean Desert (Goldfus, Arubas and Alliata 1995, p. 290, no. 15), Ḥorvat Sokho in the Judean Shephelah (Tzaferis 1996, pp. 25-27\* [Hebrew text], pp. 197-198 [English summary], Ἀναστάσις deacon), and Pharan in Sinai (Meimaris 1980, pp. 228-232, no. 2, subdeacon). Finally, a Jew bearing the name Ἀναστάσιος, appears in a third-fourth c. funerary inscription at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 99; for the use of Ἀναστάσιος by the Jews already in the first Christian century, see Kajanto 1963, p. 111).

ll. 4-5: For the Hellenized Latin name Οὐάλης, *Valens*, see commentary of inscr. no. 109.

231. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-21. Dimensions: 0.44x0.32x0.20 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is full of chisellings. A fragment of plaster is preserved stuck to the right of the lower side. The text is enclosed within an incised and red painted frame; the extensions of its vertical and horizontal lines form small decorative triangular motifs at its four corners. Above the frame in the middle stands a cross with triangular serifs flanked by two heraldic birds of different kind. The text is all engraved



and ll. 2,5,8,11 bear additionally red paint. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters are well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVI

Date: 12 Peritios 370 E.P.A. = 27 January AD 476.

	(bird) + (bird)	
	+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Ἀντυο-	Monument of Antys,
4	ς Πέτρου, περι<μ>ικ(ηρίου),	(son) of Petros, (the) <i>primicerius</i> ,
	ἀποθανόντος μ-	who died having a good name and
	ετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμ-	good faith (at the age)
	ατος καὶ καλῆς π-	of 50 years, in (the)
8	ίστεως ἐτῶν ν', ἔ-	year 370, on (the) 12th
	τους τό', μη(νός) Περιτί-	(day) of (the) month Peritios,
	ου ιβ', ἡ(μέρα) Κυρίου γ'.	on (the) 3rd day of (the) Lord (Tuesday).
	Θάρασι, οὐδὶς ἀθά-	Be of good cheer,
12	νατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the line starts with a simple cross.

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the genitive περιμικηρίου is abbreviated by the first six letters and an oblique stroke at the last letter *kappa*; the fourth letter *mu* has been inadvertently written as *nu*.

l. 8: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.

l. 9: the year numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.

l. 10: the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated only by its initial letter *eta*; the weekday numeral is covered by a horizontal bar.

l. 11: θάρασι; οὐδείς.

l. 12: the text ends with a simple cross.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: As revealed by his patronymic, Antys could have been the son of Petros (mentioned in inscr. no. 162) whose father was called Antys. The chronological data (age and year of death) seem to accord too with this hypothesis.

l. 4: The common Christian name Πέτρος is commented on in inscr. no. 40.

Πριμικήριος (*primicerius*: primus in the *cera* = the wax-tablet) was a title bestowed on the head of an *officium* or of a department of the military or civil services. There was for example *primicerius* of *domestici*, *protectores*, *duces*, *scholae*, *maj. officiorum*, *sacri cubiculi* etc. Among the *primicerii* a distinguished position was occupied by the *primicerius notariorum*, that is of the imperial notaries who served in the Court as secretaries and recorders of proceedings. The title of *primicerius notariorum* ("πριμικήριος νοταρίων" or "πρωτονοτάριος") was also adopted by the Church. It was held by clerics of lower rank (mainly deacons) and is attested already in the fifth c. AD (on *primicerius* see Jones 1964, index, p. 1509, s.v.; *KP* 3, pp. 1134-1135; Hanton 1927-1928, p. 119; for ecclesiastical *primicerii*, see Lampe, p. 1131, s.v. *πριμικήριος* and mainly Leontaritou 1996, pp. 477-482 with a prosopographical list of *primicerii* from 5th to 11th c. AD). The epigraphic attestations of *primicerii* in Palestine and Arabia are rather infrequent and come mainly from Hauran. The earliest of them, originating in Imtân, refers to the *primicerius* Laitila (styled "πριμάκηρος") who had also been a *ducenarius* (*SEG* 7 [1934], no. 1194; cf. Kennedy 2000, p. 207, no. 6, AD 306/7). It has been suggested that the fragmentary title applied to a certain Bassus in a building inscription from Umm el-Jimâl (*PAES* IIIA, no. 237) is to be restored as "πριμικ[ήριος] οἰκονο[μίας]", *primicerius dispensationum*), that is head of the staff charged with the management of income and expenditure related to the military administration of the province (*PAES* IIIA, no. 237; cf. Kennedy 2000, pp. 85-86, no. 7, AD 412/3). In a building inscription from Medjdel esh-Shôr appears the interesting term "πριμηκηῤατον", denoting the tenure of the office of *primicerius* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 169, AD 430/1). A sixth c. papyrus from Nessana in the Negev offers another example of *primicerius* (*Nessana* 3, no. 35.2). His role was a military one since, according to the

editor, he was probably chief of the *priores* (officers who comprised the staff of the *numerus*, *ibid.*, pp. 109-110, n. 2 and p. 21). Although the nature of his office is not specified in the epitaph, the *primicerius* from Ghor es-Safi should have also been a military one (for the military presence at Zoora, see inscr. no. 30).

232. Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the lower right corner, cracked in the lower part and chipped on the right side. Inv. no.: Z-337. Dimensions: 0.47x0.35 m.; thickness unrecorded. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is damaged in several places. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9,11 preserve traces of red paint. The script is of the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVI

Date: 12 Artemisios 371 E.P.A. = 2 May AD 476.

	† Εἷς Θεός, ὁ π-	One (is) the God, the
	άντων Δησπό-	Lord of all. Monument
	της. Μνημῖον Κύ-	of Kyra, (daughter) of
4	ρα Κασσιανοῦ, ἀπο-	Cassianus, who died
	θανοῦσα μετὰ κα-	having a good name
	λοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ	and good faith (at the
	καλῆς πίστεως	age) of 20 years,
8	ἐτῶν κ', τοῦ ἔτους	in the year 371, on
	τοᾶ, μενός Ἀρτε-	(the) 12th (day) of (the)
	μεσίου{ου} ιβ', ἡμέ-	month Artemisios, on
	ρα Κυριακῇ.	Sunday.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the inscription starts with a cross ending in linear serifs.

ll. 2-3: Δησπότης for Δεσπότης: *eta* for *epsilon* in the first syllable.

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: Κύρα for Κύρας: use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

ll. 4-5: ἀποθανοῦσα for ἀποθανούσης: nominative for genitive in accordance with the name of the deceased.

l. 9: μενός for μηνός: *epsilon* for *eta*.

ll. 9-10: Ἀρτεμεσίου for Ἀρτεμίου: *epsilon* for *iota* in the third syllable; the genitive ending -ου is carved twice.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: The frequent occurrence in Ghor es-Safi of the feminine name *Κύρα* is discussed in inscr. no. 22.

l. 4: For the Latin name *Cassianus* (*Κασσιανός*), see above commentary of inscr. no. 142.

233. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, slightly curved in the upper and lower corners. It is broken in the lower left corner, chipped all around and mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-11. Dimensions: 0.46x0.34x0.09 m. The inscribed surface is chipped at the edges, especially in the upper right corner with loss of text, and on the lower side. Below the text to the left there are traces of three incised and red painted crosses. The inscription is enclosed within an also incised and red painted rectangular frame. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9,11 bear additionally red paint. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters are small, bigger in the last lines, fairly well cut but with a noticeable descending alignment; this is also the case with the surrounding frame. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVII

Date: 20 Xanthikos 372 E.P.A. = 10 April AD 477.

† Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God, the
Δεσπότης. Μνημῖ-	Lord of all. Monument of

ον Ἐννης Θεοδώρου,	Enne, (daughter) of Theodoros,
4 ἀποθανούσης μετ-	who died having a good name
ἃ καλοῦ ὀνόματος	and good faith (at the age)
καὶ καλῆς πίστεως	of 38 years, in the year 372,
ἐτῶν λη', ἐν ἔτ<ει> τοβ',	on (the) 20th (day) of (the)
8 μηνὶ Ξανθικοῦ κ',	month Xanthikos, on (the)
ἡμέρᾱ Κυρίου α'.	1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday).
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθάν-	Be of good cheer,
ατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
+ + +	

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: a linear cross stands at the beginning of the line.

II. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

I. 7: the age as well as the year numeral are denoted by a horizontal bar above; in the dative ἔτει the diphthong ει is written inverted.

I. 8: Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ: genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.

I. 9: the weekday numeral is faded.

I. 10: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

I. 11: the text ends with a linear cross with serifs.

## Commentary

I. 3: The feminine Ἐννη is the Greek transcription of a Semitic name derived from the root hnn, "to long for, to have compassion, to be gracious" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 46, 142; Negev 1991, p. 30, no. 468). It is frequently attested in epitaphs from Hauran (Dussaud and Macler 1901, p. 200, no. 83; PAES IIIA, nos. 30, 85, 154, 190, 321, 796<sup>2</sup>; Wuthnow 1930, p. 46, s.v.; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, pp. 258-260, no. 16) where the masculine form is also encountered in the spellings Ἐννος (PAES IIIA, no. 370) and Ἐνος (ibid., nos. 178, 659; Wuthnow 1930, p. 46, s.v.). These two forms were recently found at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 375, no. 35; p. 377, no. 47). Ἐννη, on the other hand, occurs as well in the lengthened form Ἐννάθη (see above commentary of inscr. no. 2).

For the Greek theophoric name Θεόδωρος, see discussion in inscr. no. 112.

234. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved in the upper right corner, broken in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-2. Dimensions: 0.475x0.325x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in the corners except for the lower right one. The inscription is enclosed within an engraved rectangular frame and set between incised guide-lines. Above and below the frame almost in the middle two incised outlined crosses are depicted: the upper cross has serifs, while the lower bears a *chi*-sign in its centre. The text is all engraved in square script which presents a few round characters. The letters are rather elongated, mostly symmetrical, well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVII

Date: 20 Daisios 374 E.P.A. = 9 June AD 479.

+	
+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God, the
Δεσπότης. Μνημῖο/ν	Lord of all. Monument of
Καῦμης Σαμιράβο/ν,	Kaume, (daughter) of Samirabbos,
4 ἀπαθανούσης	who died having a good name
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	and good faith (at the age) of
ματος καὶ καλῆς	20 years, in the year 374,
πίστεως ἐτῶν κ',	on (the) 20th (day) of (the)
8 ἐν ἔτι τοδ', μηνὶ	month Daisios, on
Δησίου κ', ἐν ἡμ(έ)ρ(α)	Saturday.
Σαββάτῳ. Θάρσει, οὐ-	Be of good cheer,

ν + δις ἀθάνατος.

no one (is) immortal.

+

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line begins with a cross whose vertical bar coincides with the line of the frame.
- l. 2: μνημεῖον: the last letter *nu* of the word is written outside the frame.
- l. 3: Σαμιράββου: the *upsilon* of the diphthong *ou* is also engraved outside the frame.
- l. 4: ἀπαθανούσης for ἀποθανούσης: *alpha* for *omicron*.
- l. 7: a horizontal bar above the age numeral.
- l. 8: ἐν ξτι, phonetic spelling for ἐν ξτει; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.
- l. 9: Δησίου for Δαισίω: *eta* in the place of the diphthong *αι* and genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is emphasized by an elongated horizontal bar above; the dative ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the first, second and fourth letters, *eta-mu-rho*, in an elaborate ligature.
- l. 10: θάρσει.
- ll. 10-11: οὐδεῖς.
- l. 11: the line opens with a cross; ἀθάνατος for ἀθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha*.

#### Commentary

- l. 3: *Καῦμη* is in all probability a variant spelling of the Hellenized Semitic feminine name *Καϊούμη* or *Καϊάμη* which is encountered and discussed above in inscr. no. 214. For the masculine forms *Καϊάμος* and *Καϊοῦμος*, see inscr. nos. 69 and 205 respectively. For the Semitic name *Σαμίραββος*, popular at Ghor es-Safi, see above commentary of inscr. no. 15.

**235.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved at the top and broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-202. Dimensions: 0.41x0.28x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been nicely smoothed, is flaked off only on the lower right side. Below the text in the middle an incised vase with tall foot is depicted, the conical belly of which is decorated with red painted trellis. To the left of the vase traces of a slightly engraved bird are preserved. The text and the decoration are enclosed within a rectangular incised frame the vertical and horizontal lines of which are projecting. The external left side of the frame is decorated with oblique red painted lines. On the upper line of the frame to the right rests an outlined cross with serifs filled with red paint. Below the frame in the middle there are faded traces of a red painted motif, probably a cross with serifs. The text is all engraved and ll. 3,6,9 are painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet except for a few round characters. The letters in ll. 1-8 are small and deeply engraved, while the rest and the decoration below are larger and slightly incised; they are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.004-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVII

Date: Dystros 375 E.P.A. = 15 February - 16 March AD 481.

+

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων  
Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον  
Παύλου Πέτρου, ἀπο-  
4 θανόντος μετὰ κα-  
λοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ κα-  
λῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν μ',  
ἐν ἔτι τοέ, ἐν μηνί  
8 Δύστρου, ν ἐν ἡμέ-  
ρα Κυρίου δευτέρᾳ.  
Θάρσι, Παῦ<λ>ε, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.  
(bird) (vase)

+

One (is) the God, the  
Lord of all. Monument of  
Paulus, (son) of Petros,  
who died having a good name  
and good faith (at the age) of  
40 years, in the year 375,  
in the month of Dystros,  
on the second day of  
(the) Lord (Monday).  
Be of good cheer, Paulus,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line opens with a cross bearing linear serifs.  
 l. 2: μνημεῖον.  
 l. 6: the age numeral is stressed by a horizontal bar above.  
 l. 7: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; the year numeral is also denoted by a horizontal bar above it; the last letter *iota* of the dative μηνί bears a trema above.  
 l. 8: Δύστρον for Δύστροφ; genitive instead of dative singular; the engraver omitted the month day numeral (one letter space), although he carved the emphatical horizontal stroke above its position.  
 l. 9: the weekday is given in ordinal number, while the age and the year are denoted in numerical figures.  
 l. 10: θάρσει; the fourth letter *lambda* of the vocative Παῦλε has been engraved as *alpha*; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

- l. 3: Πέτρος and Παῦλος are very common names in Palestine and Arabia; for the former see commentary of inscr. no. 40 and for the latter inscr. no. 3.

**236.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved in the upper left corner, broken in the left side and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-18. Dimensions: 0.49x0.28x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked on the lower right side and covered with lichens. Below the text to the left traces of a red painted bird facing right are discernible. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,2,7,8 preserve remains of red paint. The script is of the square form. The letters are small, not carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVII

Date: 23 Apellaios 376 E.P.A. = 9 December AD 481.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God,
	Δεσπότες. Μνημῖον	the Lord of all. Monument
	Σαωρέου Παύλου, ἀ-	of Saoreos, (son) of Paulus,
4	ποθανόντος μετὰ <κα>λοῦ	who died having a good name
	ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	and good faith, (at the age) of
	τεως ἡτῶν δέκα δ{ι}ύο,	twelve years, in the year 376,
	ἐν ἔτους τοῦ μηνός	on (the) 23rd (day) of (the) month
8	Ἀπελέου κγ', ἐν ἑμέρᾳ	Apellaios, on the seventh day of
	Κυρίου ἐβδόμη. Θάρσι, οὐ-	(the) Lord (Saturday). Be of good cheer,
	δὲς ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
	(bird)	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line starts with a simple cross; there is a ligature of the two last letters *omega* and *nu* of the word πάντων.  
 l. 2: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης; *epsilon* for *eta* in the last syllable; μνημεῖον.  
 l. 4: due to a haplographic mistake the letter-cutter skipped the first syllable of the adjective καλοῦ.  
 l. 6: ἡτῶν for ἑτῶν; *eta* for *epsilon*; δέκα δ{ι}ύο for δώδεκα: the initial letter of the word δύο is unfinished and attached to the following letter *iota* which is superfluous.  
 l. 7: ἐν ἔτους for ἐν ἔτει; genitive for dative singular; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.  
 l. 8: Ἀπελέου is phonetic spelling for Ἀπελλαίου; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; ἑμέρᾳ for ἡμέρᾳ; *epsilon* for *eta*.  
 l. 9: the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter; the engraver carved the last letter *eta* of the ordinal ἐβδόμη as *theta*, probably attracted by the following *theta* of the word θάρσει; θάρσι for θάρσει.  
 ll. 9-10: οὐδεῖς.  
 l. 10: the text ends with a simple cross.

## Commentary

- l. 3: The name Σαωρέος, found also in inscr. nos. 258 and 307, could be considered as Greek transliteration of the Arabic Shahur (PAES IIIA, p. 173, no. 324) or Sahar (Wuthnow 1930, p. 169).

Variant spellings of this name have been recorded in inscriptions of the Roman period in Hauran: *Σαοῦρος* (Umm ez-Zeitûn: *PAES* IIIA, no. 765<sup>13</sup>; Suwaret el-Kebîreh: *AAES* III, no. 360), *Σαοάρος* (Nimre: Waddington, no. 2184), *Σαυάρος* (Nemâra: *PAES* IIIA, no. 741; Umm el-Hârêtein: Waddington, no. 2542), *Σαῦρος* (Umm el-Jimâl: *PAES* IIIA, no. 324; Nemâra: Dunand 1932, p. 569, no. 98). There have been recorded as well two Christian occurrences of the name at 'Ain et-Tabgha in the form *Σαοῦρος* (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 6) and at Kh. el-Beiyûdât (N. of Jerusalem) in the spelling *Σαόρας* (Di Segni 1990b, pp. 268-270, no. 4).

For *Παῦλος* see discussion in inscr. no. 3.

l. 7: The discrepancy observed between the weekday indicated on the stone (Saturday) and that reached at by modern computation (Wednesday) could plausibly be due to the writing of the units figure *stigma* (= 6) in the place of *gamma* (= 3) in the year numeral, a mistake made either by the commissioner or by the stonecutter of the inscription. That is, if the year numeral were τογ' (=373) instead of τοζ' (= 376), then all the dating elements would be in perfect accordance.

237. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and chipped in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-318. Dimensions: 0.36x0.25x0.14 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in several places and presents a thin layer of a salt and sand mixture on the left side from top to bottom. The inscription is enclosed within a heavily red painted frame which is faded on the right side. The whole inscription is engraved and there are traces of red paint in ll. 1,4,7,10. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVIII

Date: 15 Xanthikos 377 E.P.A. = 5 April AD 482.

Εἷς Θεός, ἃ πάντων	One (is) the God, the Lord of all.
Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον	Monument of Aeneas,
Αἰνίου Αἰνίου στρ(ατιώτου),	(son) of Aeneas, (the) soldier,
4 ἀπαθανούντος ν	who died having
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-	a good name and
ματος καὶ καλῆς	good faith (at the age)
πίστεως ἑτῶν ξ',	of 60 years, in the year 377,
8 ἐν ἔτι τοζ', μηνί	on (the) 15th (day) of (the) month
Ξανθικοῦ ιε', ἐν ἡ(μέ)ρ(α)	Xanthikos, on the 2nd day (Monday).
β'. Θάρ ν σι, οὐδὶς	Be of good cheer,
ἀθάνατος. νν	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: ἃ in the place of the article ὁ.

l. 2: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: Αἰνίου, phonetic spelling of Αἰνείου; the letters CTP stand probably as abbreviation of the genitive στρ(ατιώτου).

l. 4: ἀπαθανούντος for ἀποθανόντος; *alpha* for *omicron* and diphthong *ou* for *omicron*.

l. 8: ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

l. 9: Ξανθικοῦ for Ξανθικῶ; genitive for dative singular; the word ἡμέρᾱ is abbreviated by the letters *eta*, *rho* in ligature.

l. 10: θάρσει: there is one space left uninscribed between *rho* and *sigma* due to flaking off of the surface; οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

l. 3: Both the son and the father bear the same name. For this phenomenon, see commentary of inscr. no. 187. For the personal name Αἰνείας, see commentary of inscr. no. 17.

Στρ(ατιώτης) seems to be the most plausible interpretation for the three letters following the patronymic. The military presence in the city of Zoora, which had a strategic position, is confirmed by Eusebius (*Onom.* 42.1-5) who states that Zoora was the site of a Roman fort and garrison. From the *Notitia Dignitatum* (72.7) we are informed that a cohort of mounted archers was stationed in the city (see above commentary of inscr. no. 30). An additional evidence for the existence of a military unit in Zoora is furnished by the Beersheba Imperial edict dated a little later than this epitaph (plausibly in the early sixth c. AD; Alt 1921, pp. 4-8, no. 1). This edict classifies the soldiers of

Zoora among the *limitanei*, the border troops, and assesses them a tax (*annona militaris*) of 50 *solidi*, a high sum which according to Alt (*ibid.*, p. 8) is a sign of the economic prosperity of the city. From this list it can be deduced that these soldiers had received grants of land which were subject to taxation.

Troops were also stationed at Nessana, another important stronghold at the *Limes* of Palaestina Tertia. A considerable number of sixth c. papyri from this city provides valuable evidence for the military installation in the area (for soldiers' mentions, see *Nessana* 3, index XI, p. 351, s.v. στρατιώτης; for more information on their status as provided by their documents, see *ibid.*, pp. 19-24). Epigraphic attestations of the term στρατιώτης have been recorded in two sixth c. inscriptions, one from Jericho (Augustinovich 1951, p. 80 = Meimaris 1986, no. 526) and another from Pella (*Pella* I, pp. 188-191). In the latter the two soldiers mentioned are styled "καθωσιωμένοι", "dedicated, most loyal" (on this term see *ibid.*, pp. 189-190; the same epithet is found in *Nessana*: *Nessana* 3, papyrus no. 15/3; cf. also Di Segni 1999, p. 152, n. 15). Soldiers, mostly of the Third Cyrenaic Legion, are frequently attested in inscriptions of the Roman period from Hauran (see for example *PAES* IIIA, index V, p. 476, s.v. στρατιώτης, Sartre 1982, nos. 9002, 9358, 9396), al-Madwar (Mittmann 1970, p. 186, no. 22), and Rihab (Gatier 1998, p. 399, no. 103; p. 400, no. 108; cf. also Kennedy 2000, p. 103, no. 11). Soldiers (στρατιῶται) appear also among the functionaries enumerated in the Edict of Anastasios I from Qaṣr el-Ḥallabât, an army-post of the province of Arabia (*PAES* IIIA, no. 20, *passim*).

238. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved in the upper left corner, broken in the upper right corner and chipped on the right and lower sides. Inv. no.: Z-211. Dimensions: 0.41x0.21x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off at the bottom and weathered. Traces of a slightly incised frame and guide-lines are discernible here and there. Above the frame there is a large outlined incised cross, the horizontal bar of which is decorated with three *chi*-signs. The text is all engraved in square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters are small, rather well cut and aligned, but more crowded in the last six lines. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVIII

Date: 23 Dystros 378 E.P.A. = 8 March AD 484.

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>             + Εἷς Θεός, ἃ ν              πάντων Δεσ-              πότης. Μνημῆ-              4 αν Σάβας Ἰαλε- ν              ξάνδρου, ἀπο-              θονόντος με-              τὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-              8 ματος καὶ καλῆ-              ς πίστεως ἐτῶν              μ', τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ              ἐν μηνὶ Δύστρου              12 κγ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἄ-              θάνατος. +           </p>	<p>             One (is) the God,              the Lord of all.              Monument of Sabas,              (son) of Alexandros,              who died having a              good name and              good faith              (at the age) of 40              years, in the year              378, on (the) 23rd of              (the) month Dystros.              Be of good cheer,              no one (is) immortal.           </p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the text starts with a simple cross; ἃ in the place of the masculine article ὁ.
- II. 3-4: μνημῆαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of εἰ and use of *alpha* instead of *omicron*.
- I. 4: Σάβας for Σάβα: nominative for genitive singular.
- II. 5-6: ἀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha*.
- II. 7-8: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: initial *alpha* for *omicron*.
- I. 10: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below, while the year numeral only by the same bar below.
- I. 11: μηνί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*; Δύστρου for Δύστρω: genitive instead of dative singular.
- I. 12: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.
- I. 13: the text ends with a simple cross.

## Commentary

l. 4: The Hellenized Semitic name *Σάβας* is commented on in inscr. no. 134.

ll. 4-5: The common Greek name *Ἀλέξανδρος* is discussed in inscr. no. 139.

**239.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved at the top and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-174. Dimensions: 0.39x0.24x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,5,9,12 are painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are medium sized, elongated, nicely carved and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVIII

Date: 10 Gorpaios 379 E.P.A. = 28 August AD 484.

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God, the
των Δεσπότε-	Lord of all.
ς. Μνημῖον Σίλθ-	Monument of Siltha,
4 ας Μαργάνι, ννν	(daughter) of Margani(s),
ἀποθανούσης	who died having a good
μετὰ καλοῦ ὄν-	name and good faith
8 ὁματος κ(αί) καλ-	(at the age) of 60 years
ῆς πίστεως ἐτῶ-	in the year 379, on (the)
ν ξ', ἐν ἔτι τοθ', ἐν	10th (day) of (the) month
μηνὶ Γαρπιέου	Gorpaios, on (the) 2nd day
ί, ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου β'. Θάρσ-	of (the) Lord (Monday). Be of
12 ι, οὐδὲς ὀθάνατος.	good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 2-3: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης: *epsilon* for *eta* at the last syllable.

l. 3: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: three spaces left uninscribed at the end of the line.

l. 7: the conjunction καί is abbreviated by the first letter *kappa* and a small S-sign adjacent to the lower oblique stroke of the letter.

l. 9: the age and the year numeral are denoted by a horizontal bar above them; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

l. 10: Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίῳ: *alpha* for *omicron*, phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive in the place of dative singular.

l. 11: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral; the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter and a horizontal bar above them.

ll. 11-12: θάρσει.

l. 12: οὐδεὶς; ὀθάνατος for ἀθάνατος: the initial vowel is *omicron* instead of *alpha*.

## Commentary

ll. 3-4: For the feminine name *Σίλθα*, frequently attested at Ghor es-Safi, see inscr. no. 13.

l. 4: *Μαργάνι* is probably the genitive of *Μαργάνης*, contracted form of *Μαργάνιος*. This Hellenized Semitic name is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi. It might have been the Greek transliteration of the Arabic murgan, "coral".

**240.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and curved all around. Inv. no.: Z-172. Dimensions: 0.51x0.28x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped in the upper right corner and the lower left side. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised frame. In the middle of the upper line of the frame there is a linear cross with deeply engraved triangular serifs. In the same place below the frame a cross formed by four triangles and a central lozenge, is slightly incised. The text is engraved in square script. The letters are small, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.06-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLVIII

Date: 17 Apellaios 379 E.P.A. = 3 December AD 484.

+

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-

One (is) the God,



	των Δεσπότες. ν	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Οὐαλε-	Monument of Oualentinos
4	ντίνου Αἰανουῦ, ὕ- ν	(Valentinus), (son) of Aianus,
	ποδιακ(όνου), ἀποθαν- ν	(the) subdeacon, who died having
	όντος μετὰ καλοῦ	a good name and good
	δνόμοτος καὶ κα-	faith (at the age) of 60
8	λῆς πίστεως ἐτῶ-	years, in the year 379,
	ν ξ', ἐν ἔτι τοθ', ἐν μ-	on (the) 17th (day) of
	ενὶ Ἀπελλέου ιζ',	(the) month Apellaios,
	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου	on the second day of (the)
12	δευτέρᾳ. Θάρσει, ο-	Lord (Monday). Be of good
	ὕδις ἀθάνατος.	cheer, no one (is) immortal.
	+	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 2: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης: *epsilon* for *eta* in the final syllable.

I. 3: μνημεῖον.

II. 4-5: the genitive ὑποδιακόνου is abbreviated by the first seven letters and an oblique stroke at the lower part of the last letter *kappa*.

I. 7: δνόμοτος for δνόματος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.

I. 9: the age numeral and each figure of the year numeral are crowned by a short horizontal bar; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

II. 9-10: μενὶ for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 10: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίω: phonetic spelling of αἰ and use of genitive instead of dative singular; there is a horizontal bar only above the units figure of the month day numeral.

I. 12: θάρσει.

II. 12-13: οὕδεῖς.

#### Commentary

II. 3-4: For parallels of the Latin name *Oualentinos*, see inscr. no. 22.

I. 4: The name *Αἰανός* occurs also in inscr. no. 226, where it is fully commented upon.

II. 4-5: For the office of subdeacon, attested seven times in Ghor es-Safi, see commentary of inscr. no. 96.

241. Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape and curved all around. Inv. no.: Z-10. Dimensions: 0.477x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped on the right side and weathered in the upper part with damage of text. The inscription is enclosed within an incised rectangular frame which preserves remains of red paint. In the lower left and right margins there are two slightly incised *cross-chi* monograms. The text is all engraved and red colour is preserved in ll. 1,4,7,10,13. The script is of the square form with elongated letters, well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIX

Date: 13 Dystros 379 E.P.A. = 27 February AD 485.

	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πά-	One (is) the God,
	ντων Δεσπ-	the Lord of all.
	ότες. Μημη-	Monument of Matrona,
4	ον Ματρώνη-	(daughter) of Nonna(s),
	ς Νόννα, ἀπο-	who died having a
	θανούσης μετ-	good name and
	ὰ καλοῦ δνόμ-	good faith
8	ατος καὶ καλῆ-	(at the age) of 25 years,
	* ς πίστεως ἐτῶν	in (the) year 379, on (the)
	κε', ἐν ἔτι τοθ', ἐν	13th (day) of (the)
	μενὶ Δύστρου *	month Dystros, on (the)
12	ιγ', ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δ'.	4th day (Wednesday).

Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ὁθ-  
ἀ<να>τος.

Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: The sacred name Θεός is abbreviated by the first and last letters with a horizontal bar above them.  
 II. 2-3: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης: *epsilon* for *eta* in the final syllable.  
 II. 3-4: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 6: the two last letters, *epsilon* and *tau*, are connected at the upper part.  
 I. 9: the letters *sigma-pi*, *sigma-tau*, *epsilon-omega* and *epsilon-tau* are joined together in the upper part (see also I. 6).  
 I. 10: the age and the year numerals are denoted by a horizontal stroke above; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.  
 I. 11: μενί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*; Δύστρον for Δύστροφ: genitive instead of dative singular.  
 I. 12: the month day as well as the weekday numeral are emphasized by a horizontal bar.  
 I. 13: θάρσι for θάρσει: the two last letters *sigma* and *iota* of θάρσι are joined together, forming a square *omicron*; οὐδεῖς.  
 II. 13-14: on the stone ΟΘΑΤΟC for ἀθάνατος: the initial vowel is *omicron* instead of *alpha* and the syllable να is inadvertently omitted by the engraver.

#### Commentary

- II. 4-5: For the Latin feminine name Ματρώνα, see discussion in inscr. no. 44.  
 I. 5: Νόννα could have been the nominative form of the common feminine name. Since, however, the metronymic is never indicated in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi, it would be better to consider Νόννα as the heteroclitlic genitive of the masculine Νόννος or rather as the genitive of Νόννας, a variant of Νόννος, which appears in sixth c. papyri from Egypt (Foraboschi 1967, p. 209, s.v. Νόνας). It has been argued that Νόννος, Νόννα are *Lallnamen* originated in Asia Minor and from there diffused to Syria, Palestine and Egypt mainly from the fourth c. AD (Bonner 1954, pp. 15-17; cf. BE 1955, no. 57; for an origin from the Celts of Galatia, cf. BE 1956, no. 62). In Palestine and Arabia both names are abundantly attested in Byzantine inscriptions and papyri. The masculine Νόννος is represented with examples from Hauran (Waddington, no. 2009; Sartre 1982, no. 9040), Evron (Tzaferis 1987, p. 45\*, no. 8), Jerusalem (SEG 8 [1937], no. 191, deacon of the Church of the Resurrection), Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 14) and Ascalon (now in Jerusalem: SEG 8 [1937], no. 267). A Jew from Cyzicus, mentioned in a synagogue inscription from Scythopolis bears also the name Νόννος (Lifshitz 1977a, p. 291, no. 3). The spelling Νῶνος occurs at Gerasa (3rd c.: Welles 1938, p. 457, no. 234, dubious) and in the Nessana papyri (Nessana 3, nos. 38.3, 90.96). The Νόννα instances are far more numerous and come mainly from Moab (12 cases: Canova 1954, index, p. 423, s.vv. Νόνα, Νόννα) as well as the Negev (Beersheba: Alt 1921, nos. 36 [Ῥῶλησία], 37; Nessana: Nessana 3, nos. 57, 59), Feinan (Sartre 1993, no. 108) and Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, nos. 30, 42, 57, 101, 138, 195?, 199, 200; St. Catherine's Monastery: Ševčenko 1966, p. 262, no. 3). Sporadic occurrences of Νόννα have been observed at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 189-190, no. 2), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 384, no. 71 and p. 418, s.v.) and at Herodion (SEG 37 [1987], no. 1489 = Di Segni 1990a, pp. 177-182, no. 1, in double spelling Νόννας and Νόνας. It is not clear whether it is a feminine or masculine name). *Nonnus* and *Nonna* were also common in Egypt in a variety of spellings (Preisigke 1922, col. 236; Foraboschi 1967, p. 209; cf. also Di Segni 1990a, p. 190, n. 44). A Palestinian Origenist, called Νόννος, is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Sabae* and *Vita Cyr.*, index II, pp. 274-275, s.v.). Two Saints with the name Νόννος are venerated by the Orthodox Church (Delehaye 1902, cols. 1141-1142). A Saint Nonna, commemorated on the 5th of August, was the pious mother of Saint Gregory the Nazianzene (ibid., cols. 421, 869).

242. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, narrower at the top and broken in the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-139. Dimensions: 0.34x0.245x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed, is chipped all around and damaged in the upper left part. Above the inscription to the left there is an incised cross with linear serifs which preserves remains of red paint. The text is engraved and in II. 1,2,3,8,11 traces of red colour are visible. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIX

Date: 25 Daisios 380 E.P.A. = 14 June AD 485.

	+	
	+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν- ννν	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπότης. ννν	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Οὐμ- ννν	Monument of Oummabie,
4	μαβίης Κασσισέου,	(daughter) of Kassiseos,
	ἀποθανούση<ς> μετὰ	who died having a
	καλοῦ ὀνόματος ν	good name and good faith
	καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ν	(at the age) of 23 years, in
8	ἐτῶν κγ', ἐν ἔτι τπ', νν	the year 380, on (the) 25th (day) of Daisios,
	ἐν μηνὶ Δεσσιίου κέ', νν	on the 7th day of (the) Lord (Saturday).
	ἐν ἡ(μέ)ρ(α) Κυρίου ζ'. <Θ>άρ- Be of good cheer,	
	σι, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the line starts with a simple cross.

I. 3: μνημεῖον.

I. 5: the engraver failed to carve the final *sigma* of the genitive participle ἀποθανούσης.

I. 6: ὀνόματος.

I. 8: both the age and the year numerals are denoted by a horizontal bar above them; ἔτι for ἔτει.

I. 9: Δεσσιίου for Δαισιῶ: phonetic spelling of αι, duplication of *sigma* and genitive instead of dative singular; a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

I. 10: the dative ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the ligature of *eta* and *rho* of which only the vertical stroke has been engraved; a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral.

II. 10-11: θάρσει: from the initial letter *theta* the middle horizontal bar is missing.

#### Commentary

II. 3-4: On the feminine Semitic name *Οὐμμαβίη*, variously spelled at Ghor es-Safi, see inscr. no. 34.

I. 4: The name *Κασσισέος* is discussed in inscr. no. 180.

- 243.** Tombstone of reddish sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the upper right corner and broken all along the left side and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-243. Dimensions: 0.33x0.20x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is slightly chipped all around. The text is all engraved with remains of red paint in II. 1 and 9. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters vary in size and are well carved with an unequal alignment. Height of letters: 0.01-0.023 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIX

Date: Gorpaios 380 E.P.A. = 19 August - 17 September AD 485.

	[Μ]νημῖον Σίλθα	Monument of Siltha,
	[Κ]λαυδίου, ἀπα-	(daughter) of Claudius,
	[θα]νούσης μετὰ	who died having a good
4	[κα]λοῦ ὀνόματος	name and good faith (at the
	[κ(αι)] καλῆς πίστεως	age) of 60 years, in (the) year
	[ἐτ]ῶν ξ', ἐν ἔτι τπ',	380, on (the) .. (day) of
	[μην]ὶ Γαρπιέου	(the) [month] Gorpaios, on
8	[.], ἡμέρα δ'. νν	(the) 4th day (Wednesday).
	[Θάρ]σι, οὐδεις ννν	Be of good cheer,
	[ἀθά]νατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: [μ]νημεῖον; the first letter *mu* is lost; Σίλθα for Σίλθας: nominative for genitive singular.

I. 2: the first letter *kappa* is missing.

II. 2-3: ἀπα[θα]νούσης for ἀπο[θα]νούσης: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable, while the third syllable *θα* is lost.

I. 4: the first syllable of the genitive καλοῦ is missing.

I. 5: the conjunction καί, probably in its abbreviated form, is to be related in the beginning of this line.

- l. 6: from the word ἐτῶν only half of the third letter *omega* and the last letter *nu* are preserved; the age and the year numeral are denoted by horizontal bars; ἐν ἔτει.  
 l. 7: the first three letters of the dative μηνί are missing; Γαρπιέου for Γορπιαίῳ: *alpha* for *omicron*, phonetic spelling of αἰ and genitive instead of dative singular.  
 l. 8: the month day numeral as well as the left vertical stroke of *eta* are lost; the line ends with a decorative serpentine motif.  
 l. 9: [Θάρ]σει: the first three letters and the vertical stroke of the fourth letter *sigma* are lost; οὐδείς.  
 l. 10: the first three letters and part of the fourth letter *nu* are missing from the word ἀθάνατος; the line ends with a simple cross.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: For a commentary on the feminine name Σίλθα, see inscr. no. 13.  
 l. 2: [Κ]λαυδίου seems the most probable restoration for the patronymic; for Κλαύδιος see commentary of inscr. nos. 54 and 128.

**244.** Tombstone of white limestone, rectangular in shape and chipped in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-1. Dimensions: 0.47x0.31x0.065 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. In the lower right margin of the inscription vertically to it there are faint red painted traces of two heraldic deer drinking water from a spring. The heads of the animals as well as the spring are crowned with a simple cross. The text is all engraved, and ll. 5,9,14,15 bear additionally red paint, while l. 11 is partially painted red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are of variable size, well cut with an unequal alignment. Height of letters: 0.007-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. XLIX

Date: 11 Gorpaios 38[1] E.P.A. = 29 August AD 486.

	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ	One (is) the God,
	πάντων Δεσ-	the Lord of all.
	πότες. Μνημῆ-	Monument of Zanagon,
4	ον Ζανάγω-	who died having
	νος, ἀποθανό-	a good name and
	ντος μετὰ κα-	good faith
	λοῦ ὀνόμο-	(at the age) of
8	τος καὶ καλῆς (deer)	40 years, in (the)
	πίστεως ἐτ-	year 381 (?), on
	ῶν μ', ἐν ἔτι	(the) 11th (day)
	τπ<α'>, ἐν μηνί Γορ-	of (the) month Gorpaios,
12	πιέου ια', ἐν ἡ-	on (the) 6th day (Friday).
	μέρα ζ'. Θάρσι, (deer)	Be of good cheer,
	οὐδὶς ἀθάνατ-	no one (is) immortal.
	τος. +	

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 2-3: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης: *epsilon* for *eta* in the last syllable.

ll. 4-5: μνημεῖον.

ll. 7-8: ὀνόμοτος for ὀνόματος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.

l. 10: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει.

l. 11: the year numeral is emphasized by a short horizontal stroke above each one of its numerical signs; although there is a horizontal bar above the units figure, the engraver omitted the figure itself which should be α' according to the other dating particles; μηνί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.

ll. 11-12: Γορπιέου for Γορπιαίῳ: phonetic spelling of αἰ and use of genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 12: a horizontal bar above the month day numeral.

l. 13: the weekday numeral is denoted by a slightly curved line above; θάρσει.

l. 14: οὐδείς.

l. 15: the text ends with a simple cross, in the upper vertical bar of which a smaller cross is formed.

## Commentary

ll. 4-5: The Hellenized Semitic name *Ζανάγων* is a rare one in Palestine and Arabia. A certain Zanagon from the village of Abu Dis ("παρά τινος Ζανάγωνος καλουμένου ἀπὸ Βηθαβουδισσῶν τῆς κώμης") near Bethany is mentioned in the Life of Saint Sabas (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 39, p. 130, l. 24). The names *Ζωνγον* and *Ζωγον* which appear in two mosaic inscriptions from the Churches of bishop Sergios and of St. Stephen at Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, p. 263, no. 19g; p. 252, no. 8c respectively) could plausibly be considered as variants of *Ζανάγων*. Piccirillo (ibid., p. 252) suggests that there may be a connection between these names and the forms *Ζάγγος* and *Ζάγος*, attested in Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9110; Salchad: Waddington, no. 1996) and derived from the root *zwg*, (Wuthnow, p. 48; Sartre 1985, p. 202).

l. 5: For the omission of patronymic, see above commentary of inscr. no. 4.

245. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the bottom and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-164. Dimensions: 0.35x0.24x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and damaged in several places. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,4,7,11 are painted over in red, while in l. 12 only the month day numeral bears red colour. The script is of the square form with small letters not so carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XII

Date: 1 Peritios 383 E.P.A. = 16 January AD 489.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πά(ντων)	One (is) the God, the
	Δεσπότες. Μνη-	Lord of all. Monument
	μῖον Θεουεδά-	of Thouedaras (Theodoros?),
4	ρα Ὀβόδου, ἀπ-	(son) of Obodas, who
	οθανόντος ν	died having a good
	μετὰ καλοῦ ν	name and good
	ὀνόματος νν	faith (at the age) of
8	κ(αὶ) καλῆς πί(ι)σ-	50 years, in (the) year
	τεως ἡτῶν ν	383, on (the) 1st (day)
	ν', ἔτους τγ', ν	of the month Peritios.
	ἐν μηνί Περιτίου	Be of good cheer,
12	α'. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς	no one (is) immortal.
	ἀθάνατος.	

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: the line begins with a simple cross; the word *πάντων* appears abbreviated by the first two letters and a short horizontal bar in red paint above *alpha*.

l. 2: Δεσπότες for Δεσπότης: *epsilon* for *eta* in the last syllable.

ll. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: Θεουεδάρα is probably a vulgar form of the genitive of the masculine name Θεόδωρος; there is a transposition between the vowel *epsilon* and the diphthong *ου*.

l. 8: the conjunction καὶ is abbreviated by the first letter followed by an S-sign in the upper part; καλῆς for καλῆς: *epsilon* for *eta*.

ll. 8-9: the second letter *iota* of the word πίστεως is engraved twice.

l. 9: ἡτῶν for ἐτῶν: *eta* for *epsilon*.

l. 10: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

l. 11: the dative μηνί is abbreviated by the letter *eta* above *mu* both crowned by a horizontal bar in red paint; Περιτίου for Περιτίω: genitive for dative singular.

l. 12: a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral; θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

## Commentary

ll. 3-4: Θεουεδάρας is in all probability a vernacular spelling of the Greek theophoric name Θεόδωρος (for Theodoros' commentary, see above inscr. no. 112). This assumption is strengthened by the use of similar solecisms for Θεόδωρος, such as Θεάδαρος at Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9126) and Θεάδωρος, Θεαδώρα in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 303, 252 respectively).

l. 4: For the patronymic Ὀβόδας, see discussion in inscr. no. 63.

**246.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-359. Dimensions: 0.34x0.29x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked all around. Traces of an incised frame on left and right sides and of a red painted frame in the upper and lower sides. The text is all engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters are small and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. L*

Date: 19 Peritios 383 E.P.A., 12th indiction = 3 February AD 489.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God,
	Δεσπότης. Μνημῖον	the Lord of all. Monument
	πάπα Λεοντίου, ἀπ-	of papa Leontios, who
4	οθανόντος <μετά> καλοῦ	died having a good name
	ὀνόματος καὶ πίσ-	and good faith (at the age)
	τεως ἀγαθῆς ἐτῶν	of 20 years, in the year
	κ', ἐν ἔτι πγ', ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ιβ',	383, in (the) 12th indiction,
8	ἐν μη(νί) Περιτίου ιθ'. Ὁ	on (the) 19th (day) of the month
	ἀναγινώσκων δοξά-	Peritios. May, whoever reads (this),
	σι τὸν Θεόν. Θάρσει, οὐ-	glorify the God. Be of good cheer,
	δὲς ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the text opens with a simple cross; the sacred name Θεός is as usual abbreviated by the first and last letters covered above with a horizontal bar.

I. 2: μνημεῖον.

I. 4: the letter-cutter neglected to add the preposition μετά before the adjective καλοῦ.

I. 7: ἔτι for ἔτει; the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first five letters and an oblique stroke across the lower stroke of *kappa*.

I. 8: a smaller *eta* over an elongated *mu* forms the abbreviation of the dative μηνί; Περιτίου for Περιτίω; genitive in the place of dative; the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above it.

I. 9: ἀναγινώσκων, later form for ἀναγιγνώσκων.

II. 9-10: δοξάσι for δοξάση.

I. 10: the accusative Θεόν is represented by the first and last letters crowned with a horizontal bar as abbreviation mark; θάρσει.

II. 10-11: οὐδεῖς; the inscription ends with a simple cross.

#### Commentary

I. 3: Πάπας (or παπᾶς or πάππας), hypocoristicon of the word πατήρ originally meaning "papa, father" (*LSJ*, pp. 1301-1302, s.v. *πάππας*, Robert 1963, pp. 62-63, 578, n. 1), came to be used in the Byzantine period also as a title of respect and affection for the clerical rank of presbyter, stressing in this way the spiritual character of the relationship between priest and congregation. From the 3rd c. onwards the term was also applied to bishops in both East and West, particularly to those of Alexandria and Rome (Lampe, p. 1006, s.v. *πάππας*, *Sophocles*, vol. II, p. 839; *ODB*, pp. 1578-1579, s.v. *papas*; Derda and Wipszycka 1994, pp. 54-56; *Late Antiquity*, p. 633, s.v. *papa*). Πάππας, as a presbyter's title, is epigraphically attested mainly in Asia Minor (Galatia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Lykaonia, Caria: *SEG* 34 [1984], nos. 1065, 1403; *ibid.* 40 [1990], no. 1249; *ibid.* 42 [1992], no. 1247; Feissel, *BE* 1993, p. 586, no. 771) and only sporadically elsewhere (e.g. Syria: *SEG* 32 [1982], no. 1474; N. Shore of Black Sea: *SEG* 39 [1989], no. 700). In this epitaph the word πάππας, addressed to Leontios, probably designates him as priest of the local Christian community despite his young age. Another possibility, which cannot be neglected in this area, is to consider "πάπα Λεοντίου" as the periphrastic name of the deceased, i.e. papa of Leontios, following probably the common Semitic practice of naming the father or mother of a first-born son after him: e.g. Abu+son's name, "father of so and so" or Umm+son's name, "mother of so and so". An example of this denomination is encountered in an epitaph from Kerak (Moab: Canova 1954, no. 164) in which the dead woman bears the name of her son, "μ(ήτηρ) Τίρου".

For the Greek name Λεόντιος, see commentary of inscr. no. 133.

II. 5-6: the word *πίστις*, accompanied as a rule by the adjective *καλή* at Ghor es-Safi, is exceptionally followed here by the adjective *ἀγαθή*.

I. 7: From this point onwards the recording of an indiction year in the epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi becomes more systematic (see chapter on Date of death, p. 54).

II. 8-10: The glorification of God as a reward for his blessings to people is a favourite expression in the Christian literature (*BAG*, p. 204, s.v. *δοξάζω* 1; Lampe, p. 382, s.v. *δοξάζω* B). Similar to the Ghor es-Safi exhortation for praising the God, is encountered in a Byzantine mosaic inscription from a monastery at 'Ayn al-Kanisah on Mount Nebo: "πρῶτων τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ δόσωμεν δόξαν. Ἀμήν" (Di Segni 1998, pp. 448-449, no. 55). For doxologies appearing in a funerary context, see also inscr. nos. 150, 166.

The phenomenon of addressing the reader of the epitaph (i.e. the passer-by) is also encountered in inscr. no. 89.

**247.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with yellowish stripes, almost square in shape with curved corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-50. Dimensions: 0.30x0.27x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped especially on the upper and left sides and weathered mainly in the middle with loss of text. The inscription is engraved in square script. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. L

Date: 11 Loos 389 E.P.A., 2nd indiction = 30 July AD 494.

[Εἷς Θε]ός, ὁ πάντων  
Δεσπότης. Μνημῆ-  
ον Σαββίνης Σιλουα-  
4 νοῦ, ἀποθανούσης, μ-  
ετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος  
καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ἐ-  
τῶν κγ', τοῦ ἔτους  
8 πθ', μηνὸς Λόου  
ια', ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) δευτέρας.  
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
τος. +

[One (is) the God], the  
Lord of all. Monument of  
Sabina (?), (daughter) of  
Silouanos (Silvanus), who  
died having a good name  
and good faith (at the age)  
of 23 years, in the year 389,  
on (the) 11th (day) of (the)  
month Loos, in the second  
indiction. Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: from the expression "εἷς Θεός" only the lower part of *omicron* and the final *sigma* have been preserved.

II. 2-3: *μνημεῖον*.

I. 3: Σαββίνης dittography for Σαβίνης: the first letter *sigma* of the name, originally forgotten by the engraver, was then added hastily by him above *nu*, the last letter of the preceding word *μνημῖον*.

I. 4: faint traces of the letters included in this line are preserved due to weathering of the inscribed surface at this part.

I. 5: the letters before the word ὀνόματος are also faded.

I. 6: faint traces of the conjunction καὶ and of the adjective καλῆς are preserved.

I. 8: the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above it; Λόου, phonetic spelling for Λόου.

I. 9: the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first five letters and an oblique stroke at the lower part of *kappa*.

I. 10: Θάρσει; οὐδεὶς.

I. 11: the text ends with a simple cross and a *cross-rho* monogram with linear serifs.

#### Commentary

I. 3: The spelling Σαββίνα -if the name of the deceased woman is properly restored- is rare in comparison to the common forms Σαβίνα and Σαβεῖνα frequently attested in inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 76, 111, 137, 138), Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9212, 9247, 9248, 9362, 9425), Transjordan (Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 457, no. 234; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatiér 1998, p. 380, no. 60; Rihab: *ibid.*, pp. 408-409, no. 142; 'Ayun Musa on Mt. Nebo: Di Segni 1998, p. 455, no. 66), and in the Negev (Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 50; Horvat Be'er-shema: SEG 46 [1996], no. 2010). The masculine Σαβῖνος,

spelled also *Σαβεῖνος*, was particularly popular in Hauran (about 50 instances: Waddington, ind. I, p. 6, s.v.; *PAES* IIIA, ind. I, p. 463, s.v.; Sartre 1982, ind. I, p. 394, s.v.; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 149, no. 1). It is recorded sporadically at 'Evron (*SEG* 37 [1987], no. 1514), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 392, no. 38; pp. 408-410, nos. 74, 76), Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, p. 367, no. 2), Rihab (ibid., pp. 397-398, no. 99; pp. 405-406, no. 128), Umm er-Rasas (Piccirillo 1994, p. 261, no. 18c), Mahaiy in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 397), Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 10), and in the Jewish necropolis of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 186, 187). The name appears also in the spellings *Σαββῖνος* at Kh. el-Mekharryat on Mount Nebo (Gatier 1986, no. 102 = Di Segni 1998, p. 441, no. 37) and *Σαββῖνος* at 'Evron (*SEG* 37 [1987], nos. 1511, 1512). *Σαβῖνος* corresponds to the Latin *Sabinus*, but its high frequency in an area with Semitic population like Hauran and its alternative spellings *Σαββῖνος* and *Σοββῖνος* indicate, according to some scholars, its assimilation to a Semitic name (for the various Semitic names attributed to *Σαβῖνος*, see Sartre 1985, pp. 150-151 and 233-234, s.vv. *Σαβεῖνα*, *Σαβεῖνος*, Gatier 1986, p. 108, no. 102; Sartre 1993, p. 44, no. 10; Di Segni 1998, p. 441 and pp. 460-461, n. 55). *Σαβῖνος* is also known as the name of several Saints (Delehaye 1902, col. 1159, s.v.).

ll. 3-4: On the name *Σιλουανός*, the Latin *Silvanus*, see commentary of inscr. no. 115.

248. Tombstone of white to yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-203. Dimensions: 0.36x0.225x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in the lower left corner and presents salt crystals in its upper half and a few holes in its lower half. Above and below the inscription in the middle there are two engraved crosses with linear serifs. Traces of an incised frame are visible on the left side. The text is all engraved in square script with a few round exceptions. The letters are elongated, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.022 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. L

Date: 14 Gorpaios 389 E.P.A. 3rd ind. = 1 September AD 494.

+	
Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν- ν	One (is) the God, the Lord
των Δεσπότης. ν	of all. Monument of Marthone,
Μνημῖον Μαρθό- ν	(daughter) of Alfios, who died
4 νης Ἀλφίου, ἀποθα- νούσης μετὰ καλοῦ	having a good name and good
ὀνόματος καὶ καλ-	faith (at the age) of 22 years,
ῆς πίστεως ἐτῶν	in (the) year 389, on (the) 14th
8 κβ', ἔτους τπθ', μη(νός) ν	(day) of (the) month Gorpaios,
Γορπιέου ιδ', ἰνδικ(τιώνος)	in (the) 3rd indiction.
γ'. Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἄ-	Be of good cheer,
θάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 3: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

l. 8: the age as well as the year numeral are emphasized by a horizontal bar above; the genitive μνηνός is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.

l. 9: Γορπιέου, phonetic spelling for Γορπιαίου; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the genitive ἰνδικτιώνος is abbreviated by the first five letters and an oblique stroke at the lower part of *kappa*.

l. 10: a horizontal bar above the indiction year numeral; θάρσει; οὐδείς.

l. 11: the text ends with a cross decorated with linear serifs.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: For the parallels and the etymology of the feminine Semitic name *Μαρθόνη*, see above commentary of inscr. no. 200.

l. 4: For *\*Αλφιος* and its variants, see discussion in inscr. no. 2.



**249.** Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, once rectangular in shape. It is broken in the upper left corner and along the lower side. Inv. no.: Z-142. Dimensions: 0.49x0.38x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the inscription and is badly weathered with loss of text. Slightly incised traces of the left line of the frame and of guide-lines are visible in the lower part. In the middle below the inscription there is an incised *cross-rho* monogram. The text is engraved in a mixed square and round script. The letters are well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. L*

Date: 4 Artemisios 30[1]-3[90] E.P.A. = 24 April AD 406-495 (most probably 1st half of 5th c.).

Μνημῖον Ἀλε-  
ξάνδρου Ἀμμια-  
νοῦ, παυσαμέ-  
4 νου ἐτῶν γέ-  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-  
ματος, ἐν ἔτι τ[.],  
μηνὸς Ἀρτεμη-  
8 σίου δ', ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ζ'.  
Θάρσει, οὐδὲς ἀθά-  
νατος.

ⲥ

Monument of Alexandros,  
(son) of Ammianus, who  
died (at the age) of 55 years  
having a good name, in  
the year 3., on (the) 4th  
(day) of the month Artemisios,  
on (the) 7th day of (the)  
Lord (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 4: the tens figure of the age numeral is faded.

l. 6: ἔτι, phonetic spelling for ἔτει; the hundreds unit of the year numeral is hardly discernible, while the tens figure is lost.

ll. 7-8: Ἀρτεμυσίου for Ἀρτεμίου: *eta* for *iota* in the third syllable; the dative ἡμέρᾳ is abbreviated as usual by a *mu* above *eta*; a partially preserved horizontal line over the weekday numeral.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: For the popular Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος, see commentary of inscr. no. 139.

ll. 2-3: The Latin *Ammianus* is discussed above in inscr. no. 68.

**250.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved at the bottom, broken in the upper left and right corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-240. Dimensions: 0.365x0.28x0.065 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed. The text is engraved in square script with the exception of a few oval characters. The letters, which vary in size, are not so carefully carved and show a slightly ascending alignment. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LI*

Date: 5 Dios 390 E.P.A. = 22 October AD 495.

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων  
Δεσπότης. Μνημῖο-  
ν Ἑλλαδίου Σάβα, ἀ-  
4 ποθανόντος μετὰ  
καλοῦ ὀνόματος  
καὶ καλῆς πίστε-  
ως ἐτῶν δ', μηνὸς  
8 Δίου ε', ἡμέρᾳ β', τοῦ νν  
τῆ. Θάρσει, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος. +

One (is) the God, the Lord  
of all. Monument of Helladios,  
(son) of Sabas, who died having  
a good name and good faith  
(at the age) of 4 years,  
on (the) 5th (day) of (the)  
month Dios, on (the) 2nd  
day (Monday), in (the) (year)  
390. Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: the text opens with a simple cross decorated with triangular serifs; the abbreviation of the sacred word Θεός consists of the first and last letter crowned by a horizontal bar.

ll. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal stroke above it.

l. 8: the month day numeral is emphasized by a slightly oblique bar; the dative ἡμέρᾱ is abbreviated only by its first letter, a tall *eta*.

l. 9: θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

l. 10: at the end of the text a similar cross to that of l. 1.

## Commentary

l. 3: *Ἑλλάδιος*, a personal name denoting ethnic origin, is known from the Imperial period (*LGN IIIA*, p. 140, s.v.). In Palestine it is recorded so far in a mid-fifth mid-sixth c. dedicatory inscription in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity at Horvat Be'er-shema' in the SW Negev (*SEG* 46 [1996], no. 2005). The bearer of the name was a bishop of Gerasa, which was the episcopal see of the *Saltus Gerariticus* (*BE* 1997, p. 598, no. 659). *Ἑλλάδιος* is also attested in Asia Minor (Roueché 1989, pp. 16-18) and Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 98). Several historical personages (such as governors, grammarians etc., see *PLRE* I, p. 412, s.v. *Helladius*; *PLRE* II, p. 534) as well as Saints (Delehay 1902, index, col. 1080) bore the name *Ἑλλάδιος*.

The feminine name appears twice in the forms *Ἑλλαδία* at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 207-208, no. 23), and *Ἑλλαδίσ*, a deaconess' name written from right to left on a sarcophagus from Umm Qeis (now in the Irbid Museum: Piccirillo 1981, p. 31 = Meimaris 1986, no. 891).

On the Hellenized Semitic name *Σάβας*, see commentary of inscr. no. 134.

251. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved in the corners except for the upper right one. Inv. no.: Z-129. Dimensions: 0.42x0.32x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped all around. The text is engraved basically in square script with a few round exceptions. The letters are elongated, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LI

Date: 27 Artemisios 393 E.P.A. = 17 May AD 498.

Εἷς Θεός, ἃ πάντων	One (is) the God,
Δεσπότης. Μνημί-	the Lord of all. Monument
ον Μοσαλέμου	of Mosalemos, (son) of
4 Ἐπιφανίου, ἀπα-	Epiphanios, who died
θανούντος με-	having a good name and
τά καλοῦ ὀνό-	good faith (at the age)
ματος καὶ καλ-	of 25 years, in (the) year 393,
8 ἧς πίστεως ἔτῳ	on (the) 27th (day) of
κέ, ἐν ἔτι τγ', μη(νός)	(the) month Artemisios,
Ἄρτημεσίου κζ',	on (the) 7th day (Saturday).
ἡ(μέ)ρ(α) ζ'. Θάρ(σει), οὐδῖς	Be of good cheer,
12 ἀθάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: *alpha* in the place of the nominative article ὁ.

ll. 2-3: μνημεῖον.

ll. 4-5: ἀπαθανούντος for ἀποθανόντος; *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and use of the diphthong ου in the place of *omicron* in the fourth syllable.

l. 9: only the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔτει; a small *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of the genitive μηνός.

l. 10: Ἄρτημεσίου for Ἄρτεμσιού; transposition of the vowels *eta* (it should be written as *iota*) and *epsilon* in the second and third syllables.

l. 11: the dative ἡμέρᾱ is abbreviated by the ligature of the first and the fourth letter, *eta* and *rho*; the weekday numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the letters ΘΑΡ stand as the abbreviation of the imperative form θάρσει; οὐδεῖς.

## Commentary

l. 3: *Μοσάλλεμος* is the Hellenized version of the Arabic Musalim, which is derived from the root *slm*, "to be peaceful" (Wuthnow 1930, p. 79). It occurs as a patronymic in a second c. AD epitaph from Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 120). It could be related to *Μόσλεμος*, several instances of which have been recorded in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, nos. 119, 440 [Umm el-Jimâl], 784<sup>1</sup> [Rîmet el-Luhf]).

l. 4: *Ἐπιφάνιος* is a later form of the ancient Greek name *Ἐπιφάνης* epigraphically attested from the fourth c. BC through the Byzantine period (*LGPV* I, p. 160; *ibid.* II, p. 152; *ibid.* IIIA, pp. 149-150; IIIB, p. 140; Kajanto 1963, pp. 83, 108). In Palestine and Arabia *Ἐπιφάνιος* occurs frequently in Christian inscriptions from Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 121, 232, 242, 270), the Choziba Monastery in the Judean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 317, no. 3; p. 322, no. 87), and Mount Nebo (Siyagha: Di Segni 1998, pp. 428-429, no. 4). It is also encountered in the contracted form *Ἐπιφάνης* at Carmiel (Khirbet Bata: *SEG* 49 [1992], no. 1465), Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, p. 204, no. 20; pp. 226-228, no. 46), and in Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 74). Epiphanius was the name of an important Church father who was born in a village near Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) and in AD 367 was consecrated bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (Delehaye 1902, *ind.*, col. 1081, s.v. *Ἐπιφάνιος* 2). For the feminine *Ἐπιφάνια*, see *inscr.* no. 165.

**252.** Tombstone of purple and goldish sandstone, rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-131. Dimensions: 0.30x0.225x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is slightly chipped all around and flaked off in the upper part. The inscription is set within an incised and red painted frame. The text is engraved and ll. 1,3,7,10 bear in addition red paint; in ll. 8 and 9 only the numerals are painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet with a few round exceptions. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LI

Date: 5 Dios 394 E.P.A. = 22 October AD 499.

† Εἷς Θεάς, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
των Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
Μνημῖαν Οὐαι-	Monument of Ouaiabannes,
4 βάν<v>η Ἀβραμίου,	(son) of Abra(a)mios,
ἀποθανώντα<ς>	who died having a good
μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνώ-	name and good faith
ματος καὶ καλῆς	(at the age) of 25 years,
8 πίστεως ἐτῶν κέ,	in the year 394, on (the)
τοῦ ἔτους τῆδ',	5th (day) of the month Dios,
ἐν μηνὶ Δίου ε',	on (the) 7th day of (the)
ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ζ'. Θάρ-	Lord (Saturday). Be of
12 σι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-	good cheer, no one (is)
τας. †	immortal.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: the text opens with a simple cross; Θεάς for Θεός; *alpha* for *omicron*.

l. 3: μνημῖαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει* and *alpha* for *omicron*.

ll. 3-4: the second *nu* of the name Οὐαιβάννη has been carved as *eta*.

l. 5: ἀποθανώντα<ς> for ἀποθανόντο<ς>: *omega* for *omicron* and *alpha* for *omicron*; the final *sigma* of the participle has been engraved as a square *omicron*.

ll. 6-7: ἀνώματος for ὀνόματος: the initial vowel is written as *alpha* instead of *omicron* and the second vowel as *omega* instead of *omicron*.

l. 8: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and below.

l. 9: the units figure of the year numeral was engraved as *delta* but painted over as *alpha*; the year numeral is also emphasized by a horizontal line above and below.

l. 10: Δίου for Δίω: genitive for dative singular; the month day numeral ε' is enclosed within a square frame.

l. 11: ἡμέρᾳ for ἡμέρα: *eta* for *epsilon*; the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letters and framed to the left by a vertical and above by a horizontal line joined together; the weekday numeral appears enclosed within an almost square frame like that of l. 10.

ll. 11-12: θάρσι for θάρσει.

- I. 12: οὐδὲς for οὐδεῖς.  
 II. 12-13: ἄθάνατας for ἄθανατος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.  
 I. 13: the text ends with a cross decorated with linear serifs.

#### Commentary

II. 3-4: The Semitic name *Οὐαιβάννης* appears in the form *’Οεβάννος* in inscr. no. 117 where it is fully commented upon.

I. 4: The patronymic *’Αβράμιος*, a shortened form of *’Αβραάμιος*, is a derivative of the biblical name *’Αβραάμ*, borne by the first patriarch of Jews. Abraham enjoyed a special veneration in Palestine as indicated by epigraphical and literary sources (for the evidence on his cult, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 86-88, nos. 547-553; to this list add an inscription from Beersheba: Alt 1921, p. 14, no. 8 and another from Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 486, no. 334). The personal name *Abraamios* was remarkably common in the Negev (particularly at Nessana: Negev 1991, pp. 151-152, appendix F) and to a lesser degree in Moab, Sinai, Transjordan and Hauran. In these areas it occurs in a variety of spellings among which preponderant is that of *’Αβραάμιος* (Negev: *Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 334, s.v. [47 persons, several soldiers]; *Nessana* 1, nos. 72, 79, 95, 126, 128; Alt 1921, nos. 22, 103; Negev 1981, nos. 57, 58, 60, 63, 92; Figueras 1985, p. 26, no. 18; p. 33, no. 25; Gaza: Glucker 1987, p. 125, no. 10; Mount Nebo: Wadi ‘Ain al-Kanisah: Piccirillo 1994a, pp. 525-527, hegumen and archimandrite of the desert monks). The form *’Αβράμιος*, attested at Ghor es-Safi, is also known from the Negev (*Nessana* 1, no. 118; *Nessana* 3, no. 127.3; Alt 1921, no. 90) and Tiberias (*SEG* 16 [1959], no. 827), while the forms *’Αβρααμίας* (Canova 1954, nos. 111, 243, 257, 395, 398), *’Αβρααμείας* (ibid., no. 314) and *’Αβραμίας* (ibid., no. 347) are used exclusively in Moab. The name is also encountered in the following variations: *’Αβραάμις* (Wadi Haggag, Sinai: Negev 1977, no. 5), *’Αβράμιος* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 787<sup>11</sup>), *’Αβρααμῆας* (Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, p. 374, no. 34), *’Αβράμηος* (Negev 1977, no. 49), *’Αβραμιος* (Amman Museum: Gatier 1986, no. 49), as well as *’Αβραάμ* (*Nessana* 1, no. 40; Negev 1977, nos. 79, 113; ed-Deir near Madaba: Piccirillo and Russan 1976, p. 64, no. 1) and *’Αβράμ* (Negev: Alt 1921, no. 72) which, devoid of the Greek ending, are closer to the original Semitic name. The spelling *’Αβράμ* occurs also in a bilingual, Greek-Jewish epitaph from Jabneh (Iamnia: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 145).

253. Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved in the corners and broken on the lower left side. Inv. no.: Z-132. Dimensions: 0.38x0.24x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed, is chipped all around, especially on the lower right side, and badly weathered mainly in the upper part with loss of text. Below the inscription in the middle there is a simple incised cross with linear serifs. The text and the decorative cross are under an arch supported by two tall columns, the masonry of which is indicated by simple lines at regular intervals. The text and the decoration are engraved and preserve traces of red colour. The script is of the square alphabet with letters fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.021 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LI

Date: 22 Artemisios 397 E.P.A. = 12 May AD 502.

<p>+ Εἷς Θεός,          ὁ πάντων Δε-          σπότης. Ἐγ-          4 θάδε κεῖται          Εὐσέβιος,          ζήσας ἔτη ξ'          ἑξικογτὰ, μη(νὸς) Ἄρτ(εμισίου)          8 βκ', τζζ'. Θάρ-          σεις, οὐδεῖς          ἄθάν&lt;α&gt;τος.</p>	<p>One (is) the God,          the Lord of all.          Here lies Eusebios,          who lived sixty years,          (and died) on the 22nd          (day) of (the) month          Artemisios, (in the year)          397. Be of good cheer,          no one (is) immortal.</p>
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+

#### Critical apparatus

- II. 1-4: in these lines most of the letters are faded.  
 I. 1: the line starts with a simple cross.

l. 6: the age numeral is given here in the numerical sign ξ', while in the next line is repeated in cardinal number.

l. 7: ἑξήκοντα, iotacism for ἑξήκοιτα; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*; the month Ἀρτεμίσιος is abbreviated by the first three letters and an S-sign.

l. 8: the month day numeral is inverted and bears a horizontal bar only above the tens figure, *kappa*; the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and preceded by an angular motif.

l. 10: the vowel *alpha* in the third syllable of the word ἁθάνατος is omitted.

#### Commentary

l. 5: The name *Εὐσέβιος* appears also in inscr. nos. 165, 273 and 282. In Palestine and Arabia it is mainly attested in Christian inscriptions where it is occasionally borne by clergymen. Examples of *Εὐσέβιος* have been recorded in Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, nos. 98, 140, 165; Khirbet Darih: Sartre 1993, no. 100), the Negev (Nessana: *Nessana* 3, no. 90; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 184, no. 271b; p. 185, no. 290), Judaea (Jerusalem, Mt. of Olives: Thomsen 1921, pp. 100-101, no. 147 = *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 177, presbyter; pp. 141-142, no. 256a; Kfar Truman: Meimaris 1986, no. 977, presbyter and hegumen), Mt. Nebo (Siyagha: Gatier 1986, no. 94 = Di Segni 1998, p. 436, no. 25), and in Hauran where it occurs as well in the contracted form *Εὐσέβις* (Waddington, ind. I, p. 4, s.v. *Εὐσέβει*, *Εὐσέβιου*, *PAES* IIIA, no. 667; *AAES* III, ind., p. 340, s.v. *Εὐσέβιος*, *Εὐσέβις*; Sartre 1982, nos. 9115, 9116: same person, a governor of Arabia, 1st half of 5th c. AD; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 149, no. 1). The latter form is also found at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 203-204, no. 18, a public weigher [ζυγοστάτης]), in Judaea (Jerusalem, Mt. of Olives: Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 329, no. 13; Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, p. 320, no. 45?; p. 327, no. 176; p. 328, no. 200), but also in the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 164, *archisynagogos*). The spelling *Εὐσέβης* is encountered at Pharan in Sinai (Grossmann, Jones and Reichert 1996, p. 35, fig. 11). The feminine *Εὐσέβια* is mentioned twice at the baths of Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 197-198, no. 10; pp. 205-206, no. 21). Several historical personages as well as Saints bore the name *Εὐσέβιος*.

The name of the deceased is not followed by a patronymic; on this phenomenon see commentary of inscr. no. 4.

254. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken in the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-45. Dimensions: 0.28x0.21x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in the upper right and cracked in the lower left corners; it is weathered with damage of text mainly in the middle. The inscription is enclosed within an incised rectangular frame with extension of its vertical and horizontal lines. The text is engraved in square script. The letters vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LII*

Date: 11 Audynaïos 398 E.P.A., 12th indiction = 27 December AD 503.

+ Πέτρος Σ-  
αμασέου, πρ-  
επόσιτος, ἐν-  
4 θάδε κῖτε, ζ-  
ήσας ἐν πίσ-  
τι Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἔτη ο', ἐ-  
ν ἔτι τήγ', ἰν-  
8 δικ(τιῶνος) ιβ', μηνὶ  
Αὐδονί(ω) ια'.

Petros, (son) of Samaseos,  
(the) praepositus, here lies,  
having lived 70 years in  
the faith of Christ.  
(He died)  
in the year 398,  
in (the) 12th indiction,  
on (the) 11th (day)  
of (the) month Audynaïos.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the line begins with a simple cross.

ll. 1-2: Σαμασέου for Σαμμασέου.

ll. 2-3: πρεπόσιτος is phonetic spelling for πραιπόσιτος.

l. 4: κῖτε is phonetic spelling for κεῖται.

ll. 5-6: πίστι, iotacism for πίστει; the sacred name Χριστοῦ (genitive) is abbreviated by the first and last letter covered by a horizontal bar.

ll. 7: ἔτι for ἔτει; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

ll. 7-8: the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος appears abbreviated by its first five letters; a horizontal bar above the indiction year numeral.

l. 9: ΑΥΔΟΝΙ stands as abbreviation of the dative Αὐδυναίῳ: *omicron* for *upsilon* in the second syllable and *iota* instead of the diphthong αἰ in the third; the month day numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.

#### Commentary

l. 1: For the common Greek name Πέτρος, see commentary of inscr. no. 40.

ll. 1-2: The Hellenized Semitic name Σαμμασέος is discussed in inscr. no. 184.

ll. 2-3: Πραιπόσιτος, the Latin *praepositus*, was a title bestowed on a military officer, usually a tribune or a prefect (Jones 1964, vol. I, p. 640), or to a civil magistrate, e.g. *praepositus pagi, thesauri* etc. Of special importance was the office of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, a position of high dignity and influence in the Imperial Court which was held by eunuchs (for an elaborate study on this official, see Guiland 1967, pp. 332-380; on *praepositi* in general, see Jones 1964, vol. II, index, p. 1508, s.v. *praepositus*; Lampe, p. 1126, s.v. *πραιπόσιτος*). Given the military presence in the city of Zoora (see inscr. no. 30), the *praepositus* Petros of this epitaph may have been a commanding officer. His indigenous origin, indicated by the patronymic, makes possible the assumption that Petros was the head of the local military unit stationed in the city which was also recruited from natives (*equites sagittarii indigenae*: *Not. Dign.* 72.7, 73.6). Petros at the time of his death although no longer an officer on active service retained the title of *πραιπόσιτος*.

The *praepositi*, attested so far in the Greek epigraphy of the Roman and Byzantine Palestine and Arabia, were military officers. The majority of the relevant inscriptions comes from Roman Hauran. A "πραιπόσιτος γεντιλίων", commander of tribal troops (*gentiles*), is mentioned in an inscription of AD 208 from I'nat (*PAES* IIIA, no. 223; cf. also Speidel 1977, pp. 712-716, no. 3 and Kennedy 2000, p. 207, no. 5). At Bostra, in a text of AD 238-244 a centurion of the Third Cyrenaic Legion bears also the title of "πραιπόσιτος κουστωδιῶν", chief of the guardians of the prisons of Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9088; Speidel 1977, p. 696). A certain Αὐρήλιος Μοντανός, member of the boule of Bostra, β(ουλευτής) Β(οστρονίων), is also styled in a mid-fourth c. AD inscription from el-Kefr "ἀπὸ π(ραι)π(οσί)των", a title borne by an *ex-praepositus* (*PAES* IIIA, no. 669). Finally, in the Edict of Anastasios I (AD 491-518) from Qasr el-Ḥallabât (*PAES* IIIA, no. 20, frags. 24-26, l. 4; 33, l. 8; 41, l. 6) and Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, pp. 5-6, no. 8), which deals with various military issues, the office of *praepositi* usually follows that of *tribuni*.

ll. 4-6: The clear expression of Christian faith "ζήσας ἐν πίστι Χ(ριστο)ῦ" is hitherto unique at Ghor es-Safi. A similar phrase "ζήσας ἐν Χριστῷ" appears in inscr. no. 258. For expressions of death in Christ, see commentary of inscr. no. 223.

255. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape and nicely curved in the bottom, while its upper right part is missing with loss of text; it is mended from two fragments. Inv. no.: Z-102. Dimensions: 0.45x0.245x0.06 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the inscription and the decorative scene, and is partially damaged. The decorative scene lies below the text and consists of an outlined small cross with a *chi*-sign in the middle, bearing in its upper corners the symbolic letters *alpha-omega* in an inverted position; this cross is surmounted by a schematized wreath enclosing a plain cross with linear serifs. This central scene is flanked by two heraldically placed birds. The birds and the crosses are lying upon myrtle branches in horizontal position. The whole scene is engraved and preserves traces of red paint. The inscription and the decoration are enclosed within a rectangular red painted frame, partially preserved. The text is set between incised guide-lines, half of which are painted over in red. The text is engraved and red paint is preserved only in l. 6. The script is basically square with a few round exceptions. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.


Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XIII

Date: 14 Daisios 3[11]-3[99] E.P.A. = 3 June AD 416-504.

Ε[ἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης].	[One (is) the God, the Lord of all].
Μν[ημῖον ca. 8-9]	[Monument of .....] who died
NH [ca. 11-12, ἀπ]-	having a good [name and]
4 αθονό[ντος or ὕσης μετὰ κα]-	good faith (at the age)
λοῦ ἀγ[όματος καί]	of 25 [years], in the year 3.,
καλῶς πίσ[τεως ἐτῶ]-	on (the) 14th (day) of (the)

ν κε', ἐν ἔτι τ[... μην]-  
 8 ὃς Δεσίου δι', ἡμέρᾱ  
 Κυρίου δ'. Θάρσει, οὐδι-  
 ς ἀθάνατος. + +

+  
 (bird)  (bird)

[month] Daisios, on (the) 4th  
 day of (the) Lord (Wednesday).  
 Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: from this line only the first letter *epsilon* has been preserved.  
 l. 2: the first and part of the second letter are preserved.  
 l. 3: from this line only the first two and part of a third letter are preserved.  
 ll. 3-4: [ἀπ]αθονό[ντος or ούσης] for [ἀπ]οθανό[ντος or ούσης]: transposition of the vowels in second-third syllables; the partially preserved aorist participle does not allow us to decide about the gender of the deceased.  
 ll. 4-5: [κα]λοῦ: the first syllable is lost.  
 l. 5: ἀν[όματος] for ὀν[όματος]: initial *alpha* for *omicron*; only the first and part of the second letter are preserved.  
 l. 6: καλῶς for καλῆς: *omega* in the place of *eta*; the letter-cutter could have been misled by the genitive ending -ως of the following word πίστεως; from the genitive πίστεως the three first letters are preserved.  
 ll. 6-7: [ἐτῶ]ν: the first three letters are missing at the end of l. 6.  
 l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; ἔτι for ἔτει; from the year numeral only the hundreds figure is preserved covered by a horizontal bar.  
 ll. 7-8: [μην]ός: the first three letters are lost.  
 l. 8: Δεσίου is phonetic spelling for Δαισίου; the month day numeral is inverted and covered by a horizontal bar; from the word ἡμέρᾱ the first letter is intact while the rest are partially preserved.  
 l. 9: a horizontal bar above the weekday numeral; θάρσει.  
 ll. 9-10: οὐδείς.  
 l. 10: the line ends with two large crosses; the first is an outlined incised cross with *chi*-sign in the middle and the second has triangular serifs.

#### Commentary

The obliterated text has been restored, wherever possible, with the help of the almost standard phraseology used in most of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs and the number of letters in the intact lines.

ll. 2-3: The name, the patronymic and probably the office of the deceased should have occupied these lines.

**256.** Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved and broken in the corners. Inv. no.: Z-112. Dimensions: 0.405x0.27x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the area of the text, is chipped in the lower part and partially damaged. The inscription is enclosed within an incised rectangular frame, the vertical lines of which are projecting. The text is set between incised guide-lines. Below the frame there is an incised cross consisting of three horizontal lines crossed by two vertical ones. The text is engraved in a mixed square and round script. It presents also some peculiar pointed characters. The letters, which vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.023 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LII

Date: 400 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 505 - 21 March AD 506.

Μνη<μ>ιον  
 Κυρ<ι>ακή Σεάλ-  
 <λ>ον, ἀποθαν<ο>ῦ-  
 4 σα {μ} μετὰ κα-  
 λοῦ ἀνάματ<ο>ς  
 καὶ κ<α>λῆς πίσ-  
 τεως ἐτῶ<ν> ι<ζ'>.

Monument of  
 Kyr(i)ake, (daughter)  
 of Sealos, who  
 died having a good name  
 and good faith  
 (at the age) of  
 17 years,

8 ἐ<ν> ἔτους υ'.

in (the) year 400.

+

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον; the fourth letter *mu* has been engraved as *eta*; the line ends with an outlined cross of which only the upper part has been preserved.  
 l. 2: Κυρακή for Κυριακή; omission of the fourth letter *iota* and use of nominative instead of genitive singular.  
 ll. 2-3: the first letter of l. 3 has been carved as *alpha* instead of *lambda* (see the original inscription no. 140).  
 ll. 3-4: ἀποθανῶσα for ἀποθανούσης; in the fourth syllable the first vowel of the diphthong *ou* is omitted, while nominative has been used for the participle instead of genitive singular.  
 l. 4: the first letter *mu* of the preposition μετά is carved twice.  
 l. 5: ἀνάματ<ο>ς for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the first two syllables and omission of the vowel *omicron* in the last syllable.  
 l. 6: the second letter *alpha* of the adjective καλῆς is unfinished, lacking the middle horizontal bar.  
 ll. 6-7: the first three letters of the word πίστεως at the end of l. 6 are arranged as follows: the third letter *sigma* is attached to the right vertical stroke of the first letter *pi*, while the second one *iota* intersects the third letter *sigma* vertically; *omega* has a strange shape.  
 l. 7: a similar *omega* in the word ἐτῶν; the last letter *nu* of this word is carved as *eta*; the units figure of the age numeral - written by mistake as *sigma* (numerical sign of 200) - should be ζ' according to the original inscription (see no. 140).  
 l. 8: in the preposition ἐν the *nu* has been written as *eta*; ἔτους for ἔτει: genitive for dative singular.  
 l. 9: this line is left uninscribed.

#### Commentary

The text of this epitaph, with the exception of the year numeral, presents a strong resemblance to that of inscr. no. 140. The numerous mistakes observed, such as misspellings, omissions of letters or peculiar incision of some letters and symbols led us to the assumption that it is an unsuccessful attempt for copying lines 1-8 of inscr. no. 140 (cf. also inscr. no. 293).

ll. 2-3: For a commentary of the names *Κυριακή* and *Σεάλλας*, see inscr. no. 140.

**257.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and slightly curved in the corners. Inv. no.: Z-182. Dimensions: 0.325x0.26x0.125 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is damaged mainly in the upper right corner with loss of text. Below the inscription towards the left there is a simple incised cross. The text is engraved and ll. 3,7,8,9 are painted over in red, while l. 10 is partially painted. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions. The letters, although of variable height, are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LII

Date: 21 Apellaios 401 E.P.A., 15th indiction = 7 December AD 506.

+ Εἷς Θεό νς, ὁ π[άντων]  
 Δεσπότης. Μν[ημίον]  
 Εὐδοξίας Τιμοθέου],  
 4 ἀποθανούσης με-  
 τὸ καλοῦ ὀνόματος  
 καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ἐτ(ῶν)  
 μέ, ἐν ἔτι {τοῦ ἔτους} υα',  
 8 ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπελλέου κα',  
 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πέμτῃ τοῦ σα-  
 βάτου), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε'. Θάρος[ι],  
 οὐδὲς ἀθά<να>τος.

+

One (is) the God, the Lord of  
 all. Monument of Eudoxia,  
 (daughter) of Timotheos,  
 who died having a good name  
 and good faith (at the age)  
 of 45 years, in the year  
 401, on (the) 21st (day)  
 of (the) month Apellaios,  
 on the fifth day of the week  
 (Thursday), in (the) 15th indiction.  
 Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the inscription opens with a simple cross; the word πάντων is lost except for the left part of the first letter *pi*.



- I. 2: from the word *μνημεῖον* only the first and the left part of the second letter are preserved.
- I. 3: the last letter of the patronymic *Τιμοθέου* is obliterated, while the two previous letters are partially preserved.
- II. 4-5: *μετό* for *μετά*: *omicron* for *alpha*.
- I. 5: *ὀνόματος*.
- I. 6: the word *ἐτῶν* is abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign S.
- I. 7: only the tens figure of the age numeral is emphasized above and below by a horizontal bar; *ἔτι* is phonetic spelling of *ἔτει*; the genitive *ἔτους* is abbreviated by the first two letters and the sign S; the phrase *τοῦ ἔτ(ους)* is a pleonasm; above the year numeral there is a horizontal bar; the line ends with a decorative sign.
- I. 8: *Ἀπελλέου* for *Ἀπελλαίω*: phonetic spelling of *αι* and use of genitive instead of dative singular; a horizontal stroke above the month day numeral.
- I. 9: the word *ἡμέρα* is abbreviated by the second letter *mu* above the first one *eta*; *πέμμη* is phonetic spelling for *πέμπτη*.
- II. 9-10: CABAT followed by the sign S forms the abbreviation for the genitive *σαββάτου*.
- I. 10: the word *ἰνδικτιῶνος* appears abbreviated by the first three letters and the S-sign; the indiction year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and below; *θάρσ[ι]* for *θάρσ[ει]*: the last letter *iota* is effaced.
- I. 11: *οὐδεῖς*; the engraver forgot to carve the third syllable of *ἀθάνατος*.

#### Commentary

I. 3: The feminine Greek name *Εὐδοξία* makes its appearance in the Imperial period (*LGPV* I, p. 173, s.v.; Kajanto 1963, p. 70). The relevant examples known from Palestine are confined to three sixth-seventh c. AD epitaphs from el-Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 82, 83; Piccirillo 1989, p. 117, no. 18). Eudoxia was the name of two Byzantine empresses: the first, wife of Arcadius (AD 400-404) and the second, daughter of Theodosios II and wife of Valentinian III (439-ca. 462) [*PLRE* II, pp. 410-411, s.vv. *Aelia Eudoxia* 1; *Licinia Eudoxia* 2 respectively]. The name of Augusta Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius, has been recognized in a metrical dedicatory inscription found in Beth Shean (Scythopolis). The text records the erection of a golden statue of the empress by the governor Flavius Artemidorus (Di Segni 1999, p. 631). In the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* two Saints are mentioned under the name *Eudoxia* (Delehay 1902, index, col. 1083, s.vv. *Εὐδοξία* 1, 3). For the masculine *Εὐδόξιος*, see inscr. no. 167.

*Τιμόθεος* is an ancient Greek name (its first epigraphical attestation goes back to the sixth c. BC, see *LGPV* II, p. 430, s.v.) which survived in the Christian nomenclature. In Palestine and Arabia it usually appears as a Christian name with the exception of some examples of the Roman period from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 2078, 2184, 2216 [*Ῥοαῖχος ὁ καὶ Τειμόθεος*, used as a surname], 2307; *AAES* III, no. 401b). The Christian epigraphical instances, apart from Ghor es-Safi (see also nos. 259, 296), have been recorded in Judaea (Jerusalem, Mount of Olives, Viri Galilei: Thomsen 1921, p. 102, no. 155; Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, pp. 324-325, nos. 136 [archdeacon], 141), Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 128, no. 13), the Negev (Beersheba: Alt 1921, p. 22, no. 32; Nessana: *Nessana* 1, no. 109; *Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 340: 26 mentions for the same person *Τιμόθεος Πουφίνου*), and in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 78 = *SEG* 26 [1976-77], no. 1657). The Christian background of the name *Τιμόθεος* in these areas is revealed by the considerable number of homonymous Saints (Delehay 1902, index, col. 1171), especially Timotheos, the apostle and disciple of Saint Paul (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1529, s.v. *Τιμόθεος* 1,2). An antiorigenist monk *Τιμόθεος Γαβαληνός* is mentioned in the Life of Saint Sabas (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 84, p. 189, II. 19-20; 85, p. 191, I. 13). Finally Timotheos was the name of a grammaticus and author who was a native of Gaza and lived in the reign of Anastasios I (for his life and work, see *PLRE* II, p. 1121, s.v. *Timotheus* 3).

II. 9-10: The week designation *σάββατον* occurs as *σάβοτον* in inscr. no. 217 and *σάμβατον* in nos. 131 and 207.

258. Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-278. Dimensions: 0.41x0.22x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked in the upper right and lower left corners. The inscription is enclosed within an incised rectangular frame. Below the frame there are three crosses with linear serifs. The text and the crosses are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters are of variable size, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LII

Date: 2 Peritios 410 E.P.A., 9th indiction = 17 January AD 516.

+	Ἐνθάδε κί-	Here lies Saoreos,
	ται Σαωρέος ν	(son) of Olefos,
	Ὀλέφου, ζήσας	who lived in Christ
4	ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ ἔτη κζ', τε-	27 years and died,
	λευτήσας δὲ με-	having a good name
	τ<α> καλοῦ ὀνόμα-	and good faith,
	τος καὶ καλῆς πίσ-	on the second (day)
8	τεως ἐν μηνὶ Περ-	of the month Peritios,
	ιτίου δευτέρῃ, ἐν	on Sunday,
	ἡμέ(ρᾳ) Κυριακῆς, τοῦ	in the year 410,
	ἔτους υ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ἐν-	in (the) ninth indiction.
12	ἀτης. Θάρσει, οὐ-	Be of good cheer,
	δεῖς ἀθάνατος. +	no one (is) immortal.
	+ + +	

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: the inscription starts with a simple cross.

ll. 1-2: κῖται for κεῖται: phonetic spelling of εἰ.

l. 4: the dative Χριστῷ is abbreviated by the first and last letter and a horizontal bar above them; the age numeral is denoted also by a horizontal bar above.

ll. 5-6: the last letter *alpha* of the preposition μετὰ is carved as *lambda* (without the middle connecting bar).

ll. 8-9: the phrase ἐν μηνὶ Περιτίου δευτέρῃ should be corrected as ἐν (τῇ) δευτέρῃ μηνὸς Περιτίου.

l. 10: ἡμέ(ρᾳ) for ἡμέ(ρᾳ): *eta* for *epsilon* in the second syllable; the word is abbreviated by the two first letters and the third one above the second letter *mu*; Κυριακῆς for Κυριακῇ: genitive for dative singular.

l. 11: the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above; the genitive ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) is abbreviated by the first three letters followed by the sign S.

l. 13: the inscription ends with a cross.

## Commentary

l. 2: For the name Σαωρέος see commentary of inscr. no. 236.

l. 3: The common Semitic name Ὀλέφος is discussed in inscr. no. 6.

ll. 3-4: For the phrase "ζήσας ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ" and related expressions, see commentary of inscr. no. 254.

**259.** Tombstone of white sandstone with pink stripes, rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-332. Dimensions: 0.195x0.255x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed and is flaked off in the lower right corner and at the bottom. Above the inscription there is an incised and red painted cross with linear serifs. The text is engraved and ll. 1,2,3 and the first three letters of l. 4 preserve an additional red paint. The script in ll. 1-5 is a mixture of square and round alphabets with a few oval characters, while in ll. 6-9 is of the square form with a characteristic rhomboid *theta* (l. 9). The letters in the first six lines are of variable size not so carefully cut and aligned, while in ll. 6-9 are more symmetrical, better carved and aligned. This difference in the script and the execution may indicate a different letter-cutter. Height of letters: 0.01-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIII

Date: Dystros 410 E.P.A., 9th indiction = 15 February - 16 March AD 516.

+		
+	Ἐνθάδε κῖται	Here lies
	Τιμόθεος Ὀμέ-	Timotheos, (son) of
	ρου, ἀποθανόντας	Omeros, who died

- |   |                      |                          |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 4 | μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμα-    | having a good name and   |
|   | τος καὶ καλῆς πίστε- | good faith               |
|   | ως ἑτῶν ε', ἐν μ-    | (at the age) of 5 years  |
|   | ενὶ Δύστρου, τ-      | in the month of Dystros, |
| 8 | οὕ ἔτους υἱ',        | in the year 410,         |
|   | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ'.    | in (the) 9th indiction.  |

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line starts with a cross formed by four triangles and a lozenge in the middle; κῑται for κείται: phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει.
- l. 3: ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανών: *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable and use of genitive instead of nominative singular.
- l. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above and below.
- ll. 6-7: μενί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.
- l. 7: Δύστρου for Δύστρω: use of genitive in the place of dative singular.
- l. 8: the year numeral is flanked by two vertical lines and underlined by an elongated bar.
- l. 9: the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first three letters followed by the sign S; *theta*, numerical sign of the indiction, is written in a larger scale and has a rhomboid shape in contradiction to the other *thetas* which are oval shaped.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: For a full commentary on the Greek name *Τιμόθεος*, see inscr. no. 257.
- ll. 2-3: \**Ομερος*, possibly Greek transcription of the Arabic 'Umais or 'Umais (PAES IIIA, p. 192, no. 401), is the hypocoristicon of the Hellenized Semitic name \**Αμερος* (for its etymology and parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 1). This name has been vaguely read in an epitaph from Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 401). The variants \**Ομάειρ*, \**Ομάρ*, \**Ομάρα* (Preisigke 1922, col. 240) and \**Ούμάρ*, \**Ούμέειρ* (ibid., p. 249), which are closer to the Arabic name, have been recorded in seventh-eighth c. papyri from Egypt. In addition the genitive \**Ούμάρου* is encountered in Sinai (Wuthnow 1930, p. 92, s.v.). The name \**Οέμιρος* in an epitaph from Rihab (Gatier 1998, p. 411, no. 150) is considered by Gatier (ibid., p. 418, s.v.) as a corrupt form of the Greek name *Εὐήμερος* rather than as a variant of the Semitic \**Ομερος*. In our opinion, the connection of \**Οέμιρος* with \**Ομερος* cannot be excluded.

**260.** Tombstone of white sandstone, square in shape with curved corners, chipped all around except for the left side. In second use it was built in an arch with very strong mortar, traces of which are visible in the lower left and right corners. The latter, which has been smoothed, is badly chipped in the lower right corner where the mortar lies, is flaked off at the top, weathered in the middle and partially covered with mortar at the bottom with loss of text. Inv. no.: Z-206. Dimensions: 0.32x0.30x0.16 m. The text is also engraved with remains of red colour throughout it. The script is a mixture of square and round alphabets. The letters, which vary in size, are rather elongated, fairly well carved but not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.012-0.028 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIII

Date: 3 Artemisios 466 E.P.A., 3rd indiction = 23 April AD 571.

- |   |                               |                                       |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| + | Ἐνθάδε κῑτ(αι) ὁ μ(ακάριος)   | Here lies the blessed                 |
|   | Θεόδωρος Κλαυ-                | Theodoros, (son) of Claudius,         |
|   | δίου, ζήσας ἐν κα-            | who lived 29 years (having)           |
| 4 | λῳ ὀνόματ(ι) κ(αὶ) ἐν κα-     | a good name and (leading) a good life |
|   | λῇ ζῳῇ ἔτ(η) κθ', θα- ν       | (and) died on (the) 3rd (day)         |
|   | νὸν ἐν μην(νι) Ἀρτεμη- ν      | of the month Artemisios,              |
|   | σίου γ', ἰνδικτ(ιῶνος) γ', νν | in (the) 3rd indiction, in            |
| 8 | τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υἑξς. Θάρ-        | the year 466. Be of                   |
|   | σι ψυχῇ, οὐδὶς νν             | good cheer soul,                      |
|   | ἀθάνατος. +                   | no one (is) immortal.                 |

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: the line starts with a simple cross; κῑτ(αι) for κεῑτ(αι): phonetic spelling of εἰ; the word is abbreviated by the first three letters followed by the sign ξ; the letter *mu* with an S-sign above stands for the abbreviation of the adjective μακάριος.
- I. 4: from the abbreviation of the dative ὀνόματι only the last letter *iota* is missing replaced by the sign ξ; the conjunction καί is abbreviated by the first letter *kappa* and a small sign S attached to its lower stroke.
- I. 5: ET followed by the sign ξ form the abbreviation of the word ἔτη; the age numeral is denoted by a slightly wavy line above.
- II. 5-6: θανόν for θανών: phonetic spelling of *omega*.
- I. 6: an *eta* above *mu* abbreviates the dative μηνί.
- II. 6-7: Ἀρτεμισίου for Ἀρτεμισίω: *eta* for *iota* in the third syllable and use of genitive instead of dative singular.
- I. 7: the month day as well as the indiction year numeral are emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below and a horizontal bar above respectively; the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first six letters followed by the ξ-sign.
- I. 8: the letters ET and the sign ξ form the abbreviation of the genitive ἔτους; the year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal line above.
- II. 8-9: θάρσει.
- I. 9: οὐδεῖς.
- I. 10: the inscription ends with a simple cross.

## Commentary

- I. 1: The letter *mu* most likely stands for the abbreviation of the word μακάριος, "blessed", a characteristic epithet applied commonly to the deceased in a Christian context (Lampe, p. 822, s.v. *μακάριος*, E1). The origin of the term goes back to the Classical period (*LSJ*, p. 1074, s.v. 3) but its Christian usage seems to be inspired by a phrase encountered in the *Revelation* (14.13): "... γράψον, μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι" (cf. Guarducci 1978, p. 306). It is worth noting that the use of μακάριος, -ία in Ghor es-Safi is restricted (see also inscr. no. 262; cf. μακαρίτης in nos. 86, 282 and μακαριώτατος in no. 264) in comparison with the epithet's high frequency in Palestine (e.g. Gaza: Glucker 1987, pp. 121-124, nos. 4,5,6,7; p. 127, no. 12; p. 131, no. 15; p. 138, nos. 24,25; p. 139, no. 29; Choziba Monastery in the Judaeian Desert: Schneider 1931, *passim*), particularly in the area of the Negev (Alt 1921: *passim*; *Nessana* 1, *passim*; *Nessana* 3, nos. 21, 22, 24, 30, 85, 99, 168; Negev 1981, index b, p. 79 [14 cases]; Tsafirir 1988, pp. 155-156, nos. 2,3; pp. 158-159, no. 6; pp. 160-161, nos. 9,10,11; p. 162, no. 13; p. 166, no. 19; p. 169, no. 25; Ustinova and Figueras 1996: pp. 167-170; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 176, nos. 22,24; p. 179, no. 103; p. 181, no. 168). An explanation for this phenomenon could be sought in the lack of epitaphs from Ghor es-Safi for the period between AD 517 and 570, during which the use of the epithet μακάριος became common, or could be attributed to regional preferences (cf. for example the rare employment of μακάριος in the neighbouring area of Moab, Canova 1954, p. 187, no. 208; for a discussion on the use of μακάριος in Palestine, see Sartre 1993, p. 144, no. 107). The rather regular use of the term in the available late sixth century epitaphs of Ghor es-Safi and in particular in abbreviated form, which is a sign of the people's familiarity with this word, speaks in favour of the first hypothesis. The epithet was also employed by the Jews of Palestine (Beth She'arim: Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 176). For μακάριος and its derivatives in the Christian epitaphs from Egypt, see *IGA* V, p. XXXI; cf. also *SEG* 40 (1990), no. 1547.
- I. 2: For the common Greek theophoric name Θεόδωρος, see commentary of inscr. no. 112.
- II. 2-3: The patronymic Κλαύδιος is discussed in inscr. nos. 54 and 128.
- II. 3-5: The aretology of the deceased in this epitaph (and in no. 264) deviates slightly from the standard formula "μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως" used at Ghor es-Safi. Although the first common term "καλὸ ὄνομα" is retained, the second one "καλὴ ζωὴ" appears here for the first time and refers to the decent life led by Theodoros. Phrases similar to "ζήσας ἐν καλῇ ζωῇ", like "καλῶς ζήσας" and "καλῶς βιώσας", are quite frequent in the pagan and Christian funerary epigraphy of Hauran (for a collection of the respective evidence, see Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. II, p. 173). Two stelae from the same area have also preserved the expressions "[περ]ά(ν)αντες τὸν βίον καλῶ[ς]" (*PAES* IIIA, no. 800) and "ἐ[τ]ελίο[σ]ας τὸν βίον σου καλῶς" (Waddington, no. 2459). The phrase closest in wording to that of Ghor es-Safi is offered by an early Christian

sepulchral inscription from Crete: "τὸν καλὸν βίον βιώσας" (Bandy 1970, no. 91; for other examples from Greece, see Sironen 1997, nos. 200, 231).

I. 7: The correct indiction year should be δ' instead of γ' in order to correlate with the rest of the dating elements. For an explanation for this discordance see chapter on Date of death, pp. 51-52.

II. 8-10: The exhortation "θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος", usually addressed to the deceased himself (see chapter on Acclamations), is reserved here for his soul, as the word ψυχὴ in the place of his name indicates. An analogous phraseology, but this time with ψυχὴ followed also by the departed's name, is encountered in an epitaph from Quneitra in Golan: Μὴ λιπεθῇς, ψυχὴ Μαιρόνα, οὐδὲς ἀθάνατος (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 205\* with the previous bibliography). It seems that in both cases the encouragement to the soul of the dead is in accordance with the Christian belief that the soul continues to live after death.

**261.** Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved at the upper right corner, broken on the lower left and right sides and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-262. Dimensions: 0.41x0.29x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked on the upper, left and lower sides and weathered. Below the inscription in the middle there is an incised and red painted cross with serifs. The text is engraved and bears traces of red paint. The script is of the round alphabet with some square exceptions. The letters are of variable size, elongated, fairly well cut but with an ascending alignment (except for l. 1 which is descending). Height of letters: 0.011-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIII

Date: Xanthikos 471 E.P.A., 9th indiction = 22 March - 20 April AD 576.

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
των Δεσπότης). ννν	the Lord of all.
Ἐνθάδε κῆτε	Here lies Victor,
4 Βίκτωρ Σιλου-	(son) of Silouanos (Silvanus),
ανοῦ, ζήσας	who lived 35 years,
ἑτῶν λε', τε-	(and) died in
λευτέσας	the month of
8 ἐν μηνὶ Ξαν-	Xanthikos,
θ(ικῶ), ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ', τοῦ	in (the) 9th indiction,
ἑτοῦς νοα'.	in the year 471.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the line begins with a cross decorated with linear serifs; the letters ΘC stand as the abbreviation of the sacred word Θεός, marked above by a horizontal bar in red paint.

I. 2: the word Δεσπότης is abbreviated by the first four letters followed by the abbreviation sign S.

I. 3: κῆτε is phonetic spelling of κεῖται.

II. 4-5: the first diphthong ου of the patronymic Σιλουανοῦ is given in ligature, while the second one is analytical.

I. 6: ἑτῶν for ἔτη: the word is given in the genitive instead of the nominative plural; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

II. 6-7: τελευτέσας for τελευτήσας: *epsilon* for *eta*.

II. 8-9: the dative Ξανθικῶ is abbreviated by the first four letters and the sign S.

I. 9: the letters ΙΝΔ followed by the sign S form the abbreviation of the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος; the indiction year numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above it; the diphthong ου of the article τοῦ is given in ligature (see also I. 4).

I. 10: from the year numeral the hundreds and tens figures are clear, while the units figure is faded.

#### Commentary

I. 4: So far this is the only attestation of the name Βίκτωρ, Hellenized form of the Latin cognomen *Victor*, at Ghor es-Safi. The Christian occurrences of Βίκτωρ in Palestine are quite numerous presenting a high frequency in the area of the Negev, especially at Nessana (*Nessana* 1, nos. 72 (twice), 74, 89, 121; *Nessana* 3, index IV, p. 335, s.v. [in 19 papyri]), but also at Beersheba (Alt 1921, nos. 31 [deacon], 46), Horvat Be'er-shema' (Tzaferis 1996, p. 78\*, no. 4 = SEG 46 [1996], no. 2007), Elusa (Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 175, no. 17; p. 179, no. 103), Rehovot (Alt 1921, nos.

79, 84, 106; Tsafirir 1988, p. 174, no. 34), Shivta (Youtie 1936, pp. 452-459, no. III = Meimaris 1986, no. 1267), and 'Avdat (Negev 1981, nos. 32, 38). Examples of *Βίκτωρ* have been recorded also in inscriptions from Gaza (Saliou 2000, p. 401, no. 11 [mosaicist]; p. 407, no. 17), the Choziba Monastery's cemetery in the Judaeen Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 319, no. 33; p. 328, no. 206 [an Egyptian monk, 'Εγύπτιος]), Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 21) and Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, no. 29).

A local Saint with this name is referred to in an inscription found in the North Church at Nessana (*Nessana* 1, no. 83). His sanctuary is depicted in the mosaic map of Madaba (Gatier 1986, no. 153-121; Alliata 1999, p. 13, no. 125). St. Victor is said to have been buried at Maiumas, the harbour of Gaza, and his memory is celebrated on the 11th of November in the Church of the Holy Resurrection (Meimaris 1986, p. 120).

*Οὐίκτωρ*, an alternative Greek transliteration of the Latin *Victor*, is attested in inscriptions of the Roman period from Hauran (Waddington, nos. 1891, 1892, 1984; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 691, 788), Transjordan (Amman: Gatier 1986, nos. 25, 26; Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 406, no. 68) and Caesarea Maritima (Lifshitz 1977, p. 503). For the derivative *Οὐίκτωρίνος* see inscr. no. 30.

Finally, the feminine name is encountered twice in Hauran in the spellings *Οὐίκτωρία* (Ghasm: *PAES* IIIA, no. 620) and [*Οὐι*]κτωρεία (Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9357).

**262.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost square in shape, chipped in the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-367. Dimensions: 0.36x0.295x0.06 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered. Above the text an incised cross with linear serifs is visible. Both the text and the cross are engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round alphabet with some square exceptions. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIII

Date: 29 Xanthikos (?) 471 E.P.A., 10th indiction = 19 April (?) AD 576.

+

<p>           + Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντ(ων) Δεσ-            π(ότης). Ἐνθάδε κῖτε            ἡ μακαρ(ία) Ἀριάνθης            4 Θ υ. φοδῶρον, ζήσασα ἔτη            κα', τελευτήσασα μετὰ            καλοῦ ὀνόματος κα(ί) κα-            λῆς ὁμολογίας ἡ(μέ)ρ(α) Κυρίου α',            8 μ(ηνός) Ἐσθικοῦ κθ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι',            τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υφά'. Θάρσι, οὐ-            δις ἀθάνα- <i>vacat</i>            ννν τος.         </p>	<p>           One (is) the God, the Lord            of all. Here lies            the blessed Arianthe,            (daughter) of Theodoros, who lived            21 years and died having            a good name and good faith            on the 1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday), on the            29th (day) of the month Xanthikos, in the            10th indiction, in the year 471.            Be of good cheer,            no one (is) immortal.         </p>
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#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the inscription opens with a cross decorated with linear serifs; the sacred name Θεός is abbreviated by the first and last letter, while the word πάντων by the first four letters and the sign S.

II. 1-2: the first four letters and the sign S stand as abbreviation of the word Δεσπότης.

I. 2: κῖτε is phonetic spelling for κείται.

I. 3: the epithet μακαρία is abbreviated by the first five letters and a diagonal stroke across the lower part of the last letter *rho*; Ἀριάνθης for Ἀριάνθη: use of genitive instead of nominative.

I. 4: next to *theta* a space of one letter has been left uninscribed due to a cavity on the stone; most of the letters of this line are hardly legible due to the weathering of the stone.

I. 5: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above it; the participle τελευτήσασα is traced with difficulty also due to the weathering.

I. 6: the conjunction καί is abbreviated only by its initial letter.

I. 7: a small *rho*, intersecting *eta* in the middle, abbreviated the word ἡμέρα; the sacred name Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter; the weekday numeral is dubious.

I. 8: an *eta* above *mu* forms the abbreviation of the word μῆνός; Ἐσθικοῦ for Ἐσθιτικοῦ: omission of the letter *nu*; the month day numeral is not certain; the letters ΙΝΔ and the sign S abbreviate the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος.

l. 9: the letters ET stand for the abbreviation of the word ἔτους; the year numeral is indicated by a horizontal bar above it; θάρσει.

ll. 9-10: οὐδείς.

l. 10: there is an empty area at the end of the line.

l. 11: a space of three letters has been left unscripted at the beginning of the line.

#### Commentary

l. 3: For the burial epithet μακαρία, see above commentary of inscr. no. 260. Ἀριάνθη, is an especially rare Greek name which means "flowery" (see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 126, s.v.). It appears also in the masculine form Ἀριάνθης (ibid., s.v. from Argos) and Ἀριάνθος (ibid., s.v. from Abydos; SEG 45 [1995], no. 696 from Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion). Given the scarcity of the name, however, it is more likely to assume that Ἀριάνθη is a vernacular form of Ἀριάδνη which is attested in inscr. no. 158.

l. 4: The patronymic Θεοδώρου is hardly legible; for this popular theophoric name, see commentary of inscr. no. 112.

ll. 6-7: The phrase "καλῆς ὁμολογίας" is employed here as a substitute for the usual "καλῆς πίστεως" plausibly due to its notional similarity to the latter. Its origin goes back to the New Testament (1 Tim. 6.12: "ὁμολογήσας τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν"; ibid. 6.13: "Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου τὴν καλὴν ὁμολογίαν"), while its principal meaning is that of the true confession of Christian faith (cf. Lampe, pp. 957-958, s.v. ὁμολογία 1). Such a confession is plainly expressed in an early Christian epitaph of a subdeacon from Crete: "... Χρ[ρ]<ι>στον καὶ Σωτῆρα Θεὸν ὁμολογῶν..." (Bandy 1970, no. 76).

l. 8: There is a discrepancy between era year, month and indiction year since the latter should be θ' instead of ι'. For this phenomenon, see chapter on Date of death, pp. 51-52.

**263.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly broken in the corners except for the upper left one. Inv. no.: Z-41. Dimensions: 0.295x0.235x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around except for the left side, flaked off in the lower part and badly weathered with loss of text. Faint traces of incised guide-lines are discernible. The text is engraved in square script with a few round exceptions. The letters are elongated, symmetrical, carefully carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.016-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIV

Date: Dios 486 E.P.A., 10th indiction = 18 October - 16 November AD 591.

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπ(ότης). Ἐν-	the Lord of all.
	θάδε κῆτε Σίλ-	Here lies Silas,
4	ας Κ[.....]ου. Ἀν-	(son) of K...
	επάη μενὶ Δίω,	He came to rest
	ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ι', τοῦ ἔτ(ους) υπς', in (the) month of Dios, in the 10th indiction,	
	ζήσας ἐν καλῇ	in the year 486, having
8	[πίστει ἔτη ..].	lived in good [faith ... years].

#### Critical apparatus:

l. 1: the line starts with a cross; the sacred name Θεός is abbreviated by the first and last letter covered by a red painted horizontal bar.

l. 2: the first four letters ΔΕCΠ comprise the abbreviation of the word Δεσπότης.

l. 3: κῆτε, phonetic spelling of κεῖται.

l. 4: from the patronymic only the initial letter *kappa* and the ligature of the diphthong *ou* at the end are preserved.

l. 5: μενί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.

l. 6: the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first three letters and a small S-sign at the upper right part of *delta*; the diphthong *ou* in the article τοῦ is in ligature; the genitive ἔτους is abbreviated by the first two letters followed by the sign S; the year numeral is denoted by a slightly curved bar above.

l. 7: the first five letters are faded.

l. 8: after the adjective καλῇ in l. 7 only the noun πίστει could be restored in the beginning of l. 8; the rest of the line most likely included the mention of the age of the deceased.

#### Commentary

ll. 3-4: For the name Σίλας, see commentary of inscr. no. 77.

l. 4: As possible restorations for the patronymic could be considered Semitic names, like Κ[ασιέ]ου or Κ[αϊού]ου, or even Latin ones, such as Κ[λαυδί]ου.

l. 8: There is a discrepancy between era year, month and indiction year since the latter should be θ' instead of ι'. For this phenomenon, see chapter on Date of death, pp. 51-52.

**264.** Tombstone of white marble, rectangular in shape, broken on the lower left side and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-348. Dimensions: 0.34x0.20x0.04 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chiselled in the upper left part and slightly damaged at the end of ll. 5 and 6. There is an incised rectangular frame around the text. The text is engraved in a mixture of round and slightly oval script. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIV

Date: 15 Dios 486 E.P.A., 10th indiction = 1 November AD 591.

+	Εἷς ὁ Θεός. Ἐνθά-	One (is) the God. Here lies
	δε κῆτε Δαμιαν-	Damianos, (son) of
	ὸς Δωροθέου ὁ μ-	Dorotheos, the most blessed,
4	ακαριώ(τατος), ζήσας ἐν	who lived in good faith
	πίστι καλῇ κ(αί) σεμ-	and (led) a decent life;
	νῷ βίῳ ἑτῶν κδ',	(he died at the age) of 24 years,
	<ἀποθανών> ἐν μηνὶ Δίῳ ιε', ἰν-	on the 15th (day) of the month Dios,
8	δικτιῶνος) ι', τοῦ ἔτους) υς. +	in (the) 10th indiction, in the year 486.
	Θά<ρ>σι ψυχῇ, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer soul,
	<i>vacat</i> τος. + <i>vacat</i>	no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the inscription starts with a cross decorated with linear serifs; the letters ΘC, equipped with a horizontal bar above them, form the abbreviation of the *nomen sacrum* Θεός.

l. 2: κῆτε, phonetic spelling for κεῖται.

l. 3: the genitive ending OY of the patronymic is monogrammed (*upsilon* above *omicron*).

ll. 3-4: despite the omission of abbreviation sign, ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ is most likely the abbreviation of the superlative adjectival form μακαριώτατος or a misspelled abbreviated form of μακάριος.

l. 5: πίστι is iotacized form of the dative πίστει; the conjunction καί is abbreviated by the sign S below the letter *kappa*; the last letter *mu* is preserved only through the right vertical stroke.

l. 6: ἑτῶν for ἔτη: use of genitive for nominative plural; the vertical stroke of *nu* from ἑτῶν and the upper half of the *kappa* of the age numeral are effaced.

l. 7: the letters *mu* and *eta* of μηνί are in ligature; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above it.

l. 8: the abbreviations in this line are marked with the sign S; the indiction numeral *iota* carries above a trema; in the article τοῦ the diphthong ου is monogrammed; the year numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above it; the line ends with a cross.

l. 9: θάρσι instead of θάρσει: the letter *rho* in θάρσι is inadvertently omitted by the letter-cutter; the initial diphthong of οὐδὲς is in ligature.

l. 10: the space before the syllable -τος has been left uninscribed; the text ends with a simple cross.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The personal name Δαμιανός, attested for the first time at Ghor es-Safi, is also encountered in an eighth c. invocatory mosaic inscription from the Church of St. Stephen at Umm er-Rasas (30 km SE of Madaba: Piccirillo 1994, pp. 250-251, no. 7a-b). The paucity of the examples of Damianos is not proportional to the abundant epigraphic material witnessing the popularity of the cult of the Saints Cosmas and Damianos in Palestine and Arabia (on these Saints, see commentary of inscr. no. 279).



I. 3: *Δωρόθεος*, a common Greek theophoric name, is frequently attested in Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The relevant epigraphic instances come from Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 198, no. 176), Horvat Karkara (Avi-Yonah 1966, pp. 209-210 = Meimaris 1986, no. 1077), Mt. Nebo (Siyagha: Gatier 1986, no. 71 = Di Segni 1998, pp. 426-427, no. 1), Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 75, 230, 308), Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 392-393, no. 1), Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 1, nos. 80, 112; *Nessana* 3, nos. 16.47, 123.7, 10, 12) and Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 72). The feminine name *Δωροθέα* appears once in an epitaph from Fiq in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 35).

II. 3-4: *Μακαριώτατος* (if this epithet is meant here, see above critical apparatus) is the superlative form of the common epithet *μακάριος* which is usually attributed to the deceased (for *μακάριος*, see inscr. no. 260; cf. also *μακαρίτης* in no. 86). In the epitaphs of Palestine and Arabia it is less frequent than *μακάριος* (for examples, see *SEG* 8 [1937], nos. 15 [Diocaesarea], 315 [Jericho]; Glucker 1987, pp. 122-124, nos. 5, 7 [Gaza]; *Nessana* 1, no. 103). Of interest is the poetic superlative form *μακαρτάτη* addressed to a noble Jewish woman in a burial epigram from Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 183). Of similar meaning are the epithets *τρισμακάριος*, -ία which were common in the Negev (Negev 1981, nos. 19, 49?, 50, 51, 60, 62; Tsafirir 1988, pp. 154-155, no. 1; pp. 157-158, no. 5). There is also an example from Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 121-122, no. 4).

Apart from its funerary use, *μακαριώτατος* occurs as an ecclesiastical epithet (Lampe, p. 822, s.v. *μακάριος* B.4a; for the assertion that *μακαριώτατος* is exclusively applied to a deceased person, see Gatier 1985, pp. 299-300, n. 4) which in Palestine and Arabia appears bestowed on bishops (Gerasa: Gatier 1985, pp. 297-307, no. 1; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, pp. 258-259, no. 14) or more frequently on archbishops (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9128, 9131, 9132; Rihab: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 78-79, no. 6A; p. 80, no. 7A; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, pp. 384-385, no. 72).

II. 5-6: *Σεμνὸς βίος*, a decent, seemly life (for the various meanings of *σεμνός*, see Lampe, p. 1229, s.v.), is referred to by Saint Paul as an exemplary way of living (e.g. "ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι", 1 *Tim.* 2.2) and thus frequently praised in the Christian epitaphs (for a collection of examples from Greece, see Meimaris and Bakirtzis 1994, p. 43, no. 35). The phrase is not encountered in Palestine but a parallel expression to that used in the present epitaph appears in Arabia in a funerary inscription from el-Ḥuṣn: "ἡ σεμνὸς ζήσασα" (*SEG* 7 [1934], no. 915).

II. 9-10: The rare phrase "θάροσε ψυχῇ" is also found in inscr. no. 260.

## B. NON-DATED EPITAPHS

In this section are presented epitaphs with no date or epitaphs in which the date is not fully preserved. The non-dated epitaphs have been further classified into categories according to their introductory phrase. The inscriptions within a specific category have been arranged in a relative chronological order which is based on some characteristic elements of the inscriptions (lettering, phraseology, decoration etc.) as compared to similar elements of the securely dated inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi.

### a. Μνημεῖον

- 265.** Tombstone of white and brownish sandstone, pointed at the top, curved at the right side and broken at the lower right and at the upper pointed sides. Inv. no.: Z-194. Dimensions: 0.53x0.33x0.16 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is slightly chipped all around. The inscription is enclosed within an incised and red painted rectangular frame crowned with a pediment filled with red paint. The extension of the oblique lines of this pediment forms a small inverted triangle. At the upper corner of the pediment a small cross is incised. Below the lower line of the frame there is a thick stripe of red paint. Below l. 8 there are traces of an incised and red painted guide-line. The whole text is engraved and painted over in red colour. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters vary slightly in size and are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIV

Date: 1st half of 4th c. AD.

Μν(ι)μῖο-  
ν Σοῦμμ-

Monument of  
Summus, (son)

ος Σούμ-	of Summus,
4 ου, ἀποθ-	who died (at)
ανόντος	the age) of twenty-
ἑτῶν ἴκοσ-	two years. Be
ι δύο. Θάρσι,	of good cheer,
8 οὐδὶς ἀθαν-	no one (is)
ατος.	immortal.

## Critical apparatus

II. 1-2: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον: a superfluous *iota* between *nu* and *eta* and phonetic spelling of the diphthong *ει*.

II. 2-3: Σοῦμμος for Σούμμου: the name should be placed in genitive instead of nominative.

II. 3-4: Σούμμου for Σούμμου: the patronymic is lacking the second *mu*.

II. 6-7: ἴκοσι, iotacism for εἴκοσι.

I. 7: θάρσι for θάρσει.

I. 8: οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς.

## Commentary

II. 2-3: The name of the deceased and the patronymic, despite their slight spelling variation with one or two *mu*, are most likely identical (for this phenomenon, see inscr. no. 187). *Σοῦμμος* has been considered as Greek transliteration of the Latin *Summus* in a dedicatory inscription of a veteran from Kharsah in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 790<sup>3</sup>), or equivalent to the Semitic names *Σοῦμμος* (Umm el-Quttên: *PAES* IIIA, no. 210), *Σόμμος* (Umm el-Quttên: *ibid.*, no. 218) and *Σόμμος* (Raodāt al-Roye'y: Atallah 1995, p. 392, no. 2) also recorded in Hauran. Their etymology has been traced in the Arabic names *Suḥm* or *Shuhm* (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 111,112, 168,169; *PAES* IIIA, p. 118, no. 210; Atallah 1995, p. 393, no. 2).

A famous Palestinian bearing this name was *Summus*, a well known military commander, appointed twice *dux Palaestinae* (AD 531/2, 537/8) and praised for his exemplary administration and his benefactions to this province (for his life and career, see *PLRE* II, pp. 1038-1039, s.v.).

**266.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the upper left corner and broken in the lower left side and in the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-208. Dimensions: 0.41x0.35x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is chipped all around. The inscription is enclosed within a slightly incised frame curved at the top. The vertical lines as well as the curved line of the frame are heavily painted over in red. The red paint, which is carelessly placed, does not always follow the engraved lines of the frame. Just below the curved line there is a central *cross-rho* monogram flanked by two simple crosses, all incised and red painted. The three symbols rest on a slightly incised horizontal line. The whole text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters are of variable size, elongated, fairly well cut with a descending alignment. Height of letters: 0.022-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIV

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

+ ✠ +	Monument
Μνημῖον	of Kyrilla,
Κυρεῖλλα	(daughter) of
Ἐλπειδίου,	Elpidios,
4 ἀποθανόν-	who died.
τας. + ✠ +	

## Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Κυρεῖλλα for Κυρίλλης: the diphthong *ει* is used in the place of *iota* and the name has been put in nominative instead of genitive.

I. 3: Ἐλπειδίου for Ἐλπιδίου: use of *ει* instead of *iota* (see also I. 2).

II. 4-5: ἀποθανόντας (the correct genitive form is ἀποθανόντος) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine aorist participle instead of the feminine one.

l. 5: the text ends with a simple incised cross, a *cross-rho* monogram and a red painted cross.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The masculine genitive participle ἀποθανόντος (on the stone ἀποθανόντας) in ll. 4-5 implies that KYPEIΛΛΑ is the genitive of the masculine name *Κυρείλλας*, *Κυρίλλας* which is known from Moab (el-Kerak: Canova 1954, no. 16), and as an Arian bishop's name (Delehay 1902, col. 287.35; for the more common *Κύριλλος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 96). However, the frequent qualification of a feminine name with a masculine participle (see chapter on Syntax) as well as the most common use of nominative in the place of genitive after μνημῖον at Ghor es-Safi point to *Κυρείλλα* as the nominative of the feminine name. This assumption is strengthened by the frequent attestation of the name Cyrilla in the epigraphy of Roman and Byzantine Palestine and Arabia in the following spellings: *Κυρίλλα* at Farj (Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 133), Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 111, no. 186; an unpublished inscription which reads "θήκη Μαρίας καὶ Κυρίλλας" and is kept at the Rockefeller Museum of Jerusalem) and at the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 120, 146); *Κυρίλα* in Sinai (Negev 1977, no. 46); *Κηρύλλα* in Hauran (Ubtā': Dunand 1950, p. 157, no. 350); *Κυρίλλη* in Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9434, 9435; 'Aqraba: Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 699, no. 173) and in Jerusalem (Jewish ossuary: SEG 46 [1996], no. 2012.1).

l. 3: The Greek name Ἐλπίδιος occurs also in inscr. no. 166 where it is commented upon.


l. 5: The participle ἀποθανόντας is not followed by the age of the deceased as it normally happens in the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs (see also no. 6).

267. Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right corner and on the right and lower sides. Inv. no.: Z-6. Dimensions: 0.44x0.28x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is flaked off on the upper left side and in the lower right corner. Above the inscription there are three *cross-rho* monograms in a row. These symbols as well as the text are engraved and painted over in red. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are not carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.047 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LV

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

	
Μνημῖ- ον Σαμ- μάσας	Monument of Sammāsas, (son) of Sami- rabbos, who died (at the age) of 25 years.
4 Σαμρά- ββου, ἀπο- <θ>ανόντος ἐτῶν κέ'.	

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: Σαμμάσας for Σαμμάσα: use of nominative instead of genitive case.

l. 6: the first letter *theta* is unfinished since the middle horizontal bar has not been engraved.

l. 7: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: For the Semitic name *Σαμμάσας*, more common in the form *Σαμμασέος* at Ghor es-Safi, see commentary of inscr. no. 192.

ll. 4-5: The local Semitic name *Σαμίραββος* is discussed in inscr. no. 15.

268. Tombstone of white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, curved in the upper part and in the lower right corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-215. Dimensions: 0.46x0.25x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed in two different levels, both used for the inscription. In the lower right side it was left unwrought. Traces of small letters of an erased text are discernible mainly in the middle of the surface. Above the inscription in both levels there is a *cross-rho* monogram

flanked by two simple crosses, all incised. Below the text in the middle a simple cross is incised. The text is engraved in the round script with a few square exceptions. The letters are elongated, of variable size, fairly well cut but carelessly aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LV

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

+ ✠ +  
Μνημῆ[ο]-  
ν Ὀκεῦ-  
λου, Φαι-  
νοισί<ου>.  
+

Monument  
of Okeilos  
from  
Feinan.

Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημῆ[ο]ν.

ll. 3-4: Φαινοισί<ου> for Φαινουσί<ου>: οι in the place of ου; the genitive ending -ου is omitted.

Commentary

ll. 2-3: The name Ὀκεῦλος is new in the nomenclature of Palestine and Arabia. It might have been a variant of the Semitic name Ὀκαλός mentioned in a papyrus of the Arab period from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 239) and considered as equivalent to the Arabic name 'Iqal (ibid., col. 512; Wuthnow 1930, p. 159).

ll. 3-4: The form Φαινοισί<ου> may correspond to the ethnic Φαινουσί(ου) which is discussed in detail in inscr. no. 80.

**269.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, of which only the upper part is preserved. Inv. no.: Z-56. Dimensions: 0.375x0.205x0.075 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is weathered on its right side. The surviving text is engraved in the round script. The letters, which vary in size, are well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.02-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LV

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

Θάρσι. Μνημῆ[ο]-  
ν Ὀλέφου, ἀπ-  
[ο]θανόντ[ος ..]  
[- - - -]

Be of good cheer.  
Monument of Olefos,  
who died.....

Critical apparatus

l. 1: θάρσι.

ll. 1-2: μνημῆ[ο]ν: the letter *omicron* at the end of l. 1 is lost.

ll. 2-3: from the participle ἀποθανόντος the third and the last two letters are lost, while the rest are partially preserved and only *omicron* and *nu* of the fourth syllable are intact.

Commentary

l. 2: For the common Semitic name Ὀλεφος, see commentary of inscr. no. 6, while for the omission of patronymic, see inscr. no. 4.

**270.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost curved in the upper right corner and rectangular in shape. It is broken in the upper left and lower right sides and chipped mainly in the upper right side. Inv. no.: Z-25. Dimensions: 0.50x0.29x0.075 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed in two different levels, is flaked off in the lower part with loss of text and badly damaged in the middle of the left side. Above the text in the middle there is a simple incised cross. A similar cross is hardly discernible below the inscription. The text is only engraved in round alphabet. The letters are of variable size, elongated, well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.035 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LV

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

+	
Μνημῖον	Monument of
Μιλίχου	Milichos,
Ἀβδάλγου,	(son) of Abdalges,
4 ἀποθανών	who died (at the age)
ἐτῶν κη΄.	of 28 years.
Θάρσι, οὐδὶ-	Be of good cheer,
ς ἀθάνατ(ος).	no one (is) immortal.

+

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.  
 I. 4: ἀποθανών for ἀποθανόντος; use of the nominative instead of the genitive singular.  
 I. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by an elongated bar above.  
 I. 6: θάρσι for θάρσει.  
 II. 6-7: οὐδὶς for οὐδεῖς.  
 I. 7: the adjective ἀθάνατος is abbreviated by the first six letters followed by the sign S.

#### Commentary

- I. 2: The name *Μίλυχος* is discussed in inscr. no. 98.  
 I. 3: For the etymology and the parallels of the Semitic name *Ἀβδάλγης*, see inscr. no. 12.

**271.** Tombstone of light purple sandstone, rather oval in shape, curved in the upper and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-53. Dimensions: 0.46x0.25x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed except for the lower right side. The text is written in red paint and is framed below by three painted horizontal short bars, the first of which lies a little higher. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, which are smaller in the first two lines, are nicely drawn and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.018-0.038 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. XIII*

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

Μνημῖ-	Monument of
ον Κασέ-	Kasetos, who
του, ἀπο-	died (at the age)
4 θανόν-	of 45 years.
τος ἐτῶ-	Be of good
ν με΄. Θάρσι,	cheer, no one
οὐδὶς ἀθά-	(is) immortal.
8 νατος.	

#### Critical apparatus

- II. 1-2: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 6: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; θάρσι for θάρσει.  
 I. 7: οὐδεῖς.  
 I. 8: the line ends with four decorative angular motifs facing right.

#### Commentary

II. 2-3: The name *Κασέτος* is already known from Hauran (Dwayré: Dunand 1934, p. 79, no. 163) where the form *Χασέτος* is prevalent as indicated by the numerous epigraphical attestations (Wuthnow 1930, p. 120, s.v.; Sartre 1982, no. 9044; Sartre 1985, p. 243, s.v. with a detailed list of the Hauranian references [N.B. Sabha is *PAES* IIIA, no. 136 and not no. 637 as it stands in the list, while *PAES* IIIA, no. 637 was found at Der'a]). *Χασέτος* was also frequent in Sinai (Negev 1977, nos. 28, 69, 82, 108, 110, 169, 197) and it occurs once in the Negev ('Avdat: Negev 1981, no. 4). It is to be noted that the Latinized form *Chasetus* is encountered at Dura-Europos (*Dura* V, index). Finally, the diminutive *Χοσέτος* is recorded in an inscription from Djedil in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 799<sup>1</sup>).

Several suggestions have been made concerning the Semitic original of this name. A most plausible etymology is that *Κασέτος* or *Χασέτος* are derived from the Aramaic root qšṭ or kšṭ, "archer" (Sartre 1985, pp. 243-244, s.v. *Χασετος*). In Nabataean inscriptions the name is spelled as kšyṭw (Cantineau 1932, vol. II, pp. 108 and 218; Abbadi 1983, p. 118, s.v.) or qšṭw (Cantineau 1932, vol. II, p. 144 who, apart from qšṭ, "archer", relates it also to the Arabic name Qasit, "fair, just"; cf. also Al-Khraysheh 1986, pp. 162-163, s.v.), the latter form being more common in Sinai (for the Sinaitic examples, see Al-Khraysheh 1986, p. 162; for the name in other Semitic dialects as well as for other etymologies, see Sartre 1985, p. 244).

272. Tombstone of purple sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, is pointed and curved at the top, broken on the lower and right sides and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-151. Dimensions: 0.48x0.30x0.055 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed except for the top, presents accumulations of salt crystals. Above the inscription a large outlined cross is flanked in its upper part by two simple crosses with serifs, all incised. The whole text is engraved and preserves traces of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are of variable size, nicely carved and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.037 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD (30 Panemos = 19 July).

<p>+ + +  Μνημῖον  *Ολεφος Θέ-  μον, ἀποθα-  4 νόντος ἐτῶ-  ν β', ἐν μηνί  Πανέμῳ λ'.  Θάροι, οὐδὶς  8 ἀθάνατος.</p>	<p>Monument of  Olefos, (son)  of Themos, who died  (at the age) of 2 years,  on (the) 30th (day)  of the month Panemos.  Be of good cheer,  no one (is) immortal.</p>
--	--

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: \*Ολεφος for \*Ολέφου: nominative instead of genitive singular.  
l. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.  
l. 6: the month day numeral is also denoted by a horizontal stroke above.  
l. 7: θάροι for θάρσει; οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: \*Ολεφος is commented on in inscr. no. 6.  
ll. 2-3: For the etymology and the epigraphical evidence on the common Semitic name *Θέμος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 90.

273. Tombstone of purple and white sandstone, irregular in shape, nicely curved at the upper and lower sides. Inv. no.: Z-46. Dimensions: 0.515x0.27x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off at the bottom, chipped on the left and upper sides and weathered. Two diagonal shallow cavities cross the surface from left to right causing damage to the text. Above the inscription there is an incised outlined cross, while below is a small simple cross, also incised. The text is only engraved in round script. The letters, which vary in size, are not of the best quality and not so carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD (23 Gorpaios = 10 September).

<p>+  Μνημῖον  ἀποθανόντος  Εὐσεβίου Θέ-  4 ου, ἐτῶν β'.</p>	<p>Monument of Eusebios,  (son) of Theos, who died  (at the age) of 2 years.  Be of good cheer, no [one]</p>
--	--

<p>Θάρσι, οὐ&lt;δεις ἀθάνατος&gt;. Ἐν με- νὶ Γο[ρ]πιέου κγ', ΕΝΟC [--] 8 [- - - -] +</p>	<p>(is) immortal]. (He died) on (the) 23rd (day) of the month Gorpaios, ..</p>
--	--

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.
- l. 2: the last three letters of the participle ἀποθανόντος are faded and squeezed at the end of the line; ἀποθανόντος should normally follow the name and the patronymic of the deceased.
- l. 4: above the age numeral a small stroke is visible.
- l. 5: Θάρσι, iotacism for Θάρσει; from the expression οὐδεις ἀθάνατος only the initial diphthong ου was engraved (a haplographic mistake?).
- ll. 5-6: μενί for μηνί: *epsilon* for *eta*.
- l. 6: Γο[ρ]πιέου for Γο[ρ]πιάω: the third letter *rho* is missing, phonetic spelling of αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular; the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.
- ll. 7-8: only traces of letters, barely legible or totally illegible, are preserved here and there.

#### Commentary

The word order in this epitaph is incorrect, since the participle ἀποθανόντος (l. 2) should be placed after the patronymic of the deceased and before his age, while the formula "θάρσει, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος", now being in the middle and interrupting the continuity of the text, should normally stand at the end (for an analogous insertion of this phrase in the middle of the text, see inscr. no. 67).

l. 3: For a commentary on the Greek name *Εὐσέβιος*, see inscr. no. 253.

ll. 3-4: This is a so far unparalleled mention of the name *Θέος* in Palestine and Arabia. This name, plausibly the Greek equivalent of the Arabic Taiyī', is likely to be the masculine form of the feminine *Θέη* (see commentary of inscr. no. 132).

**274.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, curved in the upper part, broken in the lower part and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-26. Dimensions: 0.30x0.30x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed. The text is deeply engraved and is partially painted over in red. The script is of the round alphabet. The letters vary in size and are fairly well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.02-0.065 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

<p>Μνημῖ- ον Ζην- οβίω Ὁρί- 4 ωνος, ἀπο- θαγ[όντος] [ἐτῶν ..].</p>	<p>Monument of Zenobios, (son) of Orion, who died [(at the age) of .. years].</p>
--	---

#### Critical apparatus

- ll. 1-2: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.
- ll. 2-3: Ζηνοβίω for Ζηνοβίου: *omega* in the place of the genitive ending -ου.
- ll. 4-5: the last four letters of the participle ἀποθανόντος are effaced.
- l. 6: this line should have originally included the age of the deceased.

#### Commentary

- ll. 2-3: For the Greek theophoric name *Ζηνόβιος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 13.
- ll. 3-4: The Greek name *Ὁρίων* occurs also in inscr. no. 54 where it is fully discussed.

**275.** Tombstone of yellow sandstone in two fragments, almost rectangular in shape, the upper left corner of which is missing. Inv. no.: Z-345. Dimensions: 0.40x0.26x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the lower part. Between ll. 6 and 7 there is an incised guide-line which forms the upper line of an also incised rectangle which encloses the age numeral.

The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet. Height of letters: 0.018-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

	[Μν]ημῖ- [ο]ν Σίλα Μιλίχου, 4 ἀποθαν- όντος ὥς ἑτῶν νν κε'. νν	Monument of Silas, (son) of Milichos, who died about 25 years old.
--	--	---

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: [μν]ημῖ[ο]ν for [μν]ημῖ[ο]ν: the first two letters are broken away, while of the third one *eta* only the right half is preserved; *omicron* is lost, the *nu* is preserved through the right vertical stroke.

l. 2: of the *sigma* only the lower half is preserved.

l. 3: the left upper half of the first letter *mu* is missing.

l. 6: only the left vertical stroke of *nu* is preserved.

l. 7: the age numeral κε' is placed in the middle of the line within a rectangular frame.

#### Commentary

l. 2: The name *Σίλας* is discussed above in inscr. no. 77.

l. 3: For the patronymic *Μιλίχος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 98.

l. 6: The preposition ὥς preceding the age of the deceased Silas probably indicates that the age numeral is to be taken only as a round number (for ὥς used with numerals, see *LSJ*, p. 2039, E). Such an approximate indication of age is not unknown in the epitaphs of Palestine (see for example *Nessana* 1, nos. 25, 81) or of other provinces (e.g. of Egypt: *IGA* V, nos. 126, 132, 147, 151, 156, 157 etc.; Bernand 1992, nos. 67, 68, 70). In an epitaph from Beth Shean (Scythopolis, now in Damascus: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 45), however, ὥς is combined with a very detailed age of death, expressed not only in years but also in months and days ("ἔθαν<ε>ν ὥ<ς> ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ μηνῶν ἕξ, ἡμέρας α'"), something that excludes an interpretation of ὥς as "around, about" as it happens in the above mentioned cases. In our opinion, ὥς in the epitaph from Scythopolis could be seen as temporal, having the meaning of ἕως, "while, until" (for this use of ὥς, see *LSJ*, p. 2038, Ad. 2; cf. Bernand 1992, p. 110, no. 59).

**276.** Tombstone of yellow with purple stripe sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all corners and cracked in the upper part. Inv. no.: Z-342. Dimensions: 0.42x0.26x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked on the upper left and right sides. Above the text there is an outlined cross with a *chi* in its centre. Below, a cross similar in shape but bigger is depicted, the upper vertical bar of which is inserted in the middle of ll. 8-10. Both crosses are engraved and painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet. Height of letters: 0.007-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVII

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

	+	
	Μνημῖον Μάρθον Μαγ- δίου, ἀποθα- 4 νεῖν μητὰ κα- λοῦ ὀνόμα- ν τοῦ <i>vacat</i> ν ὑτῶν ιθ'.	Monument of Marthon, (daughter or son) of Magdios, who died having a good name (at the age) of 19 years.
8	Θάρσι, οὐδὲς ἀθάνα- ν	Be of good cheer, no one (is)



τος.

immortal.

+

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

ll. 3-4: ἀπωθανεῖν (correct spelling ἀποθανεῖν) for ἀποθανόντος or ἀποθανούσης: the second aorist infinitive is employed here instead of the aorist participle.

l. 4: μητά for μετά: *eta* for *epsilon*.ll. 5-6: ὠνόματος for ὀνόματος: *omega* for *omicron* in the first two syllables.

l. 6: the area after TOC has been left uninscribed.

l. 7: ὑτῶν for ἐτῶν: *upsilon* for *epsilon*; the letters of this line are widely spaced.

l. 8: θάρσει; οὐδείς.

## Commentary:

l. 2: The name *Μάρθων* seems to belong to the category of names formed from the Semitic root *mrṯ*, "lady, mistress" (cf. also the name *Μαρθόνη* commented on in inscr. no. 200). However, the gender of the name is not easily detected since the verbal form ἀπωθανεῖν following the name of the deceased offers no help (for names like *Μάρθων*, *Μάρθοον* attested in Syria and considered as feminine, see *IGLS*, nos. 230a, 491, 1369, 1558, 1808).

ll. 2-3: This is the third occurrence of the name *Μάγδιος* in Ghor es-Safi (see also inscr. nos. 84, 193). For its etymology and parallels, see above commentary of inscr. no. 84.

ll. 3-4: The use of the second aorist infinitive ἀπωθανεῖν in the place of the usual participle ἀποθανόντος or ἀποθανούσης (see above commentary of inscr. no. 1) occurs for the first time at Ghor es-Safi. Such a solecism is an outcome of the poor knowledge of Greek, detected throughout the epitaph which is full of spelling and grammatical errors (cf. for example the spelling ὑτῶν for ἐτῶν in l. 7 which is also exceptional at Ghor es-Safi).

277. Tombstone of purple and yellow sandstone, almost rectangular in shape. Inv. no.: Z-363. Dimensions: 0.49x0.31x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered at various parts. The text, composed of large characters, is engraved in a mixture of round and square alphabet. Height of letters: 0.025-0.08 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVII

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

Μνημῆ-  
ον Ἰόληφ-  
ος Μάρου,  
4 ἡτῶν νν  
γ'.

Monument  
of Iolefos,  
(son) of Maron,  
(who died at the  
age) of 3 years.

## Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημεῖον.

ll. 2-3: Ἰόληφος for Ἰολήφου: nominative for genitive.

l. 4: ἡτῶν for ἐτῶν, *eta* for *epsilon*.

l. 5: this line contains only the age numeral which is emphatically surrounded in its lower part by a semicircular motif.

## Commentary

ll. 2-3: The name of the deceased is probably an idiosyncratic form of the common at Ghor es-Safi Semitic name *\*Ολεφος* (see commentary of inscr. no. 6).

l. 3: The patronymic appears also in the genitive *Μάρου* in an inscription from Djedil in Hauran dated in AD 352 (*PAES* IIIA, no. 799<sup>1</sup>) and in a pilgrim's graffito from Wadi el-Muketteb in Sinai (*CIG* III, no. 4668a). The nominative spelling *Μάρως* is encountered in N. Syria (Halbân: *PAES* IIIB, no. 875). A Semitic origin has been suggested for the name (*mar*ʾ, "man": *PAES* IIIA, p. 433, where the Syrian name *Μαράς* is also discussed; Wuthnow 1930, p. 73, s.v.; cf. as well the commentary on *Μάρων* in inscr. no. 166).

l. 5: The emphasis given to the age numeral by enclosing it within a decorative motif is also noticed in inscr. no. 275.

**278.** Tombstone of greenish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on the left side and lower left and right corners. Inv. no.: Z-198. Dimensions: 0.515x0.32x0.045 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped in the upper part. Above the inscription there is a wavy stalk bearing nicely engraved ivy leaves, while below it an incised horizontal line. The text as well as the decoration are engraved and preserve traces of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are of variable size, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.045 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. XIII*

Date: last quarter of 4th c. AD.

(ivy leaves)	
Μνημῖον	Monument of
*Αλφῖος Αἰ-	Alfios, (son)
νίου, *Αγουσ-	of Aeneas,
4 τοπολίτης,	from Augustopolis,
ἀποθονόντος	who died (at the age)
ἑτῶν πε΄.	of 85 years.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

I. 2: \*Αλφῖος for \*Αλφίου: nominative for genitive singular.

II. 2-3: Αἰνίου for Αἰνείου: phonetic spelling.

II. 3-4: \*Αγουστοπολίτης for Αὐγουστοπολίτου: omission of the second letter *upsilon* of the initial diphthong αυ; use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

I. 5: ἀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.

I. 6: the age numeral is flanked by two decorative angular motifs.

#### Commentary

I. 2: For \*Αλφῖος, its etymology and its variants, see commentary of inscr. no. 2.

II. 2-3: For a discussion on the name Αἰνείας, see inscr. no. 17.

II. 3-4: The ethnic Αὐγουστοπολίτης, borne by Alphios, shows that he was a native of Augustopolis. The location of this city which belonged to Palaestina Tertia (*Hier. Synecd.* 721.3 in Honigmann 1939) has been searched for generally in the area between et-Tafle and Petra (for the various sites proposed, see *ibid*). In the Byzantine period Augustopolis constituted an episcopal see (for the relevant references and the episcopal list, see *HEO* II, p. 1042 s.v. Augustopolis; cf. Avi-Yonah 1966, p. 123, n. 50). *Augustopolis* is also mentioned in a mid-sixth c. (AD 540) papyrus (scroll 60) which was recently discovered at Petra and records the registration of a vineyard (for a preliminary report on this papyrus, see Kaimio and Koenen 1997, p. 459, where Augustopolis is identified with Udruh, E. of Petra; for this identification, see also Frösén 2002, p. 20).

I. 6: The symbol enclosing the age numeral resembles that of inscription no. 40 which is dated in AD 382.

**279.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the left, right and lower sides and mended from three fragments. Inv. no.: Z-234. Dimensions: 0.565x0.30x0.065 m. The inscribed surface, which has been roughly smoothed, is flaked off on the right side. The text is enclosed within a rectangular incised and red painted frame. Above the frame towards the left there are faint traces of a red painted cross in oblique position. The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round form. The letters are big, of variable size, well carved but with a descending alignment. Height of letters: 0.023-0.045 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LVII*

Date: last quarter of 4th c. AD

+	
Μνημῖον	Monument
Κοζμάς	of Kosmas,
*Αβδαμόχ-	(son) of Abdamochos,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 4 ο{σ}υ, Πιτρέ-<br>ος, ὀποθ-<br>ανόντο-<br>ς. ἔτῳν<br>8 μ'. | from Petra,<br>who died<br>(at the age)<br>of 40 years. |
|---|---|

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: Κοζμᾶς for Κοσμᾶ: phonetic spelling of the name and use of nominative instead of genitive singular.

II. 3-4: the engraver wrote at first the patronymic in nominative (Ἀβδάμοχος) but it seems that later he corrected it to genitive by adding an *upsilon* on top of the final *sigma* (Ἀβδαμόχου). If this is the case, then the *sigma* is superfluous.

II. 4-5: Πιτρέος for Πιτραίου: phonetic spelling of the diphthong *αι* and use of nominative instead of genitive singular in order to fit with the name.

II. 5-7: ὀποθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: the initial vowel is *omicron* instead of *alpha*.

I. 8: the age numeral is flanked by two decorative angular motifs (see also inscr. nos. 40, 253).

#### Commentary

I. 2: The name *Kosmās* is spelled here phonetically with *zeta*, *Κοζμᾶς* (compare the word σ(ε)λιμός in inscr. nos. 22, 23, 24). This Greek name, which occurs at Ghor es-Safi also in the form *Κόσμος* (see inscr. no. 50), is attested frequently in Christian inscriptions of Palestine and Arabia usually borne by clergymen. It appears as *Kosmās* at the cemetery of the Choziba Monastery in the Judean Desert (Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 61; p. 324, no. 132: presbyter), Rihab (Piccirillo 1981, pp. 68-69, no. 1A: monk and paramonarius; p. 1, no. 7B), Gaza (Saliou 2000, p. 401, no. 11: mosaicist), Sinai (Pharan: Grossmann, Jones and Reichert 1996, pp. 33-34, no. 8.2: presbyter; Moses Mountain: Ševčenko 1966, p. 264, no. 13) and in the spelling *Κωσμᾶς* at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 197-198, no. 10) and Shavei Zion (Avi-Yonah 1967, pp. 58-59: periodeutes).

A monk *Cosmas*, who was later consecrated bishop of Scythopolis, is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis (*Vita Euth.*, for references see index II, p. 270, s.v. *Κοσμᾶς* 2). Another *Cosmas*, monk at St. Sabas Monastery and later bishop of Maiumas near Gaza, was one of the eminent ecclesiastical poets, surnamed Μελωδός (Delehaye 1902, ind., col. 1114, s.v.; Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 703, s.v. *Κοσμᾶς* 2). A monk *Cosmas*, known as *Indicopleustes*, was the writer of a Christian geographical work in the time of Justinian (*RE* XI. 2, cols. 1488-1490, s.v. *Kosmas* 3 [Wecker]; *PLRE* IIIA, pp. 355-356, s.v. *Cosmas* 2).

The frequent use of this name is obviously related to the expansion of the cult of the healing Saints Cosmas and Damian (called *ἀνάργυροι*, "silverless") who suffered martyrdom at Cyrrhus in Syria during the Diocletianic persecution (for the various traditions about these Saints, their cult and its diffusion, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 120-121; Gregg and Urman 1996, p. 24 and p. 26, n. 9; Saliou 2000, p. 401 and n. 54). Their veneration in Palestine and Arabia is evidenced by inscriptions found in churches at Susita (Hippus), Jerusalem, Gerasa (for the relevant evidence, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 121-122, nos. 654-659) and recently at Pharan in Sinai (Grossmann, Jones and Meimaris 1998, pp. 355-358 and especially pp. 357-358 with information on the three pairs of Saints Cosmas and Damian, one of which originated in Arabia).

The feminine name appears in the forms *Κοσμία* at Jerusalem (Thomsen 1921, p. 103, no. 156) and *Κοσμάς* at el-Arish (Rhinocorura: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 303), while *Κοσμοῦς*, encountered at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 225-226, no. 44), could be either feminine form or variant of the masculine *Κοσμᾶς*. Finally, the lengthened form *Κοσμανή* is found at Gaza (Glucker 1987, p. 136, no. 22).

II. 3-4: The patronymic *Ἀβδάμοχος* is plausibly a vernacular spelling of the Hellenized Semitic name *Ἀβδομάνχος* (see commentary of inscr. no. 152, with transposition of the vowels and omission of *nu*). In the next inscription (no. 280) the name occurs in the form *Ἀβδόμαχος*.

II. 4-5: Cosmas was a native of Petra as his ethnic testifies (for another person from Petra, see above inscr. no. 131). People bearing the ethnic Πιτραῖος have also been recorded in a building inscription of the Roman period from Ἀvdat in the Negev (Negev 1981, no. 13: οἰκοδόμος) and in a Christian epitaph from Shakka in Hauran (Waddington, no. 2162a; the genitive Πιτρόου preceding the Semitic name Ἰνου in another inscription from Hauran (el-Kefr) seems to indicate rather this ethnic than "a derivative from Πέτρος" as proposed in *PAES* IIIA, no. 667). A woman by this ethnic, Πιτραία, appears also at Shakka as the wife of a man who had served as interpreter of

the Roman procurators (Waddington, no. 2143). Interesting is the mention of the title "βουλευτῆς τῶν Π[ετρ]αίων", councillor of Petra, in a funerary inscription from el-Dji in the vicinity of Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 68).

280. Tombstone of grey sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left and right corners and in the upper part, rounded at the corners. Inv. no.: Z-338. Dimensions: 0.34x0.285x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed in two levels and is flaked off on the left side and especially in the lower left corner. Traces of red colour are discernible here and there. Below the text there is a schematic representation of a tree. The text is engraved in round script with a few square exceptions. The letters are well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.016-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVII

Date: last quarter of 4th c. AD.

	Μνημῖον Ἀν- δρομάχου Ἀβδόμαχος, 4 ἀπαθανόν- τος ἑτῶ- ν ιη΄. (tree)	Monument of Andromachos, son of Abdoma(n)chos, who died (at the age) of 18 years.
--	--	--

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: μνημεῖον.

l. 3: Ἀβδόμαχος for Ἀβδομάχου: the patronymic appears in nominative instead of genitive.

ll. 4-5: ἀπαθανόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* in the second syllable instead of *omicron*.

l. 6: the age numeral is enclosed within two decorative angular motifs.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-3: If we consider that the genitive Ἀνδρομάχου stands for the name of the deceased, then Ἀβδόμαχος is a patronymic in nominative, an error observed also in inscr. nos. 13, 20, 49, 76, 128?, 192. The possibility that Ἀνδρόμαχος is the patronymic while Ἀβδόμαχος the name of the deceased, although less likely, cannot be excluded.

The compound Greek name Ἀνδρόμαχος (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 88) has been so far epigraphically attested in the areas of Hauran (Salchad: Waddington, no. 2001; Der'a: PAES IIIA, no. 639; Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9114) and Moab (Canova 1954, nos. 238, 246 [ʿAinun], 294 [Kh. Umm el-Ḥamed]). In these inscriptions it is mostly related with Greek or Latin names and only in one case is it followed by a Semitic patronymic (ibid., no. 246) as it happens in this epitaph. At Bostra (Sartre, as above) the bearer of the name Ἀνδρόμαχος is a man of high social standing, an *archiatros*. The feminine Ἀνδρομάχη is rare and occurs once at el-Kerak in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 54).

A martyr Andromachos is said to have been burnt alive along with Diodoros and they are both commemorated on the 12th of October (Delehay 1902, col. 134.18).

For the Semitic name Ἀβδόμαχος, see commentary of previous inscription (no. 279).

281. Tombstone of grey and purple sandstone, rectangular in shape with slightly curved corners; it is chipped on the left side. Inv. no.: Z-137. Dimensions: 0.44x0.31x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is cracked in the lower left corner. The inscription is enclosed on the three sides (with the exception of the upper one) within an incised and red painted frame. Above the text in the middle there is a *cross-rho* monogram inside a double circle and flanked by two *cross-rho* monograms with serifs. All the symbols are incised and the central motif is partially painted over in red. Traces of red painted guide-lines are visible here and there. The whole text is engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9 bear an additional red paint. L. 6 is painted over in red except for the age numeral. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, which are more crowded in ll. 6-9, are nicely carved and carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.011-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVIII

Date: end of 4th c. AD (4 Peritios = 19 January).

ϐ ϐ ϐ  
 Μνημῖον  
 Ῥωμονός  
 Θεοδώρου,  
 4 ὀποθονόν-  
 τος ἡτῶν  
 κη', μη(νός) Περιτί-  
 ου δ'. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
 8 δις ὀθόνοτος.  
 Ἡμέρα) Ὀφροδίτης.

Monument of  
 Romanus,  
 (son) of Theodoros,  
 who died (at the age)  
 of 28 years, on (the)  
 4th (day) of (the) month  
 Peritios. Be of good cheer,  
 no one (is) immortal. (He died)  
 on (the) day of Venus (Friday).

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον.  
 I. 2: Ῥωμονός for Ῥωμανοῦ: *omicron* for *alpha* and nominative instead of genitive case.  
 II. 4-5: ὀποθονόντος for ἀποθανόντος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the first and third syllables.  
 I. 5: ἡτῶν for ἐτῶν: *eta* for *epsilon*.  
 I. 6: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above and below; the genitive μηνός is abbreviated by a small *eta* above *mu*.  
 I. 7: θάρσει.  
 II. 7-8: οὐδέις.  
 I. 8: ὀθόνοτος for ἀθάνατος: *omicron* for *alpha* in the first three syllables.  
 I. 9: the dative ἡμέρα appears abbreviated by an *mu* above *eta*; Ὀφροδίτης for Ἀφροδίτης: the initial vowel is *omicron* instead of *alpha*.

#### Commentary

- I. 2: Ῥωμονός is a vernacular spelling of the name Ῥωμανός (note the tendency for replacing *alpha* with *omicron* throughout the text), which is discussed in inscr. no. 125.  
 I. 3: For a commentary on Θεόδωρος, see inscr. no. 112.

**282.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape and curved in the bottom. It is broken on the left and right sides. Inv. no.: Z-156. Dimensions: 0.545x0.41x0.17 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed in two levels, is chipped all around and weathered with loss of text. Above and below the inscription there are two *cross-rho* monograms, each one inscribed in a circle. The upper one, which is smaller in size, lies almost in the middle, while the lower to the left. These symbols as well as the text are engraved. The script is basically round with a few square exceptions. The letters are small, fairly well cut with an ascending alignment. Height of letters: 0.008-0.018 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LVIII

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD.

ϐ  
 Μνημῖον τοῦ μακαρί-  
 του Οὐάλεντος Εὐ-  
 σεβίου, ἀποθανόν-  
 4 τος μετὰ καλοῦ  
 ὀνόματος καὶ κα-  
 λῆς πίστεως {ἐτῶν}  
 ἐτῶν μη', ἔτους.  
 8 [..., μη(νός) ca. 7] δι',  
 [ἡμέρα) Κ(υρίου) . Θάρσι,]  
 οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-  
 τος.

Monument of the blessed  
 Ouales (Valens), (son) of  
 Eusebios, who died having  
 a good name and good faith  
 (at the age) of 48 years,  
 in (the) year [...], on (the) 14th  
 (day) [of (the) month.....,  
 on (the) ... day of (the) Lord].  
 [Be of good cheer],  
 no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημεῖον; the last four letters are faded.  
 II. 4-5: most of the letters of these lines are faded.  
 I. 6: the faded word ἐτῶν at the end of the line is superfluous since it is repeated in I. 7.

- l. 7: the age numeral is flanked by three decorative serpentine motifs and covered by a wavy line; faint traces of the word ἔτους are preserved.  
 l. 8: from this line, which was occupied by the year numeral, the abbreviation of the word μηνός and the month's name and day, only the inverted month day numeral is preserved at the end of the line.  
 l. 9: this line must have originally included the abbreviations for ἡμέρα Κυρίου, the weekday numeral as well as the imperative form θάρσει.  
 l. 10: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-2: The epithet μακαρίτης, if the restoration is correct, occurs also in inscr. no. 86 where it is commented upon (cf. also the commentary of μακάριος in no. 260 and μακαριώτατος in no. 264).  
 l. 2: For the Latin name Οὐάλης (*Valens*), see commentary of inscr. no. 109.  
 ll. 2-3: The Greek name Εὐσέβιος is fully discussed in inscr. no. 253.

**283.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-349. Dimensions: 0.395x0.295x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been nicely smoothed, is flaked at the top and at the bottom. In the middle above the text there is a cross within a circle. The inscription and the cross are enclosed on three sides (upper, left, right) within a double rectangular frame, which on the vertical sides bears serpentine motifs, while on the horizontal a zigzag pattern. All the decoration is in red paint. Only the first word μνημίων is engraved, while the rest of the text is painted in red. The left side of the painted text is almost totally faded. The preserved letters are small and of the round script. Height of letters: 0.008-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. XIII*

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD (Dystros = 15 February - 16 March).

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Μνημῖαν Σωσ-          [άν]ας Ζήνωνος,          παυσομένη μ-          4 ετὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-          ματος ἔτων          [ca. 5], ἔτους          [... μηνός] Δύστρ-          8 [ου ca. 5]. Θάρσει,          [οὐδῖς] ἀθάνατος.</p>	<p>Monument of Sosanna,          (daughter) of Zenon,          who died having a          good name (at the age)          of ... years, (in the)          year..., on the          ... (day) of (the) [month]          Dystros. Be of good          cheer, [no one] (is) immortal.</p>
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#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖαν for μνημεῖον: phonetic spelling of εἰ and *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.  
 ll. 1-2: Σωσ[άν]ας for Σωσ[άνν]ας: the third letter is partially faded, the fourth and the fifth are effaced, while the last two letters are partially preserved.  
 l. 3: παυσομένη for παυσαμένης: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and nominative in the place of genitive singular.  
 l. 4: the first five letters are hardly discernible.  
 ll. 4-5: ἀνόματος for ὀνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron*.  
 l. 6: approximately five letters are effaced from the beginning of the line.  
 l. 7: the first three (or maybe two) missing letters should have been those of the year numeral, while the now obliterated word μηνός might have been written in full; the lower part of the last letter *rho* is not preserved.  
 l. 8: the month genitive ending -ου, the month day and probably the weekday would have originally stood in the now eroded part of the line; θάρσει.  
 l. 9: the obliterated word in the beginning of the line could be no other than οὐδῖς, the iotacised form of οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

- ll. 1-2: Σωσάν(η)α, if the name of the deceased woman has been properly restored, appears also in inscr. nos. 20 (with a commentary on the name) and 148.

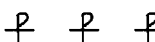
l. 2: The Greek theophoric name *Zήνων* occurs one more time at Ghor es-Safi (see inscr. no. 159 where the name is commented upon).

- 284.** Tombstone of greenish sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken on the right and lower sides with loss of text. Inv. no.: Z-160. Dimensions: 0.36x0.20x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which is slightly hollowed, has been roughly smoothed and is badly weathered especially in the upper part with loss of text. Above the text traces of three incised *cross-rho* monograms inscribed in circles are hardly discernible. The inscription was enclosed within an incised frame decorated in its interior with a zigzag pattern, traces of which are visible on the lower left side. The text is engraved in square script. The letters are small, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LVIII*

Date: late 4th c. - early 5th c. AD (23 Apellaios = 9 December).

<p>             Μνημῖον [ ca. 6 ]            [- - - -]            [ἀποθανόντος or -ούσης]            4 [μετὰ καλοῦ]            ὀνόματος [καὶ]            καλῆς πίστε[ως ἐτῶν]            γέ, ἐν ἔτου[ς ...],            8 μηνὸς Ἀπ[ελλέου]            γκ', ἡμ(έρᾱ) Κυρίου[υ] [ca. 6].            Θάρσει, οὐδὲ[ς ἀθά-]            [νατος].         </p>	<p>           Monument [of.....],            [who died having            a good] name [and]            good faith (at the age)            of 55(?) [years], in the            year [...], on (the) 23rd            (day) of (the) month            Apellaios (?), on (the)....            day of (the) Lord.            Be of good cheer,            no one (is) [immortal].         </p>
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#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: *μνημεῖον*; the name and the patronymic of the deceased following this word are obliterated.

ll. 3-4: these lines are lost.

l. 5: the conjunction *καὶ* is missing at the end of the line.

l. 6: the last syllable of the genitive *πίστεως* and the genitive plural *ἐτῶν* are lost.

l. 7: the age numeral is faded, while the final *sigma* of *ἔτους* and the year numeral are effaced; *ἐν ἔτου[ς]* for *ἐν ἔτει*: use of genitive in the place of dative singular.

l. 8: from the month name *Ἀπελλαίου* (genitive) only the first two letters have been preserved.

l. 9: the inverted month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the dative *ἡμέρᾱ* is abbreviated by a small *mu* over an elongated *eta*; KY covered by a horizontal bar stands as the abbreviation of the sacred word *Κυρίου* (genitive); the effaced part at the end of the line should have contained the ordinal number of the weekday.

l. 10: *θάρσει*; *οὐδὲ[ς]*: the final *sigma* is missing, while the diphthong *ει* is written phonetically.

ll. 10-11: the word *ἀθάνατος* is totally obliterated.

#### Commentary

The effaced parts of this text have been restored, wherever possible, according to the usual phraseology of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs.

- 285.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and curved in the corners. Inv. no.: Z-316. Dimensions: 0.40x0.27x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is chipped on the left side. Below the inscription a field-like ground full of plant and floral decoration is schematically depicted. The text and the decorative scene are enclosed within a rectangular frame. This frame as well as the decoration and the text are all engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the round form. The letters are almost symmetrical, well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.015-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LVIII*

Date: late 4th-early 5th c. AD (3 Peritios = 18 January).

<p>           Μνημῖον            Αἰνίας Ἀρι-            στώνειν, ἀ-         </p>	<p>           Monument            of Aeneas, (son) of            Aristonios (or Ariston), who         </p>
--	--

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>4 ποθανόν-<br/>τος μην-<br/>ὸς Περιτί-<br/>ου (palm branch) γ' (palm branch) ἔτ-<br/>8 ὦν (palm branch) ε'. (palm branch)</p> | <p>died on the 3rd (day)<br/>of (the) month<br/>Peritios, (at the age)<br/>of 5 years.</p> |
|--|--|

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημεῖον.  
l. 2: Αἰνίας for Αἰνείου: phonetic spelling of εἰ and nominative in the place of genitive.  
ll. 2-3: Ἀριστώνειν for Ἀριστωνίου or Ἀρίστωνος: accusative in the place of genitive (for the name see commentary below).  
l. 7: the month day numeral is flanked by two decorative palm branches in vertical position.  
l. 8: the age numeral is also decorated by a similar palm branch on either side.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: On Αἰνίας and its parallels, see commentary of inscr. no. 17.  
ll. 2-3: The patronymic is given here in accusative instead of genitive (see critical apparatus) plausibly from ignorance of declension. Ἀριστώνειν might have been the accusative case of the name Ἀριστώνης, contracted form of Ἀριστώνιος (acc. Ἀριστώνιον), or heteroclitic accusative of Ἀρίστων. Of these two Greek names Ἀριστώνιος appears for the first time and only its variant Ἀριστονᾶς is known from Gerasa (Welles 1938, pp. 374-375, no. 3). Ἀρίστων, on the other hand, is rather frequent in inscriptions of the Roman period from the same city (ibid., p. 391, no. 32; pp. 395-396, nos. 45, 46; p. 403, no. 61; pp. 408-409, no. 74; p. 433, no. 167) and on Jewish ossuaries from Jerusalem (AD 70: SEG 46 [1996], no. 2012: 14, 16, 17, 18). The similar name Ἀριστέας was borne by the owner of a burial chamber in the Jewish cemetery of Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 171, 172, 173). Moreover, interesting is the mention of the compound name Ἀριστόνοος in a sixth c. (AD 537/8) funerary epigram found at Wadi Musa in the area of Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 67; cf. SEG 46 [1996], no. 2083). Finally, Ariston was the name of a rhetor from Gerasa (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 136, s.v. Ἀρίστων 21) and of two Saints (see Delehay 1902, ind., col. 1057).

- 286.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper part with loss of text and chipped all around, especially at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-141. Dimensions: 0.49x0.285x0.11 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the inscribed area and left unwrought in the lower part and in the margins; it is also slightly weathered in a few places. Traces of a deeply incised frame are visible on the left and right sides. Incised guide-lines at irregular intervals are discernible throughout the text. The inscription is engraved and ll. 3,6,9, as well as the guide-lines including them, preserve traces of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIX

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD (9 Apellaios = 25 November).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>[- - - - -]<br/>ΚΑÇÇ[...].ΑΒΑΘΙCΤΑ<br/>Κασσίσου βουλα(υτοῦ),<br/>4 ἀπα&lt;θα&gt;νούντα,<br/>ζήσας ἥτη<br/>τριάκοντα,<br/>μηνὸς Ἑπτελ- ν<br/>8 λέου θ'. Θάρσι<br/>σὲ μετὰ καλοῦ<br/>ἀνάματας.</p> | <p>.....,<br/>(son) of Kassisos, (the)<br/>bouleutes,<br/>who died, -<br/>having lived<br/>thirty years<br/>- on the 9th of (the) month<br/>Apellaios. You, be<br/>of good cheer. (He died)<br/>having a good name.</p> |
|---|---|

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: this line should have originally stood in the broken upper part; its existence is confirmed by the preservation of a small part of its guide-line just above the beginning of l. 2.  
l. 2: only the lower part of the dotted letters is preserved, while the fifth and sixth letters are lost.



- l. 3: βουλα(υτοῦ) for βουλε(υτοῦ): *alpha* for *epsilon*; the third letter *upsilon* is squeezed above between *omicron* and *lambda*.
- l. 4: ΑΠΙΑΝΟΥΝΤΑ for ἀποθανόντος: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable; the third syllable θα is omitted probably because of a haplographic mistake; in the fourth one the diphthong ου is used in the place of *omicron*, while the word is given in accusative instead of genitive singular.
- l. 5: ζήσας for ζήσαντος: nominative in the place of genitive; ἦτη for ἔτη: *eta* for *epsilon*.
- l. 6: τριάκαντα for τριάκοντα: *alpha* for *omicron*.
- ll. 7-8: Ἀπελλέου for Ἀπελλαίου: phonetic spelling of αι.
- l. 8: θάρσι, iotacism of θάρσει.
- l. 9: the personal pronoun, used here emphatically, has been placed in accusative (σέ) instead of nominative (σύ).
- l. 10: ἀνάματας for ὀνόματος: all the *omicrons* of the word have been replaced by *alpha*.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: No suggestion can be made as to the reading of this line since the letters are insufficiently preserved.
- l. 3: The patronymic, a variant of the Semitic name *Κασσιός* (see commentary of inscr. no. 180), appears in the forms *Κασσίσας* and *Κασίσος* in Sinai (Wadi Haggag: Negev 1977, nos. 26, 29) and *Κασείσος* at ʿAvdat in the Negev (Negev 1981, no. 6).

The letters ΒΟΥΛΑ at the end of this line most likely stand for the abbreviated noun βουλα(υτοῦ), that is βουλε(υτοῦ). In the Later Roman Empire βουλευτής (*curialis*) was a municipal magistrate, i.e. member of the βουλή (*curia*) of a certain city (Hanton 1927-1928, p. 70). The *bouleutai* were recruited from the wealthy citizens and their duties included the collection of taxes (this task was assigned in the time of Anastasios I to the *vindices*: Christophilopoulou 1992, p. 229) or the supervision of public works (Sartre 1985, p. 82 and n. 158). Despite the discontent that arose at certain periods from the financial burden of their office, the *bouleutai* from Constantine to Justinian were continuously forced by laws to render their services to their cities (Christophilopoulou 1992, p. 365).

The term βουλευτής, "councillor", occurs with high frequency in the epigraphy of the villages of Hauran and especially in that of Bostra (for an analytical list of the Bostran *bouleutai* appearing not only in Bostra, but also in its territory, see Sartre 1985, p. 84, table A and p. 85, table B; for *bouleutai* in Hauran, see also Waddington, nos. 1989, 2019, 2070k, 2072, 2077, 2204, 2216, 2309, 2331a, 2339, 2412e, 2506, 2514, 2535, 2537e; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 209, 624, 765<sup>13</sup>, 769, 787<sup>1</sup>; *SEG* 7 [1934], nos. 994, 1104, 1105; Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 199, no. 1). With the exception of the βουλευταί mentioned at Bostra itself, which was a city and therefore owned a council, it is likely that the persons styled βουλευταί in the village inscriptions were wealthy villagers who were granted citizenship and became honorary members of city councils in Arabia (Jones 1971, pp. 286-287; MacAdam 1983, p. 108; Sartre 1985, pp. 78-81). The "βουλευταί" retained their title even after their retirement and occasionally bore additional titles, military, civil or religious (Sartre 1985, pp. 79, 80-81). Outside Hauran city councillors, βουλευταί, have been recorded at Tiberias (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 9), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 404, no. 62; pp. 434-435, no. 170) and Amman (Gatier 1986, no. 29 who is also called πρόεδρος, "president" of the *boule*). A certain Zadallas, *bouleutes* of Madaba ("βουλευτοῦ γενομένου Μηδαβ[ηγῶν]") is mentioned in an inscription found at el-Mushaqqar (between Hesban and Madaba: *ibid.*, no. 64), while in a funerary inscription from el-Dji (near Petra) a *bouleutes* of Petra ("βουλευτοῦ τῶν Π[ετρ]αίων") is encountered (Sartre 1993, no. 68).

All the above mentioned examples date from the late second to the fourth c. AD. It is known that from the late fourth-early fifth c. onwards the title of βουλευτής is gradually replaced by that of πολιτευόμενος (Hanton 1927-1928, pp. 117-118 with numerous references; cf. Sartre 1985, pp. 105, 195; for the term in the Church Fathers, see Lampe, p. 1114, s.v. πολιτεύω). This is epigraphically confirmed in Palestine and Arabia where the term πολιτευόμενος is attested in inscriptions of the mid-fifth-early sixth c. from Elusa (Negev 1981, no. 92; cf. also *SEG* 31 [1981], no. 1401 and Di Segni 1995, p. 323: AD 454/5), Feinan (Sartre 1993, no. 107; for the date see Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 214, no. 197: AD 455), Bostra (Sartre 1982, no. 9123: AD 490) and Qaṣr el-Ḥallabāt (*PAES* IIIA, no. 20, frgms. 20-23, edict of Anastasios I: AD 491-518). The earliest instance so far of πολιτευόμενος (*decurio*) in Palestine, in combination with palaeographical criteria, could offer a chronological clue to the *bouleutes* of the present epitaph whose death may be placed between the late fourth and early fifth c. AD. At this period Zoora is known as an episcopal see (see commentary of inscr. no. 27 and as a city of

Palestine in *Notitia Dignitatum* and later in *Hierocles Synecdemos* and *Georgius Cyprius* (Honigmann 1939, p. 43, 721. 7). It is thus plausible that our *bouleutes* was a member of the *boule* of the city of Zoora. This view is further corroborated by the fact that his title is not followed by an adjective denoting the place in which he served, since it must have been considered self-evident.

**287.** Tombstone of green sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken at the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-354. Dimensions: 0.43x0.30x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped in several places. The inscription is framed by incised and red painted lines on the three sides except for the lower one. Red painted guide-lines are discernible throughout the text which is engraved and selectively painted in red. The script is of the round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.02-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIX

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD (22 Audynaïos = 7 January).

	Μνημῖον Μα- τρώνης Ἀλ- φίου, ἀποθ-	Monument of Matrona, (daughter) of Alphios, who died (at the
4	ανούσης ἑτῶν λϵ', μηνὶ Αὐδο-	age) of 35 years, on (the) 22nd (day)
	νέῳ κβ'.	of the month Audynaïos.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημεῖον.

I. 2: from the last two letters only the left slanting stroke of *alpha* and the right of *lambda* are preserved.

I. 4: faint traces of the letter *omicron* are discernible on the stone.

I. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above.

II. 6-7: Αὐδονέῳ for Αὐδυναίῳ: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αἰ; only faint traces of the letter *omega* are preserved.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: For a commentary on the Hellenized Latin name *Ματρώνα*, see inscr. no. 44.

II. 2-3: For the name *Ἀλφίος* and its parallels, see discussion in inscr. no. 2.

**288.** Tombstone of greenish sandstone, of which only the upper, slightly rounded part is preserved. Inv. no.: Z-263. Dimensions: 0.50x0.42x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off in the lower preserved part and weathered. The inscription is enclosed within a heavily red painted frame, of which the upper curved line has survived. Traces of guide-lines, drawn also in red paint, are visible under the first two lines. The text is deeply engraved and painted over in red. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, which vary in size, are carelessly cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.033-0.07 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIX

Date: 5th c. AD.

	Ἑτῶν ο´ {ο´}. Μνη- μῖον Θε-	70 years old. Monument
4	οῦδώρας.	of Theodora.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

I. 2: *omicron*, numerical sign of the age of the deceased mentioned already in I. 1, is repeated at the beginning of this line.

II. 2-3: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

I. 4: the first two letters are weathered.

### Commentary

In this epitaph appear only the age and the name of the dead woman. Two points are noteworthy here: a. the shortness (simplicity) of the text, and b. the fact that the reference of the age precedes that of the name.

ll. 3-4: The name *Θεοδώρα* is commented on in inscr. no. 81.

- 289.** Tombstone of purple and white-yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which the upper part is missing. The preserved part is also rectangular in shape and broken in the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-214. Dimensions: 0.51x0.46x0.10 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped all around and flaked off in the lower part where a few salt crystals are visible. Below the text in the middle a peacock is depicted in red paint facing to the left; under its feet a series of small squares filled with red paint is discernible. The inscription as well as the decorative scene below are framed to the left by an interlaced serpentine motif and to the right by a zigzag pattern both drawn in red paint. The text, of which only the last four lines are preserved, is engraved while the third from the end and the last lines are painted over in red. The script is of the round form. The letters are small, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Colour photo Pl. XIV*

Date: 1st quarter of 5th c. AD (30 Xanthikos ? = 20 April).

[- - - -]

[Ξανθι]κοῦ νν λ', νν ἡμ(έρα)  
Κ(υρίο)υ νν δ'. ννν Θάρσι, νν  
Ἰσίδωρε, οὐδὶς ἄ-  
θάνατος.  
(peacock)

.....

on (the) 30th (day)  
[of (the) month] Xanthikos (?),  
on (the) 4th day of (the) Lord  
(Wednesday). Be of good cheer,  
Isidoros, no one (is) immortal.

### Critical apparatus

preserved l. 1: from the month name only the lower part of *kappa* and the diphthong *ou* are preserved; the month day numeral is flanked by empty spaces; an elongated *eta* with a superscription of *mu* (only the lower tips of it are preserved) comprise the abbreviation of the dative ἡμέρα.

pr. l. 2: the sacred word Κυρίου (genitive) is abbreviated by the first and last letters; the weekday numeral is emphasized by a horizontal bar above as well as by uninscribed spaces left and right; θάρσι for θάρσει.

pr. l. 3: οὐδὶς for οὐδεὶς.

### Commentary

pr. l. 3: The vocative Ἰσίδωρε reveals the name of the deceased which should have also stood in the upper missing part of the tombstone. On Isidoros, see above commentary of inscr. no. 121.

- 290.** Tombstone of white marble, rectangular in shape, chipped all around and mended from five fragments. Inv. no.: Z-231. Dimensions: 0.45x0.31x0.03 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed. The inscription is enclosed within a red painted vaulted structure composed of an arch resting on two piers. In its lower part the text is interrupted left and right by two identical red painted decorative motifs. Each motif consists of a rectangular frame including a big lozenge, which in its turn contains a double rectangle with an inscribed lozenge, decorated in its centre with a small circle filled with red paint. Red painted pomegranates are faintly preserved in the upper part of the inscription mainly below the arch. Similarly drawn pomegranates are scattered in the area below the vaulted structure. To the left of this area a large bird pecking at a bunch of grapes is depicted in black colour among the pomegranates. Remains of black paint next to the bird possibly indicate the existence of a second bird. Originally the text should have extended to 18 lines as indicated by the surviving traces of the red painted double guide-lines. From this text only the first two lines, which are engraved and painted over in black colour, have been fully preserved. The remaining text, traces of which are visible only in the third and the last lines, has faded away, since it was written in black paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters are small, nicely executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

Colour photo Pl. XIV

	Μνημῖον	Monument of
	Σαμασέου Ἀλε-	Samasseos, (son)
	[ξάνδρου? - -]	of Alexandros,
4	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
8	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	.....
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
12	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
16	[- - - Θάρ]-	[Be of good cheer,
	[σι, οὐδὶς]	no one
	[ἀθά]να[τος].	(is) immortal].
	(bird) [bird]	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον: this word is flanked by a series of two decorative serpentine motifs.  
l. 2: Σαμασέου for Σαμμασέου; the line ends with two similar serpentine motifs as in l. 1.  
l. 18: the letters NA preserved in this line most likely belong to the adjective ἀθάνατος; based on this, we also restored the words θάρσι and οὐδὶς in the two previous lines.

#### Commentary

- l. 2: For a commentary on the Semitic name Σαμμασέος, see inscr. no. 184.  
ll. 2-3: [Ἀλε]ξάνδρου seems a plausible restoration for the patronymic; for this name see inscr. no. 139.

The fine material, the elaborate decoration and the nice lettering indicate that this tombstone was ordered for a distinguished member of the local community. Unfortunately the preserved part of the text is so small that it prevents us from learning more about the deceased (age, status, date of death etc.) except for his name.

- 291.** Tombstone of white and purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners especially at the upper part and chipped on the left side. Inv. no.: Z-57. Dimensions: 0.36x0.25x0.45 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is completely flaked off in the upper half and partially in the lower half with great loss of text. From the original cross-shaped inscription and its engraved frame only the right horizontal and the lower vertical bars are partially preserved. The surviving text is engraved with discernible traces of red paint. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LIX

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

	Μνημῖον	Monument (?)
	[- - - -]	of .....
	[- - - -]	who ceased
4	[- - - -]	to live having a
	παυ-	good name and
	σαμένη τοῦ βίου μετὰ	good faith
	[καλ]οῦ ὀνόματος κ-	(at the age)
8	[αἱ καλῆς π[ίσ]τεως	of ... years,
	ἐτῶν [.]	in the month
	μη(νός) [...],	....., in the

12	ἐν ἔτι [... Θά]- ροι, οὐ[δὶς] ἀθάνατος. Ἀμήν.	year .... Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal. Amen.
----	--	--

## Critical apparatus

- I. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον: this word is hardly visible due to the flaking of the surface in this part.  
 II. 2-4: these lines, which are totally effaced, should have included the name of the deceased and the patronymic.  
 I. 6: only the last four letters of this line are clearly discernible.  
 I. 7: the first three letters of this line are eroded; the first five letters of the word ὀνόματος are faded.  
 I. 8: from this line only the last four letters are preserved.  
 I. 9: the age numeral, probably consisting of one numerical figure, is obliterated.  
 I. 10: the word μηνός is abbreviated by an *eta* above *mu*; the month name is not preserved but there is a space for three or at the most four letters (probably Δίου or the abbreviation of another month name).  
 II. 11-12: ἔτι for ἔτει; the year numeral and the first two letters of θάροι are effaced; [θά]ροι for [θά]ρσαι; οὐ[δὶς] for οὐ[δείς]: the last three letters of the word are obliterated.  
 I. 14: from the third letter *eta* only the left part is preserved.

## Commentary

- II. 5-6: The expression "παυσαμένη τοῦ βίου", if the restoration of I. 6 is correct, is discussed in inscr. no. 114.

**292.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with purple and brown stripes, almost rectangular in shape, pointed at the top. Inv. no.: Z-207. Dimensions: 0.65x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed in four levels. It is flaked off in several places, badly damaged due to chiselling with loss of the upper half of the text, and covered by a thin layer of salt and sand mixture as well as by lichens. Faint traces of a red painted frame are discernible on the lower right side. The text is engraved and preserves remains of red colour. The script is basically square with a few round letters. The letters, although badly preserved, seem to have been fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LX

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD (10 Peritios = 25 January).

	[Μνημῖον] [- - - -] [- - - -]	[Monument of....., who died having a good name and good faith?] (at the age) of ... years, in the year..., on (the) 10th (day) of (the) month Peritios, on (the) first day of the Lord (Sunday).
4	[ἀποθανόντος] [μετὰ καλοῦ] [ὀνόματος κ]- [αὶ καλῆς]	
8	[πίστεως] ἐτῶν [...], τοῦ ἔτους [...], μηνός	
12	Περιτίου ι', ἡ- μέρα Κυρίου πρώτη. Θάροι, οὐδὶς. ἀθάνατος.	Be of good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

- II. 1-8: these lines are completely eroded.  
 I. 9: from this line only the word ἐτῶν is legible.  
 I. 11: the year numeral is effaced in the beginning of the line.  
 I. 12: the month day numeral is flanked by two decorative serpentine motifs.  
 I. 13: the genitive Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter covered by a horizontal bar.

l. 14: θάρσι for θάρσει; οὐδὲς for οὐδέεις.

#### Commentary

- l. 1: The word *μνημῖον* seems the most likely restoration for this line.  
 ll. 2-3: These lines should have originally included the name and the patronymic of the deceased.  
 ll. 4-8: The hypothetical restoration of these lines has been based on the approximate number of letters contained in the preserved lines and on the common wording of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs.

**293.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken at the lower side. Inv. no.: not given. Dimensions: 0.31x0.275 m; thickness not recorded. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is chipped at the edges. The inscription lies within an incised frame, the right line of which is projecting below. In the left and right margins two snakes in upright position are represented. Above the frame in the centre a cross inscribed in a circle (the upper part of which is missing) is flanked on the right side by a palm branch and on the left by a cross above which a rising sun (?) with three rays on each side is depicted. The symbols as well as the text are engraved. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LX*

Date: 1st half of 5th c.? AD (in case that it is a genuine inscription).

+	+	(palm branch)	
Μνημῖον	+		Monument
Κυριακή	Σε<ά>λ-		of Kyriake,
λου,	ἀπ<οθ>α<νοῦ>-		(daughter) of Scallos,
4	σ<α> μετὰ		who died having...

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: *μνημῖον* for *μνημεῖον*.  
 l. 2: *Κυριακή* for *Κυριακῆς*: nominative instead of genitive.  
 ll. 2-3: the third letter of the patronymic has been carved by mistake as *lambda* instead of *alpha*.  
 ll. 3-4: in the participle *ἀποθανοῦσαν* (accusative instead of genitive) the following mistakes are observed: from the second syllable the vowel *omicron* is omitted; the following letter *theta* is written like an *omega* turned upside-down; the fourth syllable *von* is omitted; the last letter *nu* is engraved by mistake as *mu*.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-4: It is remarkable that this half-finished and full of solecisms epitaph seems to copy unsuccessfully, like no. 256, part of inscr. no. 140 (more specifically ll. 1-4). This fact, as well as the whole appearance of the text raise questions regarding its authenticity; for these reasons this epitaph was not given an inventory number.

**294.** Tombstone of white sandstone, irregular in shape, broken in the upper right corner. Inv. no.: Z-368. Dimensions: 0.33x0.28x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped at the upper and left sides. The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script follows the round alphabet. Height of letters: 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LX*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

Μνημῖο-	vvv		Monument
ν Ἀλουφά-	ν		of Aloufathe,
θης Μαζαβ-	ν		(daughter) of
4	άνου, ἀπο-	ν	Mazabanos,
	θανούντ(ος)		who died
	ἐτῶν ζ'.		(at the age) of 7 years.

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: *μνημεῖον*.

ll. 4-5: ἀποθανοῦντι(ος) (correct form ἀποθανόντος) for ἀποθανούσης: use of masculine participle in the place of feminine.

l. 5: three angular motifs at the end of the line.

l. 6: the age numerical figure is denoted by a horizontal bar above it; the inscription closes with three motifs similar to those of l. 5.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The Semitic name Ἀλουφάθη is discussed in inscr. no. 204.

ll. 3-4: The patronymic Μαξαβάνος is also found in an epitaph from el-ʿAmaqa in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 337). The spelling Μαξαβ<β>άνος with double *beta* is met in ʿAtamân in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 650), while the similar form Μαξαββάνας occurs at Derʿa (Dalman 1913, pp. 255-257, no. 15) and on a stone from Syria kept in the Louvre (Heuzey 1902, pp. 190-200; Clermont-Ganneau 1903, pp. 154-163). Its variant Μεξαββάνας is attested in Palmyra (Waddington, no. 2584). Based on a number of Palmyrene inscriptions, Greek, Aramaic or bilingual, Clermont-Ganneau (as above, pp. 156-158) demonstrated that Μαξαββάνας is the exact transcription of the Aramaic name Mzbnʾ which, in his opinion, is probably a passive participle derived from the root zbn, "to sell" (for a Persian origin of the name, see Heuzey, as above). The name Μεξαβάνος, borne by a bishop of Jerusalem (Zonaras XII. 23), is indicative of his Syriac origin.

**295.** Tombstone of white sandstone, the lower half of which is partially preserved. Inv. no.: Z-105.

Dimensions: 0.135x0.14x0.07 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is weathered. Incised guide-lines are visible under the preserved inscription. The text is all engraved. The script is of the square form. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LX

Date: 2nd half of 5th c.? AD (Apellaïos = 17 November - 16 December).

	[- - - -]	..... (at the age)
	[- - - -]	of nineteen (?) years,
	[- - - -]	in (the) year..., on (the)
4	[- - - -]	.. (day) of (the) month
	[- - - -]	Apellaïos, on (the) day
	[ca. 7] ἐτῶν [δεκα?]-	of (the) Lord, Sunday.
	εννέα, ἔτου[ς ..., μην]-	[Be of good cheer],
8	ὅς Ἀπελλ[έου ..., ἡμέ]-	no one (is) [immortal].
	ρα Κ(υρίου) Κυρι[ακῆ. Θάρ]-	
	[σι], οὐδὲς ἀ[θάνατος].	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 6: from this line only traces of the word ἐτῶν are preserved.

l. 7: the final *sigma* of the genitive ἔτους, the year numeral and the first three letters of the word μηνός are lost.

l. 8: the last three letters of the month name, the month day numeral and the first three letters of the dative ἡμέρα are missing.

l. 9: the sacred word Κυρίου is abbreviated by the first and last letter crowned by a horizontal bar; the last three letters of the dative Κυριακῆ are lost.

ll. 9-10: the imperative form θάρσι is completely effaced.

l. 10: οὐδὲς for οὐδεὶς: the first two letters are preserved in their upper part; from the adjective ἀθάνατος only the first letter *alpha* is preserved.

#### Commentary

ll. 1-5: We estimate that approximately five lines are missing from the beginning of this epitaph which should have contained the word μνημῖον, the name and the patronymic of the dead, as well as the expression ἀποθανόντος (or -ούσης) μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως.

**296.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the upper right and lower left corners and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-213. Dimensions: 0.50x0.33x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is mostly weathered with significant loss of text and presents

traces of a thin layer of salt and sand mixture as well as lichens. The whole text is engraved in square script. The letters are well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.01-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXI

Date: 5th - 6th? c. AD.

Μνημῖον Φασ- έλες Τιμετῆος ΘΥΕΡΕΑΝΕ...	Monument of Fasele, daughter of Timotheos (?)
4 ΟCΠIONO..... OCIOC. A... OCI πάντες...E ἔχοντες.... τ-	..... ..... all.....
8 οὐ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ (sic) πλήρο- μα αὐτῆς<ς>, οἱ (sic) οἰκουμένε	who have (?)... The earth (is) the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world,
12 καὶ πόντες οἱ {κατε}κατεκόν- τε{τε}<ς> ἐν αὐτῇ.	and all that dwell in it.

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

II. 1-2: Φασέλες for Φασέλης: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 2: Τιμετῆος may stand for Τιμοθέου.

II. 3-7: the weathering of the inscribed surface in this area, as well as the solecisms and repetitions of this epitaph, have hindered a more satisfactory reading of these lines which may have originally included the age of the deceased and the date of his death.

I. 8: only the vertical stroke of the dotted *rho* is preserved; the dotted *epsilon* is slightly discernible; γῆ for γῆ: *epsilon* for *eta*.

I. 9: the *omicron* of the neuter article τό has been written as *alpha*.

II. 9-10: πλήρομα for πλήρωμα: *epsilon* for *eta* in the first syllable, the next letter *rho* is not clearly visible and phonetic spelling of *omega* in the second syllable.

I. 10: the genitive ending *ς* of the possessive pronoun has been omitted by the letter-cutter; the singular feminine article ἡ is written as the plural masculine article οἱ.

I. 11: οἰκουμένε for οἰκουμένη: *epsilon* for *eta* in the last syllable.

I. 12: πόντες for πάντες: *omicron* for *alpha* in the first syllable.

II.13-14: the plural masculine participle κατοικοῦντες is given on the stone as KATEKATEKONTETE: this form contains the following mistakes: a. repetition of the first two syllables as well as of the last syllable of the participle; b. use of *epsilon* as substitute for the diphthong οι; c. omission of the second letter of the diphthong ου; d. omission of the final *sigma* of the participle.

I. 14: αὐτῇ for αὐτῆ: use of *epsilon* in the place of *eta*.

#### Commentary

II. 1-2: Φασέλες stands for the genitive Φασέλης, since the use of *epsilon* in the place of *eta* is frequent in this epitaph (see II. 8-14). The feminine name Φασέλη, a common one at Ghor es-Safi, is commented on in inscr. no. 92.

I. 2: Τιμετῆος is most likely a solecism for the genitive Τιμοθέου. This Greek theophoric name is discussed in inscr. no. 257.

II. 8-14: The epitaph ends with a quotation from the first verse of *Psalm* 24 (in the *Septuagint* version) "τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς, ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ". The beginning of the same verse, "τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς", comprises the initial formula of a building inscription from Maiumas, port of Gaza, dated in AD 540 (Glucker 1987, pp. 142-143, no. 34 with the previous bibliography; cf. Bagatti 1953, pp. 125-126, no. 24 with information on its liturgical use), and is also encountered in two funerary inscriptions from N. Syria (PAES IIIB, nos. 228,229). A similar concept is expressed in a mosaic inscription of the Apostles' Church at Madaba, whose beginning is inspired by the sixth verse of *Psalm* 145: "Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν" (Gatier 1986, no. 142a with full bibliography).



## b. Name of the deceased

297. Slab of blue-green marble, almost square in shape. It is kept in a private collection in London. Inv. no.: Z-325. Dimensions: 0.22x0.196x0.035 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is covered in its greater part by a thin layer of salt and sand fur. The text is engraved in round script. The letters are symmetrical, nicely cut and well aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXI

Date: early 4th? c. AD.

Εὐψυχος ἴσθι	Be of good courage,
Καλπούρνι, φίλων	Calpurnius. (Your death has
ἀπάντων λύπη	caused) grief to all (your)
4 καὶ γο<ν>έων δά-	friends and tear(s) to (your)
κρυον. Θάρσι, Καλ-	parents. Be of good cheer,
πούρνι, ζήσας{ας}	Calpurnius, who lived 30
<i>vacat</i> ἔτη λ. <i>vacat</i>	years.

### Critical apparatus

I. 2: Καλπούρνι is shortened form of the vocative Καλπούρνιε.

I. 4: the third letter of the word γονέων is inadvertently written as *mu* instead of *nu*.

I. 5: θάρσι for θάρσει.

II. 5-6: Καλπούρνι for Καλπούρνιε.

I. 6: the ending -ας of the participle ζήσας is engraved twice at the end of the line.

I. 7: the age is written in the middle of the line flanked by uninscribed areas; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

### Commentary

I. 1: "Εὐψυχος ἴσθι" (adjective εὐψυχος+present imperative of the verb εἶμι) is a rare periphrasis for εὐψύχει (see inscription no. 30), a common exhortation which, like θάρσει (the most frequent), εὐμοίρει, etc., was addressed to the deceased in the Greek epitaphs of the Roman and Early Byzantine periods (Simon 1936, p. 188 and n. 1; p. 189 and n. 5; p. 193, n. 1; p. 194). The adjective εὐψυχος is found in the ancient writers (*LSJ*, p. 740, s.v.) but is rare in later times, while the verb εὐψυχέω occurs among others (*LSJ*, pp. 739-740, s.v.; Lampe, p. 585, s.v.) in the New Testament (*Ep. Phil.* 2.19; cf. also Simon 1936, pp. 190-191). In Palestine and Arabia the encouragement form εὐψύχει usually stands alone at the end of the epitaph as it happens at Ghor es-Safi (inscr. no. 30), Gerasa (Welles 1938, p. 455, no. 230, 2nd/3rd c. AD) and Jerusalem (*SEG* 8 [1937], no. 211). In a group of Christian funerary monuments, discovered in N. Sinai (between the Lake Bardawil and Raphia: Lifshitz 1971, pp. 157-159, nos. 11-16), εὐψύχει preceded by εὐμοίρει are not only the introductory formulas of the epitaphs but they are also accompanied by the phrase "οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος". According to the editor of these inscriptions the use of a double encouragement formula (εὐμοίρει, εὐψύχει) was a local phenomenon (*ibid.*, p. 157).

I. 2: The Latin name Καλπούρνιος appears in the genitive Καλαπόρνου in inscr. no. 94.

II. 2-5: The grief caused to the friends or relatives by the loss of their beloved person, expressed in these lines, is a common feature in the Greek epitaphs. For phrases similar to "φίλων ἀπάντων λύπη", see for example Peek 1955, nos. 911, 1105, 1117 and *SEG* 34 (1984), no. 1222; cf. also VÉrilhac 1982, pp. 10-15 § 6-7. For "γονέων δάκρυον", see Peek 1955, nos. 932, 944, 953, 954, 958, 963, 974, 1119-1123; cf. also VÉrilhac 1978, nos. 61, 67, 79, 119, 123, 124, 176, 186. In Palestine and Arabia the lamentation appears as a painful duty mostly reserved for the parents of the deceased, as evidenced by four funerary epigrams: from Beersheba in the Negev (Alt 1921, no. 39: "γόνον δ' ἀπέλειπα τοκῇ καὶ θεῖω μεθ' ἔπειτα" and "ὃς γενετῆρι καὶ θεῖω μεθ' ἔπειτα γόνον πολὺδακρυον ἀφῆκεν"), Umm el-Jimâl in Hauran (*PAES* IIIA, no. 262: "πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυ[ον] εἴ[βω]ν"), el-Mote in Moab (Canova 1954, no. 302: "μητρὶ τ' ἐμ(οί) τε λιπὼν πολλὰ γέλου κ' ἐπένθους"), and Petra (Sartre 1993, no. 55: "μ(ητ)ρὶ γηραιῇ θ[ρ]ήνου[ς] ἀε[νάου]ς] λι[πό]μην"). Hauran (Sleim: Waddington, no. 2382; Bostra: Sartre 1982, no. 9401), Moab (Samrah: Canova 1954, no. 223) and Negev (*Nessana* 1, no. 126) have yielded more metrical epitaphs expressing the sorrow for the deceased in a different way.

The phraseology in these lines is not the typical one of the Ghor es-Safi epitaphs. In fact this inscription is said to have come from this area which means that its provenance is not quite certain. If, however, it really comes from Ghor es-Safi, then it is plausible to have been discovered in

another part of the extended cemetery of this area. Moreover the wording of the text and the absence of Christian symbols could date it to the early fourth c. AD. Finally the fine material and the nice lettering of the epitaph reveal that it was ordered by a wealthy person and that it was a product of a workshop.

- 298.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost square in shape and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-59. Dimensions: 0.42x0.38x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed and is flaked off. In the middle a shallow cavity has been prepared and nicely smoothed in order to receive the inscription. The bordering lines of this cavity form a rectangular frame. Just below the text in the centre traces of an outlined cross in red paint are visible. The text is all engraved in round script. The letters are small, well cut with a descending alignment in the first lines. Height of letters: 0.01-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD (10 Peritios = 25 January).

Μαρθίνη Φ-	(Monument of)
έρμου, ἀπ-	Marthine,
οθανοῦ- ν	(daughter) of
4 σα ν ἐτῶν	Fermos (Firmus),
νν μέ, ν ἐν	who died (at the age)
μη(νὶ) Περιτίου	of 45 years, on (the)
ι'. ν Θάρσει,	10th (day) of the month
8 ν οὐδὶς ἀ-	Peritios. Be of good cheer,
θάνατος.	no one (is) immortal.
+	

#### Critical apparatus

Il. 1-2: Φέρμου for Φίρμου: *epsilon* for *iota*.

I. 5: the age numeral is emphasized by uninscribed spaces on either side.

I. 6: the dative μηνί is abbreviated as usual by an *eta* above *mu*; Περιτίου for Περιτίῳ: genitive for dative singular.

I. 7: the month day numeral is followed by an uninscribed space; Θάρσει.

I. 8: οὐδείς.

#### Commentary

I. 1: For the feminine Semitic name *Μαρθίνη*, which occurs also as *Μαρθόνη* at Ghor es-Safi, see commentary of inscr. no. 200.

Il. 1-2: *Φέρμος* is another spelling for *Φίρμος*, the Greek transliteration of the well known Latin cognomen *Firmus*, "firm". A certain *Αὐρήλιος Φίρμος*, Roman official, is attested in an inscription from Sha'arah in Hauran (PAES IIIA, no. 803<sup>1</sup>). Names deriving from *Φίρμος* seem to have been more common in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. Such derivatives were the forms *Φερμῖνος* (Shakka, Hauran: AAES III, no. 377), *Φυρμῖνος* (Hammat Gader: Di Segni 1997, p. 244, no. 59), as well as the more extended form *Φιρμινιανός* (el-Mahadje, Hauran: Waddington, no. 2413 I). Saints with the names *Φίρμος* and *Φιρμῖνος* are mentioned in the *Synaxaria* (Delehaye 1902, index, col. 1176, s.vv.), while a famous monk *Φιρμῖνος* is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis as founder of the homonymous Laura in the Judaeian Desert (*Vita Sabae* 16, p. 99, ll. 23-24).

The feminine name in the form *Φερμίνη* is encountered so far in a fragmentary funerary epigram from Moab (Samrah: Canova 1954, no. 223).

- 299.** Tombstone of white and yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners with a slightly pointed bottom, chipped at the upper right corners. Inv. no.: Z-310. Dimensions: 0.38x0.20x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. The inscription, which occupies the upper part of the tombstone, is enclosed within a deeply engraved square frame, the lower horizontal line of which is extended on either side to cover the whole width of the stone. The text is engraved

and preserves traces of red paint. The script is of the square form with elongated letters, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.02-0.03 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXI

Date: 5th ? c. AD.

Νάμος  
Νατίρα.

[Monument of?] Namos,  
(son) of Natiras.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: Νάμος for Νάαμος; the final *sigma* is squeezed between the two lines under the letters *mu* and *omicron*.

#### Commentary

l. 1: *Νάμος* may be the Greek transcription of a Semitic name derived from the root n'm, "to be pleasant, gracious" (Wuthnow 1930, pp. 80, 152; Stark 1971, p. 99, s.v. [N]ʾYM) and may correspond to the Arabic Na'am, Na'im. It appears in the spelling *Νάαμωζ* as a deacon's name at 'Evron (Tzaferis 1987, pp. 42-43\*, no. 5). At Rihab it occurs in the form *Νάαιμος* (Gatier 1998, p. 396, no. 94). In Hauran it is usually attested in the form *Νάεμος* (Waddington, nos. 1990, 2413c; Dussaud and Macler 1902, p. 697, no. 166), but appears also in the variants *Νάημος* (Sartre-Fauriat 2001, vol. I, p. 199), *Ναάμων* (ibid., pp. 11-12), and *Ναιάμος* (Dussaud and Macler 1901, pp. 205-206, no. 98). See also the commentary of the feminine theophoric name *Νοομίλη* in inscr. no. 144.

l. 2: The patronymic *Νατίρας* appears in the form *Νετίρας* in inscr. no. 198 where both variants are commented upon.

**300.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved at the corners and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-122. Dimensions: 0.40x0.22x0.13 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and presents accumulations of salt crystals. The surface had been reused as indicated by traces of engraved letters. The inscription is enclosed within an almost rectangular frame, slightly curved at the corners. Above the text there is a simple cross; below it a decorative trellis is depicted and underneath it there are three simple crosses, the middle one of which is faded. The frame, the decoration and the text are all drawn in heavy red paint. The script is of the round form. The letters are well executed and aligned. Height of letters: Unrecorded.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Colour photo Pl. XIV

Date: 1st half of 5th c.? AD (5 Audynaioi = 21 December/20 Dystros = 6 March)

+	
Θωνόνη,	(Monument of) Thonone,
μενός	(who died) on the 5th (day)
Αὔδον(αίου) ε', Δύσ-	of the month Audynaioi,
4 τρου κ'.	on (the) 20th (day) of
+ + +	Dystros.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 2: μενός for μηνός; *epsilon* for *eta*; the word is written in smaller letters above the diphthong αυ of the month's name in l. 3.

l. 3: Αὔδον(αίου) for Αὔδυν(αίου); the month day numeral is covered by a horizontal bar which continues over the barely discernible following letters.

l. 4: the month day numeral is indicated by a horizontal bar above it.

#### Commentary

l. 1: The origin of *Θωνόνη*, a so far unparalleled name in Palestine and Arabia, is obscure. In our opinion, it might have been a vernacular spelling of the Greek name *Θεονείνη* (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 493, s.v.) which is attested both in feminine and masculine forms in third-fourth c. papyri from Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 134, s.vv. *Θεονίνη*, *Θεονίνος*, col. 138, s.vv. *Θεωνεῖνος*, *Θεωνίνος*; Foraboschi 1967, p. 64, s.v. *Αὐρήλιος Θεονίνος*, p. 139, s.v. *Θεωνίνος*).

The mention of a second month in the same epitaph is problematic.

**301.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, of which only the upper left corner has been preserved. It is flaked on the lower left and lower right sides. Inv. no.: Z-346. Dimensions: 0.33x0.24x0.08 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed. Traces of an earlier inscription are visible above the text and between ll. 3 and 4. The text is all engraved. The letters are elongated. Height of letters: 0.016-0.08 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXII*

Date: late 5th? c. AD.

<p>Φοσει- άθη ν Παρθε- 4 νίου.</p>	<p>(Monument of) Foseiathe, (daughter) of Parthenios.</p>
--	---

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The feminine *Φοσειάθη*, attested for the first time at Ghor es-Safi, is a rare name paralleled so far by the form *Φοσεάθη*, which is encountered in an epitaph from Bostra in Hauran (Sartre 1982, no. 9260; cf. also Sartre 1985, p. 243, s.v.), and *Φοσαιάθη* recorded at Khirbet es-Samra (Gatier 1998, pp. 368-369, no. 7 and p. 420, s.v.). *Φοσέη*, a name recorded also in Hauran (‘Ormân: Dunand 1933, p. 245, no. 189), is probably a shorter form of *Φοσειάθη*. All three variants are most likely (diminutives of the) simple forms of the compound theophoric name *Φασέλη* (for the etymology and the various spellings of this name, see above commentary of inscr. no. 92).

ll. 3-4: The Greek name *Παρθένιος* is commented on in inscr. no. 67.

#### c. Ἀπέθανεν

**302.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with white and dark purple stripes, rectangular in shape, nicely curved at the top and slightly curved in the lower corners, chipped at the edges. Inv. no.: Z-204. Dimensions: 0.43x0.31x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in several places and preserves salt crystals in the right side. Traces of a slightly incised frame are visible here and there, the upper left line of which bears traces of heavy red paint. A red painted guide-line is also discernible under the initial cross of l. 1. Above the frame in the middle there is an incised cross with triangular serifs. The text is engraved in round script with a few square exceptions. The letters, which vary in size, are elongated, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXII*

Date: late 5th-early 6th c. AD (1 Daisios = 21 May, 6th ind.).

+	
<p>+ Ἀπέθαν- ν ν εν ν κυρὰ Ὀλυ- μπία ἐν μηνί 4 ν Δεσίου πρώτῃ, ἰνδικ(τιῶνος) ἔκτῃς.</p>	<p>Kyra (lady) Olympia died on (the) first (day) of the month Daisios, in (the) sixth indiction.</p>

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the line starts with a cross.

l. 4: Δεσίου for Δαισίω: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι and use of genitive instead of dative singular.

l. 5: the genitive ἰνδικτιῶνος is abbreviated by the first five letters and a small stroke at the lower oblique stroke of *kappa*; the indiction year numeral is given in ordinal number as it occurs with the month day numeral (l. 4).

#### Commentary

ll. 1-2: The burial term "ἀπέθανεν" counts only one more instance at Ghor es-Safi (no. 317) in contrast to the numerous attestations of the participle "ἀποθανών" (see above commentary of inscr. no. 1). Moreover, limited is the use of "ἀπέθανεν" in the funerary epigraphy of Palestine (Phaino:

Sartre 1993, nos. 107,108; Golan: Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 114) and Arabia (Hauran: PAES IIA, no. 19; Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 455, no. 230).

l. 2: The word κυρά, preceding the name of the deceased woman, is a late form of κυρία. The term κύριος, originating from the Greek word κύρος, "power, authority", was employed as a title of respect ("lord, master") for gods, emperors, rulers, ecclesiastical dignitaries and as an appellation of God (for these and numerous other applications of κύριος, see *LSJ*, p. 1013, s.v.; Lampe, pp. 787-788, s.v.). Both κύριος and κυρία were further used as forms of respectful and polite address to relatives (parents, brother, sister, etc.) or to married people, i.e. husband or wife, as evidenced by inscriptions, papyri and literary sources (*LSJ*, as above, s.v. *κύριος* B.b and 2; Lampe, as above, s.v. *κύριος* A.2; for a collection of epigraphical examples on κύριος and κυρία, see Robert 1936, pp. 234-238 = *OMS* III, pp. 1607-1611; for additional bibliography, see Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, pp. 213, 214 and n. 1; cf. also Bandy 1970, no. 39 and appendix, no. 1). Accordingly κυρά 'Ολυμπία of the present epitaph may have been a respectable, most likely married woman. The term of respect κυρά appears here for the first time at Ghor es-Safi but is already attested in Byzantine inscriptions from Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 243-244, no. 58), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: FitzGerald 1939, pp. 14-15, nos. III, IV = Ovadiah 1987, pp. 27, 28), and Kissufim near Gaza (*SEG* 30 [1980], no. 1690). It is noteworthy that Maria and Silthous, addressed as κυρά at Beth Shean and Kissufim respectively, were both benefactresses, that is women of high standing in the local societies. Special mention should be made of the frequent use of κυρά in the epitaphs of the Jewish cemetery at Beth She'arim (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, nos. 39, 57, 66, 70, 130 [κυρία], 151, 165, 191). At Beth She'arim occurs as well the masculine term κύριος in the late contracted form κύρις (ibid., nos. 130, 151), while the abbreviated form κύρ(ιος) appears in a mosaic inscription in the synagogue of Scythopolis (Zori 1966, p. 132 = Lifshitz 1977a, pp. 290-291). The masculine counterpart of κυρά, κυρός, is applied to a Christian named Ἐρμιογένης at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 243-244, no. 58). However, in the Byzantine epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia the title of respect Κύριος is mainly attributed to the first two persons of the Holy Trinity, God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son (for the relevant examples, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 29-39 and 62-70).

ll. 2-3: This is the first occurrence to our knowledge of the Greek feminine name Ὀλυμπία (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1050, s.v.; *LGNP* I, p. 348; IIIA, p. 339; IIIB, p. 323) at Ghor es-Safi and generally in Palestine and Arabia. The masculine form Ὀλύμπιος has been attested at Khisfin in Golan as a church benefactor's name (Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 83), and at Djeneine in Hauran as *dioecetes* (Waddington, no. 2188). Ὀλύμπις, the contracted form of Ὀλύμπιος or the feminine Ὀλυμπίς, is encountered in a commemorative inscription from Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 219-220, no. 36: the editor reads Ολυμπισταχα).

Below line 5 there are visible traces of engraved letters. These may be either a continuation of the above text or remains of an erased earlier inscription.

#### d. Εἰς Θεός

303. Tombstone of purple sandstone, irregular in shape, broken at the lower left corner. Inv. no.: Z-353. Dimensions: 0.55x0.36x0.14 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off at the bottom and in the middle of the left side. The text is engraved in square script. Height of letters: 0.03-0.07 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXII

Date: early 5th c. AD.

Εἰς	One (is) the
Θεός.	God.
Α ρ ω	

Critical apparatus

l. 3: a *cross-rho* monogram is flanked by the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*.

304. Tombstone of white sandstone, irregular in shape, curved at the top, broken at the upper right side and mended from two almost equal vertically cut fragments. Inv. no.: Z-74. Dimensions: 0.255x0.225x0.04 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off in several places

with loss of text. The text is enclosed within a rectangular red painted frame crowned by a pediment filled with three decorative red painted crosses with serifs of which the left one has faded away. The central cross, which is in addition incised, is separated from the side ones by two vertical decorative motifs. In the upper corner of the pediment a smaller cross is drawn in red paint. Several small red painted dots decorating the corners of the crosses have survived. Below the frame to the right an outlined cross is flanked by two heraldically placed birds, the left of which is lost. The whole preserved scene is drawn in red paint. The text is engraved and painted over in red. The script is of the square alphabet with small letters fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXII

Date: early 5th c. AD.

+

[+] + +

Εἷς Θεός. Μνη- +

μῖον Σ[ε]ουέρος

Θαρσέ[ο]υ, ἀπαθα-

4 νάντο[ς] μετὰ καλοῦ

ὀνόμ[α]τος ἑτῶν ο'.

Θάρσ[ι, οὐ]δὲς ἀθά-

νατος.

[bird] + (bird)

One (is) the God.

Monument of Seoueros

(Severus), (son) of Tharseos,

who died (having) a good name

(at the age) of 70 years.

Be of good cheer,

no one (is) immortal.

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 1-2: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον; at the end of l. 1 a red painted cross with serifs is depicted.

l. 2: Σ[ε]ουέρος for Σ[ε]ουήρου: the second letter *epsilon* is lost; *epsilon* for *eta* after the diphthong *ou* and use of nominative instead of genitive.

ll. 3-4: ἀπαθανάντο[ς] for ἀποθανόντο[ς]: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second and fourth syllables; the final *sigma* is lost.

l. 5: the fifth letter of this line is eroded.

l. 6: θάρσ[ι, οὐ]δὲς for θάρσ[ει, οὐ]δεῖς: the last letter *iota* of θάρσει and the diphthong *ou* of οὐδεῖς are effaced.

l. 7: the last two letters of this line are partially preserved.

#### Commentary

l. 2: For the Hellenized Latin name *Σεουήρος*, see commentary of inscr. no. 228.

l. 3: Unlike the common name *Σεουήρος*, the patronymic is new in the nomenclature of Ghor es-Safi. It may be identified with the Greek name *Θαρσέας* derived from the verb *θαρσέω*, "to be courageous". No parallels of *Θαρσέας* have been recorded so far in Palestine and Arabia, but the name occurs in a variety of forms such as *Θαρσίας*, *Θαρσίας*, *Θάρσος*, *Θάρσων* etc. in inscriptions from Greece, Italy, Cyrenaica and Egypt (Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 481; *LGPN* I, pp. 209, 210; II, p. 210; IIIA, p. 199; IIIB, p. 186; Preisigke 1922, col. 128, s.v. *Θράσων*).

#### e. Εἷς Θεός ὁ μόνος

**305.** Tombstone of purple and white sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the upper right part is preserved. Inv. no.: Z-86. Dimensions: 0.26x0.22x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is flaked off mainly in the upper left part and weathered at the bottom. The inscription is enclosed within a deeply engraved frame which is painted over in red. The surviving text is all engraved and ll. 1,2,4,6 bear additional red paint. The script follows the round alphabet. The letters, among which a characteristic tiny *omicron* appears, vary in size, are fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIII

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD.

Εἷς Θεός ν

νν ὁ μόνος.

Μνημῖον

God (is) One

and the Only (One).

Monument of

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 4 [ʹΑ]βδοσιμέου<br>[Οὐ]λπianoῦ,<br>[ἀπ]οθανόντ[ος]<br>[ἐτῶ]ν ὡς [....]<br>8 [-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----]<br>[-----] | Abdosimeos,<br>(son) of Ulpianus,<br>who died (at the age)<br>of 50 years... |
|--|--|

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 2: the text begins after two uninscribed spaces.  
l. 3: μνημιον for μνημειον: from the initial letter *mu* is missing the left vertical stroke.  
l. 4: the first letter (*alpha*) is lost, while from the second (*beta*) only the right half is partially preserved.  
l. 5: from the patronymic the first two and a small part of the third letter are lost.  
l. 6: [ἀπ]οθανόντ[ος]: the first two, part of the third as well as the last two letters of the participle are missing; *omicron* for *alpha* in the third syllable.  
l. 7: only the right part of the last letter *nu* of the word ἐτῶν is preserved; the age numeral is emphasized by a decorative angular motif left and right and by a horizontal bar above.  
l. 8: only a small portion of this line with illegible traces of letters has been preserved; the text may have continued for another three lines.

#### Commentary

- l. 4: The partially preserved second letter *beta* of the name of the deceased necessitates an *alpha* in the place of the initial effaced letter. Thus the name would read Ἀβδοσιμέος, a compound theophoric name composed of the word 'abd, "servant", and the divine name Du Samawi, "master of heaven" (on the analogy of names like Ἀβδουσαρίας, 'Abd Du Šara, see Sartre 1985, p. 168; Al-Khraysheh 1986, p. 128). Such a theophoric proper name is epigraphically attested at Dura-Europos in the forms Ἀβιδσημης (SEG 7 ([1934], no. 374), Ἀβιδσημης (ibid., no. 376) and in the genitive Ἀβιδσημιάτος (Wuthnow 1930, p. 9, s.v.).  
l. 5: A suitable restoration for the patronymic is Οὐλπianoῦς, a frequent name at Ghor es-Safi (see commentary of inscr. no. 58).

**306.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which the upper part is preserved. It is curved at the top and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-276. Dimensions: 0.20x0.275x0.04 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off on the upper and left sides, and has some salt crystals in the lower part. The inscription lies within an incised and red painted frame, the upper line of which is slightly wavy. On this line five simple crosses in a row are depicted; of them the central and the extreme crosses are only incised, while those flanking the central cross are drawn in red paint. The text is set between incised guide-lines some of which are additionally painted red. The text is engraved and ll. 1,3,5,7,9 bear also red paint, while ll. 4,8 preserve traces of green paint. The script is of the square alphabet. The letters are small, carefully cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIII

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| + + + + +<br>Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ μ-<br>όνος. Μνημι-<br>ον Πέτρον Ζα-<br>4 ννούρου, ἀπ-<br>οθανόντος<br>μετὰ καλ>οῦ ὁ-<br>[νόμ]ατος καὶ<br>8 [καλῆς] πίστε-<br>[ως ἐτῶν] κη',<br>[-----]<br>[-----] | God (is) One (and)<br>the Only (One).<br>Monument of Petros,<br>(son) of Zannouros,<br>who died having<br>a good name and<br>[good] faith,<br>(at the age) of<br>28 [years]....<br>..... |
|---|--|

12 [- - - -]  
 [- - - -]  
 [- - - -]

#### Critical apparatus

ll. 2-3: *μνημῖον* for *μνημεῖον*.

l. 6: the seventh letter of this line has been carved as *delta* instead of *lambda*.

l. 7: the first three letters are missing.

l. 8: the genitive *καλῆς* is completely effaced.

ll. 8-9: the first two letters of the word *πίστεως* are partially preserved while the last two are lost.

l. 9: the word *ἐτῶν* is obliterated; from the age numeral the tens figure is partially preserved; approximately five lines are missing from the bottom of the text.

#### Commentary

l. 3: The name *Πέτρος* is discussed in inscr. no. 40.

ll. 3-4: The deceased bears the uncommon patronymic *Ζαννοῦρος* which is as yet unparalleled in the epigraphy of Palestine and Arabia. In our opinion it may transcribe in Greek the Arabic compound name Du-an-nûr, "master of light, bright".

#### f. Εἷς Θεὸς ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης

307. Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape and chipped all around. The lower part of the tombstone is missing with loss of text. Inv. no.: Z-143. Dimensions: 0.22x0.20x0.05 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed, is chipped in the lower right corner and weathered with loss of text. Traces of a red painted frame are discernible above the inscription on the right side. The text is all engraved and ll. 1,4,7 are painted over in red. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.005-0.01 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIII

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD (Audynaïos = 17 December - 15 January).

+	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖαν Σαωρ-	Monument of Saoreos,
4	ἐφν, ἀπαθανούν-	who died having
	τος μετὰ κα<λ>οῦ	a good name and
	ὀνόματος καὶ	good faith (at the age)
	καλῆς πίστεως.	of 27 years, in the
8	+ ἐτῶν κζ', ἐν ἔτι +	year... [on (the) .. (day)
	[..., μηνὸς] Αὐδο-	of (the) month] Audynaïos,
	[νέου ..., ἡμέρα]	[on (the) . day of (the)
	[Κυρίου . . Θάρσι,]	Lord. Be of good cheer,
12	[οὐδὲς ἀθάνα]-	no one (is) immortal].
	[τος. +]	

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: the line starts with a cross; *alpha* in the place of the masculine article *ὁ*.

l. 3: *μνημῖαν* for *μνημεῖον*: phonetic spelling of *ει* and *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.

ll. 4-5: *ἀπαθανούντος* for *ἀποθανόντος*: *alpha* for *omicron* in the second syllable and diphthong *ου* in the place of *omicron* in the fourth syllable.

l. 5: the third letter *lambda* of the genitive *καλοῦ* has been engraved as *chi*.

l. 6: only traces of the first four and the last two letters of this line are preserved.

l. 7: the last two letters are faded.

l. 8: traces of a small cross are visible in the beginning of the line; the tens figure of the age numeral is faded; *ἐν ἔτι* for *ἐν ἔτει*; the line ends with a cross.

l. 9: the year numeral (consisting probably of three numerical figures) and the genitive *μηνός* are lost.



II. 9-10: Αὐδο[νέου?] for Αὐδο[ναίου]: *omicron* for *upsilon* in the second syllable and possibly *epsilon* for αἰ in the lost part of this word.

II. 10-13: this is a conjectural restoration of the last lines of the epitaph which were originally written in the now missing lower part of the tombstone.

#### Commentary

II. 3-4: For the Semitic name Σαωρέος, see commentary of inscr. no. 236.

**308.** Tombstone of light purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper and lower left corners and chipped on the upper right side. Inv. no.: Z-230. Dimensions: 0.555x0.34x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed mainly in the area of the inscription and is chiselled in the margins. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised frame and set between guidelines. Above the frame an outlined cross with a *chi*-sign in its centre is flanked by two simple crosses. Below the frame a similar cross is flanked by two heraldically placed birds in an inverted position. Below this composition there is a violet painted line which occupied the whole width of the tombstone. The two scenes and the text are engraved. The script is a mixture of round and square alphabets. The letters which vary in size, are small, well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIII

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD (13 Peritios = 28 January).

+	+	+
Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-	One (is) the God,	
των <Δεσπότης>. Μνημῖον	the [Lord] of all.	
Μαρκέλλα Μαρρί-	Monument of Marcella,	
4 νου, ἀπαθανάντ-	(daughter) of Marinus,	
ας μετὰ καλοῦ ἀ-	who died having a good	
νάματος καὶ καλ-	name and good faith	
λῆς πίστεως ἔτῳ-	(at the age) of 26 years,	
8 ν κζ', μηνὸς Περιτί-	on (the) 13th (day) of (the)	
ου ιγ'. Θάρσι {ς}, οὐδὶς	month Peritios. Be of good	
ἀθάνατας.	cheer, no one (is) immortal.	
(bird) + (bird)		

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the masculine article ὁ is written as *alpha*.

I. 2: the engraver must have made a haplographic mistake by skipping the word Δεσπότης after πάντων; μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

I. 3: Μαρκέλλα for Μαρκέλλης: nominative for genitive.

II. 3-4: Μαρρίνου, dittography for Μαρίνου.

II. 4-5: ἀπαθανάντας (correct spelling ἀποθανόντος; *alpha* for *omicron* in three syllables) for ἀποθανούσης: use of the masculine aorist participle instead of the feminine.

II. 5-6: ἀνάματος for ὀνόματος: substitution of *omicron* with *alpha* (see also II. 1,4-5,10).

II. 6-7: καλλῆς for καλῆς: dittography of *lambda*.

I. 9: the month day numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; Θάρσις for Θάρσει: phonetic spelling of the diphthong ει and a superfluous *sigma* at the end of the word.

I. 10: ἀθάνατας for ἀθάνατος; *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.

#### Commentary

I. 3: The feminine Hellenized Latin name Μαρκέλλα is discussed in inscr. no. 125.

II. 3-4: Μαρῖνος (spelled here with double *rho*) is the Hellenized form of the common Latin cognomen *Marinus* ("of the sea", Kajanto 1965, p. 308). In Palestine and Arabia Μαρῖνος was a popular name borne indiscriminately by pagans, Jews and Christians (for pagan examples: Waddington, no. 2072; PAES IIIA, nos. 765<sup>13</sup>, 801; AAES III, no. 400a; SEG 7 [1934], no. 994; SEG 42 [1992], no. 1423; Dalman 1922-1923, p. 105; Gregg and Urman 1996, no. 70; Gatier 1998, p. 403, no. 117 and p. 418, s.v.; Lifshitz 1965, p. 99, nos. 3,4; for the Jewish evidence: Lifshitz 1965, p. 98, no. 1; Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974, no. 149; for Christian instances: SEG 8 [1937], no.

231; *SEG* 37 [1987], nos. 1510, 1512, 1514; Meimaris 1986, nos. 546, 874; Avi-Yonah 1934, pp. 96-105; *ESI* 6 (1987-1988), p. 41; Holum 1995, pp. 341-343, no. 2; *BE* 1996, p. 649, no. 485; Piccirillo 1994, p. 261, no. 18; *Nessana* 3, no. 37.26; Di Segni 1999, pp. 636 and 637). Some historical personages, originating from Palaestina Prima, also bear the name *Μαρίνος*: a. a Neo-Platonist philosopher of the late fifth c. AD, native of Neapolis (*PLRE* II, pp. 725-726, s.v. *Marinus* 3), b. a bishop of Caesarea Maritima who participated in the Council of Nicaea in AD 325 (*RE* XIV.2 [1930], col. 1801, s.v. *Marinus* 24 [Ensslin]), c. a monk, follower of Saint Euthymios and founder of the Photeinos Monastery in the Judean Desert (*Vita Euth.* 8, p. 16, l. 10; *Vita Sabae* 29, p. 114, ll. 3-4).

The feminine name *Μαρίνα* occurs less frequently in these provinces (Caesarea: Lifshitz 1965, p. 100, no. 5; Gerasa: Welles 1938, p. 476, no. 298; Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum: unpublished inscription which reads: Θήκη Μαρίας καὶ Κυρίλλας).

**309.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper corners and at the bottom with loss of text. Inv. no.: Z-110. Dimensions: 0.30x0.205x0.055 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is chipped all around and slightly weathered. Above the text in the middle there is a simple incised cross. The whole text is engraved in mixed square and round script. The letters are of variable size, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.009-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXIV*

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD (Gorpaios ? = 19 August - 17 September ).

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>+ Εἷς Θεός,</p> <p>ὁ πάντων +</p> <p>Δεσπότης.</p> <p>4 Μνημῖον ν</p> <p>Ἀλουφάθης</p> <p>Παλλαδίου,</p> <p>ἀποθανούσης</p> <p>8 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-</p> <p>ματος καὶ καλῆς</p> <p>[πί]στεως ἐν ἔτι</p> <p>[..., μηνός] Γορ[πιέ]ο[υ]</p> <p>12 [ ca. 12-13 ]</p> <p>[ ca. 12-13 ]</p>	<p>One (is) the God,</p> <p>the Lord of all.</p> <p>Monument of</p> <p>Aloufathe,</p> <p>(daughter) of</p> <p>Palladios, who</p> <p>died having a</p> <p>good name and</p> <p>good faith in</p> <p>the year [... in</p> <p>(the) ... (day) of</p> <p>(the) month</p> <p>Gorpaios (?).....</p>
---	---

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the text begins with a cross.
- l. 2: the line ends with a cross.
- l. 4: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.
- l. 9: the last letter *sigma* is faded.
- l. 10: the first two letters are effaced; ἐν ἔτι for ἐν ἔται.
- l. 11: the year numeral and the abbreviation of the word μηνός should have stood in the beginning of this line; the preserved letters *pi*, *iota*, *epsilon*, *omicron*, possibly belong to the genitive of the month name Γορπιαῖος spelled phonetically.
- ll. 12-13: two lines, more or less, are missing from the end of the text which may have included the month day and the weekday of the death, as well as the burial formula "θάρσει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος".

#### Commentary

- l. 5: For the feminine Semitic name Ἀλουφάθη, variant of Ὀλεφάθη, see inscr. no. 204.
- l. 6: Παλλάδιος is a late Greek name (for its etymology, see Pape and Benseler 1911, p. 1112, s.v.) used as a cognomen and supernomen in the Roman period (Kajanto 1963, pp. 25, 85). In Palestine and Arabia the name occurs in Roman and Byzantine inscriptions from Hauran (Bostra: Sartre 1982, nos. 9128, 9358 [*Παλλάδις*], 9403; Ezr'a: Waddington, no. 2485), Scythopolis (Di Segni 1999, p. 634: Φλασίους Παλλάδιος, governor of Palestine), and Nessana in the Negev (*Nessana* 1, no. 37). The latter city has also yielded three papyrological instances of *Palladios* (*Nessana* 3, nos. 37.43; 52.2, 27; 77.2). The uncommon form Παλλάδω is found in an epitaph from Rihab (Gatier

1998, p. 402, no. 114; see also p. 418, s.v.). The observation that this name was mainly adopted by military people (Sourdel 1952, p. 73; cf. Sartre 1985, p. 228, s.v. *Παλλάδιος*) seems to apply here since two of the bearers were soldiers (Sartre 1982, no. 9358; *Nessana* 3, no. 37.43). The use of the name *Παλλάδιος* by ecclesiastical officials (two of the bearers were deacons: Sartre 1982, no. 9128; *Nessana* 1, no. 37) may have been influenced by the veneration of Saint *Palladios*, a well known hermit from Syria, commemorated on the 28th of January (Delehaye 1902, col. 429). *Παλλάδιος* was also the name of a bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (AD 400-406), writer of an account of the Early Egyptian monasticism, the *Historia Lausiaca*, which was named so from its dedicatee Lausus, *cubicularius* of Theodosios II (*ODB* 1991, vol. 3, p. 1565). A dubious governor of Palaestina Prima in the late 5th-early 6th c. AD, addressee of a letter from Procopius of Gaza, bore the name *Palladios* (*PLRE* II, p. 822, s.v. *Palladius* 16).

- 310.** Tombstone of greenish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the upper part is partially preserved. Inv. no.: Z-290. Dimensions: 0.23x0.235x0.10 m. The inscribed surface has been nicely smoothed and is flaked in several places. The inscription is set between slightly incised guide-lines. In the middle of a line which has been left uninscribed above the text there are traces of an outlined red painted cross. The text is engraved and ll. 2,4,5 preserve traces of red paint. The script follows the square alphabet. The letters are small, almost symmetrical, nicely cut and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.02 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIV

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD.

	+	
	+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων	One (is) the God,
	Δε<σ>πότης. Μνη- νν	the Lord of all.
	μῖον Ὀλέφου Σολέ-	Monument of
4	μου, ἀποθανάν-	Olefos, (son) of
	τος μετὰ καλ[οῦ]	Solemos, who
	[ὀνόματος .....]	died having
	[- - - -]	a good [name.....]
8	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	
	[- - - -]	

#### Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the inscription opens with an incised cross with serifs; from the last letter *nu* only the lower half is preserved.  
 l. 2: the third letter *sigma* is carved as *epsilon* (probably attracted by the previous letter).  
 ll. 2-3: *μνημῖον* for *μνημεῖον*.  
 ll. 4-5: *ἀποθανάγτος* for *ἀποθανόντος*; *alpha* for *omicron* in the fourth syllable.  
 l. 5: the diphthong *ou* at the end of the line is lost.

#### Commentary

- l. 3: For the Semitic name *\*Ολεφος* and its variants, see commentary of inscr. no. 6.  
 ll. 3-4: The name *Σόλεμος* is discussed above in inscr. no. 15.  
 l. 6: The genitive *ὀνόματος* is certainly to be restored in the beginning of this line. The text may have continued for approximately four more lines which would have included the age of the deceased, the date of his death and possibly the exhortation "θάψει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος".

- 311.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape, slightly curved and broken in the corners. Inv. no.: Z-155. Dimensions: 0.35x0.215x0.08 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is now badly damaged with great loss of text. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular frame and placed within a shallow cavity. Above the text there are traces of an incised cross in the lower corners of which the symbolic letters *alpha-omega* have been carved. The frame as well as the text are engraved and preserve traces of red colour. The script is of the square form. The letters are small, symmetrical, nicely cut and carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.006-0.013 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIV

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD (Panemos ? = 20 June - 19 July).

	$\frac{\mid}{\lambda\omega}$	
	Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πᾶν-	One (is) the God,
	των Δεσπότης.	the Lord of all.
	Μνημῖον Ὀμμαβί-	Monument of Ommabie,
4	ἡ Σαμράββου, ἀπ-	(daughter) of Samirabbos,
	[οθανούσης με]-	[who died having a
	[τὰ καλοῦ] ὀνόμ-	good] name (and)
	ατος, <καί> [καλῆς πίσ]-	[good faith (at the age)
8	[τεως ἐτῶν...], ἐν	of ... years], in [the year...],
	[ἔτει ...], μηνὸς Πι-	on (the) ... (day) of (the)
	ανέμου [...],	month Panemos, [on the ..
	[ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου]υ .]. Θάρσι,	day of (the) Lord].
12	[οὐδί]ς ἀθάνα-	Be of good cheer,
	vacat τος.	[no one] (is) immortal.

## Critical apparatus

Il. 2-5: only faint traces of the text in these lines are preserved due to the erosion of the inscribed surface.

I. 4: μνημῖον for μνημεῖον.

Il. 4-5: Ὀμμαβίη for Ὀμμαβίης: the name is barely discernible; nominative for genitive singular.

I. 6: this line is totally effaced.

I. 7: only the last four letters are preserved from this line.

I. 8: except for the first four faded letters, the rest of the line is obliterated.

I. 9: this line is completely weathered except for the faded preposition ἐν at its end.

I. 10: in the first half of this line the dative ἔτει and the year numeral should be restored.

Il. 10-11: the month name Πανέμου instead of Πανήμου appears faded, while the month day numeral, which followed, is completely lost.

I. 12: in the eroded part of this line the abbreviation of the words ἡμέρα and Κυρίου, as well as the weekday numeral can be reasonably restored; Θάρσι for Θάρσει: the word is hardly legible.

Il. 13-14: of the word οὐδὶς (iotacised form of οὐδέις) only the final *sigma* is partially preserved; the adjective ἀθάνατος is also heavily weathered.

## Commentary

Il. 3-4: The feminine Ὀμμαβίη, - on the condition that the faded name has been read correctly - and its variants are discussed in inscr. no. 34.

I. 4: For the patronymic, see commentary of inscr. no. 15.

**312.** Tombstone of yellow sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken on all corners except for the upper right one. Inv. no.: Z-366. Dimensions: 0.345x0.255x0.05 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chipped on the right side. The preserved text is engraved and Il. 1,4 are painted over in red. Traces of red painted letters are discernible between Il. 5 and 8 and below I. 8 to the left. The script is a mixture of square and oval alphabet. Some of the letters are elongated featuring an *alpha* and a *mu* with a long middle bar. Height of letters: 0.007-0.025 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXIV

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD (2 Xanthikos = 23 March).

	$+ \text{ }^{\circ}\text{Ις}$	
	Θεός, ὁ πάντων Δεσ-	One (is) the God, the Lord
	πότης. Μνημεῖαν Κύρας	of all. Monument of Kyra,
	Κασσισέου, ἀποθανοῦσα	(daughter) of Kassisseos,
4	μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνώματος	who died having a good name
	καὶ καλῆς πίστεως ἐτῶ-	and good faith (at the age)
	[v ca. 17-18]	of....., on the second (day)
	[ca. 12-13 Ξανθι]-	of [the month] Xanthikos,
8	κοῦ δευτέρᾳ, ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου	on the .. day of the

[- - - -].

Lord....

## Critical apparatus

- l. 1: the line starts with a cross; ἱς is iotacism for the cardinal numeral εἶς.  
 l. 2: μνημεῖαν for μνημεῖον: *alpha* for *omicron* in the last syllable.  
 l. 3: ἀποθανοῦσα (the last letter *alpha* is hardly discernible) for ἀποθανούσης: nominative for genitive singular.  
 l. 4: ἀνώματος for δνόματος: *alpha* for *omicron* and *omega* for *omicron*.  
 l. 5: the dotted letters are faintly preserved.  
 ll. 6-7: traces of red painted letters in this area indicate that these lines were written only in red paint and probably included the age and the year numeral as well as part of the month's name.  
 l. 8: the genitive ending letters KOY suggest the restoration of the month name Xanthikos; the month day is expressed in ordinal number; the word ἡμέρα is abbreviated by the superscription of a small *mu* over an elongated *eta*.  
 l. 9: the existence of this line is indicated by traces of red painted letters in its beginning which plausibly belonged to the weekday ordinal numeral.

## Commentary

- l. 2: For the feminine *Κύρα*, an especially popular name in Ghor es-Safi, see commentary of inscr. no. 22.  
 l. 3: For the Semitic name *Kassiseos*, its etymology and its variants, see discussion in inscr. no. 180.

## g. Ἐνθάδε κεῖται

313. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, curved in the upper part and broken in the lower right corner. Inv. no.: Z-80. Dimensions: 0.55x0.37x0.16 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed only in the inscribed area and left unwrought on the lower and right sides. The text is placed within a vaulted structure, the arch and columns of which are schematically depicted. The text is engraved in square script. The letters are big, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.032-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXV

Date: 1st half of 6th c. AD.

Ἐνθάδε	Here lies
κεῖται Μαρ-	Marthine,
θίνη, ζή-	who lived
4 σασα ἔτη	70 years.
ννν ο'. ννν	

## Critical apparatus

- l. 5: this line is occupied only by the age numeral in the middle denoted by a horizontal bar above.

## Commentary

- ll. 2-3: *Μαρθίνη* and *Μαρθόνη*, a variant also attested in Ghor es-Safi, are commented on in inscr. no. 200.

314. Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner and the lower part of the right side. Inv. no.: Z-82. Dimensions: 0.41x0.32x0.09 m. The inscribed surface has been roughly smoothed, is chipped all around and weathered. The text is engraved in mixed square and round scripts. The letters are fairly well cut but not carefully aligned. Height of letters: 0.02-0.055 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXV

Date: 1st half of 6th c. AD.

[+] <Ἐν>θάδε	Here lies
κῆτε Ἀλφι-	Alfios, (son)
ος Σοέδου,	of Soedos,
4 ζήσας νν	who lived

ν ἔτη ια'.

11 years.

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: a cross should have originally stood at the beginning of the line; νεθάδε for ἐνθάδε: transposition of the first two letters *epsilon* and *nu*; the upper horizontal stroke of the last letter *epsilon* is broken.

l. 2: κῑτε is phonetic spelling for κεῖται.

l. 4: two uninscribed spaces have been left at the end of the line.

l. 5: the text of this line begins after one uninscribed space; the age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above.

## Commentary

ll. 2-3: For the common Semitic name \**Alphi* and its variants, see inscr. no. 2.

l. 3: *Σόεδος* is in all probability the Greek equivalent of the Arabic name Su'aid which is the hypocoristicon of Sa'd, in Greek *Σάδος* (for the etymology of *Σάδος*, see commentary of *Σαδάλλας* in inscr. no. 126; cf. also Sartre 1985, p. 235, s.v. *Σάδος* with all the Hauranian references of this name). It occurs frequently in the Nabataean form š'ydw in Hauran (Al-Khaysheh 1986, p. 183), a region which has yielded as well numerous Hellenized examples of this name. In Hauran, but also in the Negev, the Sinai and at Umm er-Rasas (30 km. SE of Madaba), the name is attested in the following variants: *Σόεδος* (Hauran: Waddington, nos. 2007, 2025, 2251, 2412n; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 796, 801), *Σόεδωζ* (Hauran: Waddington, no. 2161), *Σοέδαζ* (Hauran: *ibid.*, no. 2026), *Σοάιδος* (Hauran: *ibid.*, no. 2196; *PAES* IIIA, no. 36<sup>2</sup>; Sa'ed 1998, pp. 18-19, no. 11; Negev [Avdat]: Negev 1981, no. 1b), *Σοῖδος* (Wadi el-Butum: Sa'ed 1998, p. 25, no. 1b), *Σόηδος* (Wuthnow 1930, p. 110, s.v.), *Σουάιδος* (Negev [Avdat]: Negev 1981, no. 3), *Σουάηδος* (Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, p. 250, no. 6d), *Σουαῖδιος* (Sinai [W.Haggag]: Negev 1977, no. 98), *Σουαῖδ* (Negev [Nessana]: *Nessana* 3, no. 92.18, 19), *Σουαῖδ* (Hauran: *PAES* IIIA, no. 36<sup>3</sup>).

315. Tombstone of white limestone, originally rectangular in shape, vaulted at the top, broken on the upper right side and at the bottom. Inv. no.: Z-83. Dimensions: 0.43x0.37x0.16 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed and is damaged in several places. The text is enclosed within a deeply engraved and vaulted frame. In the immediate space under the vault there is an outlined incised cross. The text is engraved in round script. The letters are big, deeply engraved, fairly well executed and aligned. Height of letters: 0.035-0.065 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXV

Date: 1st half of 6th c. AD.

Ἐν + θά-	Here lies
δε κεῖτε	Doushares,
Δουσάρι-	who lived
4 ς, ζήσας	60 years.
ἔτη ξ. +	

## Critical apparatus

l. 1: an incised cross is partially inserted in the middle of the first line; the upper half of *alpha* is lost.

l. 2: κεῖτε for κεῖται: phonetic spelling of the diphthong αι.

ll. 3-4: Δουσάρις is a shortened form of Δουσάριος.

l. 5: the text ends with a cross similar to that engraved at the top (see l. 1).

## Commentary

ll. 3-4: On the common Nabataean name Δουσάρι(ο)ς, see commentary of inscr. no. 190.

316. Tombstone of yellowish limestone, almost rectangular in shape, vaulted at the top, broken at the bottom with loss of text and chipped on all sides. Inv. no.: Z-117. Dimensions: 0.44x0.35x0.12 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly chipped at the top and flaked off in several places. The inscription is surrounded by a deeply engraved vaulted frame. The text is also

deeply incised in square script. The letters are big, fairly well carved and aligned. Height of letters: 0.03-0.075 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXV*

Date: 1st half of 6th c. AD.

<p>+ Ἐνθ-          ἄδε κῑ-          τε Θεο-          4 δώρα,          ζή(σασα) ..</p>	<p>Here lies          Theodora,          who lived          ...</p>
---	---

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the text begins with a cross placed at a little lower level than the letters of this line.

II. 2-3: κῑτε is phonetic spelling for κεῖται.

I. 5: the line starts with the letters ZH which probably stand for the participle ζήσασα; then follow two letters (with two horizontal bars above) which cannot be identified but they plausibly stand for the age numeral.

#### Commentary

II. 3-4: For the Greek theophoric name *Θεοδώρα*, see inscr. no. 81. For the masculine *Θεόδωρος*, see inscr. no. 112.

**317.** Tombstone of purple and yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape, of which only the upper part is partially preserved with slightly curved corners. Inv. no.: Z-145. Dimensions: 0.27x0.20x0.071 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is badly weathered. The preserved inscription is enclosed within an incised frame. The text is engraved in round script with a few square exceptions. The letters are small, fairly well cut and aligned. Height of letters: 0.008-0.017 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXVI*

Date: 1st half of 6th c. AD.

<p>+ Ἐνθάδε κεῖται          Διονύσις Σαμμάσε-          ου, ζήσας ἐν τῷ βίῳ          4 μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος          ἔτη ξ', καὶ ἀπέθα[ν]εν          [ἐν ἡμέρᾳ] Κυριακῇ. Θ-          [άρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθάνα]-          8 [τος. +]</p>	<p>Here lies Dionysi(o)s,          (son) of Sammaseos,          who lived in this          life 60 years, having          a good name and died          on the day of Sunday.          [Be of good cheer,          no one (is) immortal].</p>
--	---

#### Critical apparatus

I. 1: the inscription opens with a cross.

I. 5: the dubious age numeral is denoted by a horizontal bar above; the sixth letter (*nu*) of the verb ἀπέθανεν is lost.

I. 6: the phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ or simply ἡμέρᾳ is certainly to be restored before Κυριακῇ; the letter *theta* at the end of the line indicates that the expression θάρσει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος occupied the, now lost, next two lines.

#### Commentary

I. 2: The Greek name *Διονύσις* is the contracted form of *Διονύσιος* which is discussed above in inscr. no. 113.

II. 2-3: For the common Semitic name *Σαμμάσεος*, see inscr. no. 184.

I. 5: For "ἀπέθανεν" in the beginning of the epitaph, see inscr. no. 302.

**318.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, vaulted at the top and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-81. Dimensions: 0.565x0.345x0.09 m. The inscribed surface, which has been

smoothed only in the inscribed area and is left unwrought in the lower part, is damaged in various places. The text is engraved and preserves traces of red paint. The script follows the round alphabet with a few square exceptions. The letters are big, fairly well cut with a descending alignment. Height of letters: 0.03-0.05 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXVI

Date: 2nd half of 6th c. AD.

Ἐν + θά-	Here lies
δε κῑτ(αι) Γ-	Georgios,
εὐργιος	(son) of
4 Σεργίου,	Sergios,
ζήσας ἔτι	who lived
κβ'. <i>vacat</i>	22 years.

#### Critical apparatus

l. 1: a big cross with serifs is inserted in the middle of l. 1.

l. 2: the letters KIT followed by the sign S stand as iotacised abbreviation of the passive verb κείται.

l. 5: ἔτι is iotacism for ἔτη.

l. 6: the age numeral is not certain.

#### Commentary

ll. 2-3: The Greek name *Γεώργιος*, a popular one in the Byzantine period (Kajanto 1963, p. 26, n. 1; see also indexes of *LGPN*), occurs with high frequency also in Palestine and Arabia, especially among clergymen. Its popularity is due to the soldier-martyr Saint Georgios who was greatly venerated in these provinces (and in all the East), since according to a certain tradition he was buried in Lydda (Diospolis) where a church was dedicated to him (on St. George's *Passio* as well as on the epigraphical and papyrological evidence related to his cult, see Meimaris 1986, pp. 123-128, nos. 664-691; to this list add Gatier 1986, nos. 43 and 100 a and c = Di Segni 1998, no. 36 a and c; see also Di Segni 1990e, p. 380 and p. 388, nn. 5-9; for the Hauranian cult of St. George, see additionally Waddington, p. 472, no. 1981; Sartre 1985, p. 193). The instances of the personal name *Γεώργιος* in Palestine and Arabia date from the sixth to the eighth c. AD and have been recorded in Golan (Gregg and Urman 1996, nos. 85, 204\*), Hauran (Sartre 1985, p. 193, s.v. *Γηωργία* with the relevant evidence), Galilee (Horvath Hesheq: Di Segni 1990e, pp. 379-385, nos. 1-4), Judaea (Jerusalem: *SEG* 17 [1960], no. 786; the Monastery of Saint Martyrios: Di Segni 1990, pp. 157-158, no. 5; p. 159, no. 7; Batir: *SEG* 8 [1937], no. 230; Kh. el-Beiyûdât [N. of Jericho]: Di Segni 1990b, pp. 268-270, no. 4; Choziba Monastery in the Judean Desert: Schneider 1931, p. 319, nos. 31, 34; p. 320, no. 52; p. 322, no. 95; p. 325, no. 145 [*Γεώργις*]; St. Theoktistos Monastery: Goldfus, Arubas and Alliata 1995, pp. 286-287, no. 5), Sepphoris (Diocaesarea: Di Segni 1995, p. 325 with all the previous bibliography), Gaza (Glucker 1987, pp. 136-138, no. 23; pp. 140-141, no. 33), the Negev (Nessana: *Nessana* 1, nos. 30h and j, 70, 73, 77, 93; *Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 336, s.v.; Shivta: Negev 1981, nos. 50, 58, 68, 74; Rehovot: Tsafirir 1988, p. 172, no. 31A; p. 175, no. 35; Alt 1921, no. 112; Elusa: Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 179, no. 103; p. 181, no. 180), Sinai (Ševčenko 1966, p. 262, no. 3; Negev 1977, nos. 33, 122, 124, 202) and Transjordan (Rihab: Piccirillo 1981, pp. 74-75, 80-81; Umm er-Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, no. 5b; Mafrâq: Gatier and Villeneuve 1993, pp. 10-11, no. 4; Mount Nebo [Wadi 'Ain al-Kanisah]: Di Segni 1998, pp. 449-450, no. 56; Mekawer: Piccirillo 1995, p. 304; Moab: Canova 1954, nos. 33, 66, 68, 69, 91 [el-Kerak], 204 [Ader], 242, 256 ['Ainun], 344 [Mahaiy]).

l. 4: *Sergius*, a Latin name used in the Roman period as a cognomen, was adopted mainly by the Christians from the late fifth to the seventh centuries AD. The remarkable increase in the name's attestation in this period of time especially in the East has been associated with the expansion of the cult of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. Sergius was a soldier-martyr who suffered martyrdom, together with St. Bacchus, under Maximian (ca. AD 312) at Resafa in Syria which was later named after him Sergiopolis and became a great centre of pilgrimage particularly for the Arabs. Sergius was a patron saint of the Ghassanids and of the Arab federates (Shahîd 1989, p. 300; for a thorough study on the cult of St. Sergius in Syria and Mesopotamia, see recently Key Fowden 1999; for the evolution and the use of the personal name Sergius in these areas, see *ibid.*, pp. 101-105). The spread of St. Sergius' veneration in Palestine and Arabia (for inscriptions and papyri from these provinces referring to St. Sergius alone or to Saints Sergius and Bacchus, see Meimaris 1986, pp.



116-117, nos. 627-651) is evidenced both by the numerous religious buildings dedicated to him (for churches of St. Sergius in Hauran, see Sartre 1985, pp. 238, s.v. *Σέργιος*; Key Fowden 1999, pp. 105-112, and in Gaza see Saliou 2000, p. 406 and n. 67) and by the popularity of the personal name *Σέργιος*, borne frequently by ecclesiastical and civil officials. It is noteworthy that in important centres of St. Sergius' cult, such as Hauran and Negev (especially Nessana), a large number of people are named *Σέργιος* (Hauran: Waddington, nos. 2091, 2092, 2158, 2160, 2162, 2389, 2431; *PAES* IIIA, nos. 24, 614, 783<sup>2</sup>, 669 [consul of year AD 350]; Sartre 1982, nos. 9139, 9140; Negev: Nessana: *Nessana* 3, ind. IV, p. 339, s.v. [43 papyri]; *Nessana* 1, ind. D, p. 196, s.v. [13 inscr.]; Shivta: Negev 1981, no. 54 [Φαρανίτης]; Elusa: Alt 1921, no. 66; Kirk and Gignoux 1996, p. 174, no. 10; pp. 180-181, nos. 132, 168; p. 186, no. 293 [*Σέργιος*]; Beersheba: Alt 1921, nos. 20, 35; Rehovot: *ibid.*, nos. 94, 102). The name *Σέργιος* is also attested in Judaea (Ain Samieh, NW of Jerusalem: Meimaris 1986, no. 1270; Judaean Desert: Choziba Monastery: Schneider 1931, p. 321, no. 65; p. 325, no. 140 [Σαρακεύς]; Coenobium of Kastellion: Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 27, p. 112, ll. 23-26 [hegumen]; Coenobium of Spelaion: *ibid.*, 37, p. 127, l. 1 [hegumen]), Beth Shean (Scythopolis: *ESI* 6 (1987/1988), governor; cf. also Meimaris in collab. with Kritikakou and Bougia 1992, p. 86, no. 18 and Di Segni 1995, pp. 319-320), Gaza (Saliou 2000, pp. 405-406, no. 15 [bishop of Gaza]; this is the latest epigraphical example of Sergius dated in AD 732), Sinai (Moses Mountain: Ševčenko 1966, p. 264, no. 13; Wadi Haggag, as pilgrims' name: Negev 1977, nos. 70, 98, 104; Pharan: Grossman, Jones and Reichert 1996, p. 33, no. 8.2 [*Σέργιος*]) as well as in Transjordan (Gerasa: Welles 1938, pp. 469-470, nos. 277, 278; Khirbet es-Samra: Gatier 1998, pp. 384-385, no. 72; Madaba: Gatier 1986, nos. 135, 141, 145, 147; Mount Nebo, Siyagha: Di Segni 1998, pp. 432-433, nos. 11b, 12b; Mekkhayyat: *ibid.*, pp. 442-443, no. 42; pp. 447-448, no. 52; Mekawer: Gatier 1986, no. 177; Umm er Rasas: Piccirillo 1994, pp. 244-246, no. 2; p. 249, no. 5d; pp. 258-259, no. 14; Moab: Canova 1954, ind. onom., p. 424, s.v.).

The name appears also in the feminine form, borne by two important women: a *Σεργία* called κομ(ή)τισσα, i.e. wife of a *comes*, at Hammat Gader (Di Segni 1997, pp. 220-222, no. 37 A,B) and a *Σεργώ*, wife of a *scholastikos*, at Siyagha on Mount Nebo (Di Segni 1998, pp. 429-430, no. 6).

Both names, *Γεώργιος* and *Σέργιος*, were so common, that the above lists are far from being exhaustive.

### C. ILLEGIBLE INSCRIPTIONS

**319.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with yellow stripes, almost rectangular in shape, slightly curved at the corners and broken in the lower right part. Inv. no.: Z-96. Dimensions: 0.47x0.28x0.07 m. The inscribed surface has been smoothed, is flaked off on the left, right and lower sides and almost covered by a thin layer of sand fur and lichens. From the original red painted inscription, which ran approximately in eight lines, only a few letters on the right side and remains of a cross in the centre are discernible. The script follows the round alphabet. The existing letters are small and well drawn. Height of letters: 0.007-0.015 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXVI

Date: 2nd half of 4th c.? AD.

+

AYO[....]  
 [.....]C  
 [- - - -]O  
 4 [- - - -]O  
 [- - - -]AO  
 [- - - -]Θ  
 [- - - - -]  
 8 [- - - -]O

**320.** Tombstone of white yellowish sandstone, originally rectangular in shape. It is curved at the lower left and upper and lower right corners and chipped in the middle of the upper side. Inv. no.: Z-39. Dimensions: 0.34x0.265x0.06 m. The inscribed surface originally had been smoothed in order to receive an epitaph. From this original text, which was later chiselled away, only a few engraved

letters and traces of the incised frame and guide-lines have been preserved at the lower part of the tombstone. In a second use most of the inscribed surface, which was chiselled away, was occupied by a double incised circle, in which an incised cross with flat bars and small circles occupying its centre and its four corners, was inscribed. The blank spaces of the double incised circle were decorated with small dots forming schematic floral motifs. As a result the original shape of the tombstone and maybe its purpose, has been changed. The original text was engraved in round script. The surviving letters are small, nicely carved and well aligned. Height of letters: 0.007-0.012 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXVI

Date: 1st quarter of 5th c. AD.

[- - - -]  
M[.....]O  
PA[.....]KAT  
Θάροι [...]

.....  
  
Be of good cheer?

Critical apparatus

pr. 1. 3: Θάροι for Θάροι: only the upper half of the word is preserved.

Commentary

From the original inscription only the word ΘΑΡΑΙ can be restored with certainty, while the few preserved letters in the two preceding lines plausibly formed part of the date of the death.

**321.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape, broken in the lower left corner and chipped all around. Inv. no.: Z-20. Dimensions: 0.385x0.285x0.11 m. The inscribed surface, which has been smoothed, is chiselled and badly weathered. The inscription is enclosed within a rectangular incised frame, which in the middle of its upper part presents an arched projection designed in order to follow the shape of an incised sun-disc. The vertical and horizontal lines of the frame in their projection are forming triangular motifs. The text is engraved but illegible. Height of letters: 0.011-0.016 m.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXVII

Date: end of 4th - beginning of 5th c. AD.

Commentary

The illegibility of the text is due to the dense chiselling of the inscribed surface and to the fact that two texts of varying characters were written one on top of the other.

**D. TOMBSTONES BEARING ONLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS**

Apart from the numerous inscribed funerary stelae discovered at Ghor es-Safi, there is also a small number of tombstones devoid of any burial text and bearing only a Christian symbol. These stelae were probably intended to simply display the Christian identity of the person buried in the tomb and/or were perhaps the sequel of their owner's penury and humility. The reason of their inclusion in this corpus is that they represent another simpler form of tombstones in this area which for a certain period of time (approximately the second half of the fourth until the first half of the fifth century) were of simultaneous use with the inscribed ones. The shape and the dimensions of these stelae are more or less the same with those of their inscribed counterparts (with a few smaller exceptions), while the symbolic decoration usually occupies the central part of the front surface which is mostly smoothed. The symbols depicted are *cross-rho* monograms, the letters *alpha* and *omega* as well as various types of crosses and of palm branches.

**322.** Tombstone of purple sandstone with white stripes, rectangular in shape and chipped all over. Dimensions: 0.48x0.30x0.12 m. It is the back surface of the inscribed tombstone no. 215. This surface seems to have been the original of this tombstone since its central representation is earlier in date than the text of inscr. no. 215. The depicted symbol is a big deeply engraved cross in the lower corners of which are discernible the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo Pl. LXVII

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 323.** Tombstone of white sandstone, irregular in shape, chipped in the upper and lower parts. Dimensions: 0.50x0.53x0.08 m. Its front surface is occupied by a big incised *cross-rho* monogram ending in linear serifs, below the horizontal bar of which the letters *alpha* and *omega* are discernible.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVII*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.
- 324.** Tombstone of purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, broken in the upper left corner. Inv. no.: Z-251. Dimensions: 0.415x0.34x0.13 m. The front surface, which has been smoothed, is flaked off in the middle of the lower part. On this surface is depicted a circle which encloses a *cross-rho* monogram with linear serifs. The upper corners of the monogram are occupied by two oblique lines forming the upper half of the letter *chi*, initial letter of the sacred name Χριστός. In its lower corners are represented the symbolic letters *alpha* and *omega*. The whole depiction is carefully incised. Height of letters: 0.025-0.04 m.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVII*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.
- 325.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, chipped in the lower part. Dimensions: 0.34x0.27x0.06 m. The upper part of the front surface is ornamented with three heavily red painted simple crosses in a slightly ascending row. Another simple cross has been incised over the middle painted cross. Traces of red painted palm branch in a horizontal position are preserved below the crosses.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVIII*  
Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.
- 326.** Tombstone of white sandstone with grey stripes, almost rectangular in shape (wider at the bottom), flaked in the upper part. Dimensions: 0.29x0.165x0.062 m. The front surface, which is covered with salt crystals, is decorated in the centre with an incised outlined cross composed of intersecting lines.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVIII*  
Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.
- 327.** Tombstone of white sandstone with traces of red paint at the left side, square at the top and pointed at the bottom. Dimensions: 0.42x0.29x0.21 m. In the middle of the front surface is represented a big simple cross inscribed in a circle, both deeply engraved. In each one of the four angles of the cross is engraved an almost symmetrical dot.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVIII*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.
- 328.** Tombstone of light purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape, wider and rounded at the top and narrower at the bottom. Dimensions: 0.355x0.22 (top), 0.175 (bottom)x0.16 m. At the upper part of the front surface is depicted a deeply engraved simple cross enclosed within a lozenge also deeply incised.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXVIII*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.
- 329.** Tombstone of white sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and bearing traces of red paint. Dimensions: 0.29x0.25x0.135 m. On its front surface, which has been nicely smoothed, is represented a simple cross decorated with four dots in each one of its four angles and enclosed within a circle. The depicted symbol is deeply engraved.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXIX*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.
- 330.** Tombstone of brownish purple sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and rounded at the top. Dimensions: 0.325x0.25x0.10 m. The upper part of the front surface is decorated with an outlined cross with serifs inscribed in a circle, both deeply engraved.  
Bibl.: Unpublished. *Photo Pl. LXIX*  
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 331.** Tombstone of grey sandstone, almost rectangular in shape and rounded at the top. Dimensions: 0.33x0.25x0.14 m. On its front surface is depicted an outlined cross with serifs inscribed in a double circle. The outline of the cross is carved in relief, while its interior and the four quadrants of the circle are deeply engraved forming cavities. Each quadrant is decorated with a big dot carved in relief. The same technique is used for the inner line of the double circle, while the outer one is deeply incised.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXIX*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 332.** Tombstone of white-grey sandstone, rectangular in shape and flaked in the upper right corner. Dimensions: 0.49x0.32x0.18 m. The central part of its front surface is decorated with a simple flat cross the outline of which is carved in relief, while in its interior is discernible another simple cross in hollow incision. In each one of the four angles of the cross is engraved an almost symmetrical dot. Traces of red paint are discernible in the cavities of the four angels and the dots. The cross is enclosed within a double circle deeply engraved in its outer part.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXIX*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 333.** This tombstone has been used twice. For a description of both uses see inscr. no. 320.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXX (In this photo the tombstone is presented upside down as it stood in its second use).*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 334.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape, chipped and flaked in the lower part. Dimensions: 0.31x0.225 m. (thickness unrecorded). A deeply engraved outlined cross with linear serifs, surrounded by an also deeply incised arch, occupied the upper part of the front surface.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXX*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

- 335.** Tombstone of grey sandstone with white dots, rectangular in shape and chipped at the top. Dimensions: 0.47x0.255x0.07 m. The central part of its front surface is decorated with a big outlined cross with serifs which encloses a smaller outlined plain cross. The latter bears a rich ornamentation in its interior: a *chi*-sign in its centre, two simple crosses and a two outlined diagonal crosses in relief in each bar; each one of these symbols is enclosed within a square. The upper corners of the outer cross are decorated with a star-like motif, while the lower corners with schematically depicted heraldic peacocks. The whole symbolic scene is engraved.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXX*

Date: Mid-5th c. AD.

- 336.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, almost square in shape. Dimensions: 0.30x0.26 m. (thickness unrecorded). The upper part of the front surface is decorated with a deeply incised palm branch in vertical position bearing three schematically depicted leaves on either side.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXX*

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

- 337.** Tombstone of brownish sandstone, rectangular in shape and broken in the lower left corner. Dimensions: 0.32x0.20 m. (thickness unrecorded). In the upper part of its front surface is deeply incised a palm branch bearing four schematically depicted leaves on either side.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXXI*

Date: End of 4th c. AD.

- 338.** Tombstone of white sandstone, square at the top and rounded at the bottom. Dimensions: 0.31x0.235x0.13 m. Towards the lower part of the front surface is represented a deeply incised palm branch bearing five schematically depicted leaves on each side.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXXI*

Date: Last quarter of 4th c. AD.

**339.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape. Dimensions: 0.33x0.195x0.10 m. Its front surface is occupied by a palm branch bearing six schematically depicted leaves on each side.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXXI*

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

**340.** Tombstone of white sandstone, rectangular in shape and rounded at the top. Dimensions: 0.38x0.265x0.12 m. The front surface is fully occupied by a large palm branch bearing six schematically depicted leaves on each side (those of the left side are partially eroded) and equipped with a horizontal line at the top and a triangular base at the bottom. The symbol is incised but preserves also traces of red paint.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXXI*

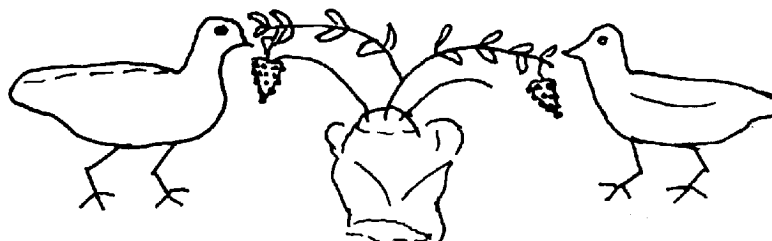
Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.

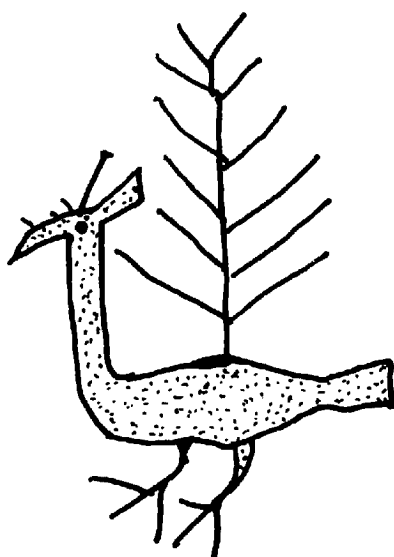
**341.** Tombstone of yellowish sandstone, rectangular in shape with an almost rounded top, chipped in the upper left and lower right corners. It was found in the nearby cemetery of Khirbet Qazone. Dimensions: 0.425x0.265x0.06 m. In the upper part of the tombstone's front surface, which has been nicely smoothed all over, is depicted a schematized vertical palm branch flanked by the symbolic letters A Ω, unequal in size and naively cut (*omega*, which is square in form, looks like a horizontal *theta* due to an additional horizontal line cut inadvertently by the engraver at the upper part of the letter). The whole symbolic scene is slightly incised.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

*Photo Pl. LXXI*

Date: 1st half of 5th c. AD.





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**APPENDIX**  
**NEWLY RECORDED GREEK INSCRIPTIONS**

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## DATED INSCRIPTIONS

## 1. Inv. no.: Z-401

Material: yellowish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.48x0.30x0.085 m

Θάρσι.

Μνημῖ-

ον Οὐαλο-

4 ντίνου Θε-

οδότου, ἁ-

ποθανόν-

τος ἔτ(ους) σκζ'.

Be of good cheer.

Monument of

Valentinus,

son of

Theodotos,

who died in

(the) year 227.

Date: 227 E.P.A. = 22 March AD 332 - 21 March AD 333.



## 2. Inv. no.: Z-411

Material: brownish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.48x0.28 m (thickness unrecorded)

Μνημῖον

Σελαμῖη Πέ-

τρου, ἀποθα-

4 νούσης ἑτῶν

νε', ἔτους σν',

μηνὸς Ξανθι-

κοῦ βκ'. Θάρσι,

8 Σελάμι, ὁ βίος

ταῦ ν τα.

+ +

Monument of

Selamie, (daughter) of

Petros, who died

(at the age) of 55 years,

in (the) year 250,

on (the) 22nd (day) of (the)

month Xanthikos. Be of

good cheer, Selami(e),

that (is) life.

Date: 22 Xanthikos 250 E.P.A. = 12 April AD 355.



## 3. Inv. no.: Z-403

Material: purple sandstone

Dimensions: 0.64x0.43 m (thickness unrecorded)

Μνημῖον

Μιλίχου

Δημητρί-

4 ου, ἀποθ-

ανόντος

ἑτῶν λ',

ἔτους σν',

8 μηνὸς Αὐδο-

ν νέου.

Monument

of Milichos,

son of Demetrios,

who died

(at the age) of

30 years,

in (the) year 250,

in (the) month

of Audynaïos.

Date: Audynaïos 250 E.P.A. = 17 Dec. AD 355 - 15 Jan. AD 356.



## 4. Inv. no.: Z-402

Material: yellowish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.535x0.34x0.09 m

✠

Μνημῖον

Ἀλεξάν-

δρου Παύλου,

4 τελευ&lt;τή&gt;σαντ-

ος ἐτῶν λζ',

μηνὸς Δίου ζ',

ἔτους σνξ'.

8 Θάρσι, οὐδεὶς

ἀθάνατος.

+

Monument

of Alexandros,

son of Paulus,

who died (at the age)

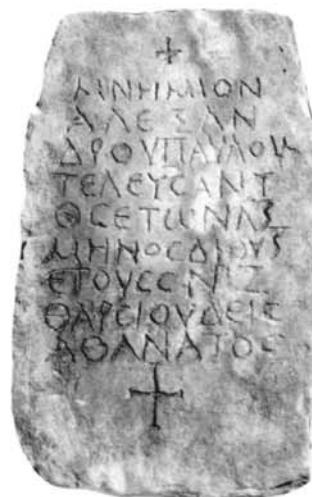
of 36 years, on the 6th

(day) of (the) month Dios,

in (the) year 257.

Be of good cheer, no one

(is) immortal.



Date: 6 Dios 257 E.P.A. = 23 October AD 362.

## 5. Inv. no.: Z-370

Material: purple and yellow sandstone

Dimensions: 0.40x0.265x0.07 m

Μνημῖον Ζ[ήνω]-

νος Μακρίνου, [παυ]-

σάμενος ἐτῶν [...],

4 ἔτους σξζ', μηνὸς

Ἀρτεμεισίου ε',

ἡμέρᾳ Ἑρμοῦ.

Θάρσι, οὐδὶς

8 ἀθάνατος.

✠ ✠ ✠

Monument of Zenon (?),

son of Macrinus, who

died (at the age) of .. years,

in (the) year 267, on (the)

5th (day) of (the) month Artemisios,

on (the) day of Mercury (Wednesday).

Be of good cheer, no one

(is) immortal.



Date: 5 Artemisios 267 E.P.A. = 25 April AD 372.

## 6. Inv. no.: Z-406

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.39x0.24x0.06 m

Μνημῖον

Ἐνίας Παρ-

θενίου ἡ-

4 τὸν κγ', ν

ἡτοῦς σπγ',

μηνὸς Αὐδε-

νέου κς', ν

8 ἡμέρᾳ δ'. ✠ (palm branch)

Monument of

Aeneas, son of

Parthenios, (who died

at the age) of 23 years,

in (the) year 283,

on (the) 26th (day) of (the)

month Audynaios, on (the)

4th day (Wednesday).



Date: 26 Audynaios 283 E.P.A. = 11 January AD 389.

## 7. Inv. no.: Z-371

Material: grey sandstone with dark purple dots

Dimensions: 0.41x0.28x0.12 m

Μνημῖον

τὸν ἀδελ-

φὸν ᾽Αλφι-

4 ον. ᾽Εκυμή-

θεν ἐτὼν

μ'. ᾽Εγράφε

μηνὶ Δεσί-

8 ου, σζγ'. +

+

Monument

of (my) brother

Alphios.

He fell asleep

(at the age) of 40

years. It was written

in (the) month of

Daisios, (in the year)

293.

Date: Daisios 293 E.P.A. = 21 May - 19 June AD 398.



## 8. Inv. no.: Z-373

Material: yellowish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.42x0.245x0.08 m

(sun-disc)

+

Μνημῖον ᾽Ολέ-

φθα Μάρωνος,

ἀποθανόν{ον}-

4 τος ἐτὼν ιβ',

ἔτους σζγ', μην(ὸς)

᾽Αδωνέου πρώτῃ.

Θάρσι, ᾽Ολέφθα, οὐ-

8 δις ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Oleftha,

(daughter?) of Maron,

who died (at the age)

of 12 years

in (the) year 293, on (the)

first (day) of (the) month Audynaïos.

Be of good cheer, Oleftha,

no one (is) immortal.

Date: 1 Audynaïos 293 E.P.A. = 17 December AD 398.



## 9. Inv. no.: Z-378

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.435x0.31x0.09 m

Μνημῖον Εὐσταθία

Μεγεθίου, πανσο-

μένη μετὰ καλ-

4 οῦ ἀνόματος καὶ

καλῆς πίστεως

ἐτὼν νε',

ἔτους τ', μην(ὸς)

8 ᾽Αρτεμισίου ἡ',

ἡμ(έρα) Κυρίου) α'. Θάρσι,

οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-

τος. *vacat*

Monument of Eustathia,

(daughter) of Mēgethios,

who died having a

good name and

good faith (at the age)

of 55 years,

in (the) year 300, on (the) 8th

(day) of (the) month Artemisios,

on (the) 1st day of (the) Lord (Sunday).

Be of good cheer, no one

(is) immortal.

Date: 8 Artemisios 300 E.P.A. = 28 April AD 405.



## 10. Inv. no.: Z-400

Material: yellowish sandstone  
Dimensions: 0.44x0.30x0.07 m

Μνημῖον  
Σωφρονίας  
Βωλανοῦ, ἀπο-  
4 θανόντος νν  
ἐτῶν ιη',  
ἐν ἔτους τα',  
μηνὸς Ξανθι-  
8 κοῦ ακ',  
ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου γ'.  
Θάρσι, οὐδὶς νν  
ἀθάνατος.  
(bird) (bird)

Monument of  
Sophronia, (daughter?)  
of Volanos,  
who died (at the age)  
of 18 years,  
in (the) year 301,  
on the 21st (day) of (the)  
month Xanthikos,  
on (the) 3rd day of (the) Lord  
(Tuesday). Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

Date: 21 Xanthikos 301 E.P.A. = 11 April AD 406.



## 11. Inv. no.: Z-385

Material: yellow and purple sandstone  
Dimensions: 0.345x0.315x0.07 m

Μνημῖον Ὀβέδδου  
Ὀρίωνος [ca. 9-10]  
θανόντος μετὰ καλοῦ  
4 ὀνόματος καὶ καλῆς  
πίστεως ἐν τιζ',  
μηνὸς Δεσίου ιε',  
ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρίου) γ'. Θά-  
8 ρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Obedas,  
(son) of Orion (?) ... who died  
having a good name and good  
faith in (the) year 317, on (the)  
15th (day) of (the) month  
Daisios, on (the) 3rd day  
of (the) Lord (Tuesday). Be of  
good cheer, no one (is) immortal.

Date: 15 Daisios 317 E.P.A. = 4 June AD 422.



## 12. Inv. no.: Z-389

Material: white sandstone  
Dimensions: 0.46x0.37x0.05 m

(palm branch) Μνημῖον Σίλθας  
Αἰνίου, ἀποθανοῦ-  
σα μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-  
4 ματος ἐτῶν ν', ἐν ἔ-  
τι τιζ', μηνὸς Πανέμου δ',  
ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ζ'. ν  
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθά-  
8 νατος. vacat

Monument of Siltha,  
(daughter) of Aeneas, who  
died having a good name  
(at the age) of 50 years,  
in (the) year 317, on (the)  
4th (day) of the month  
Panemos, on (the) 6th day  
of (the) Lord (Friday).  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: 4 Panemos 317 E.P.A. = 23 June AD 422.



## 13. Inv. no.: Z-392

Material: yellow sandstone

Dimensions: 0.36x0.27x0.06 m

(sun-disc)

Εἷς Θεός.

Ἀνάπαυσον

τὸν δοῦλόν

4 Σου Σιλουαν&lt;ο&gt;ν

Παύλου, ἀποθανόντος

μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος

ἐτῶν πέντε, ἐν ἔτει

8 τριακοσσειστοῦ εἰκοσ-

τοῦ δευτέρου, ἐν μηνὶ

Δεσείου τρί-

τη καὶ εἰκάς,

12 ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρίου)ν α΄.

Θάρσι, οὐδὶς

vv ἀθάν&lt;α&gt;τ&lt;ο&gt;ς.

One (is) the God.

(Lord) give rest

to Your servant

Silvanus, (son) of

Paulus, who died

having a good name

(at the age) of five, in

the three hundred

and twenty-second year,

on (the) twenty-third (day)

of the month Daisios, on

(the) 1st day of (the) Lord

(Sunday). Be of good cheer,

no one (is) immortal.



Date: 23 Daisios 322 E.P.A. = 12 June AD 427.

## 14. Inv. no.: Z-390

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.37x0.31x0.04 m

Μνημῖον Οὐβέ-

δα Σούμμου, ἀποθ[α]-

νόντος μετὸ καλ[οῦ]

4 ἀνόματος ἐτῶν

ιβ΄, ἐν ἔτι τκδ΄, μη-

νὸς Αὐδονέου ια΄,

ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρίου)ν ζ΄. Θάρσι,

8 οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος. v

Monument of Obedas,

(son) of Summus, who died

having a good name (at the

age) of 12 years, in (the)

year 324, on (the) 11th (day)

of (the) month Audynaios,

on (the) 6th day of (the) Lord

(Friday). Be of good cheer,

no one (is) immortal.



Date: 11 Audynaios 324 E.P.A. = 27 December AD 429.

## 15. Inv. no.: Z-381

Material: greenish and white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.39x0.33x0.10 m

+

Μνημῖον Σαμάκωνος

Σίλα, ἀποθανόντος

μετὰ καλοῦ ἀνόμα-

4 τος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως

ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα,

ἐν ἔτι τριακοσσια(στοῦ) τρια-

κοστοῦ τετάρτου, μηνὶ

8 Δύστρου κβ΄, ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρίου)ν ε΄.

Θάρσι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνα-

τος.

+

+

Monument of Samakon,

(son) of Silas, who died

having a good name and

good faith (at the age)

of seventy years, in the

three hundred thirty-fourth

year, on the 22nd (day) of

(the) month Dystros, on (the)

5th day of (the) Lord (Thursday).

Be of good cheer, no one (is)

immortal.



Date: 22 Dystros 334 E.P.A. = 7 March AD 440.

## 16. Inv. no.: Z-398

Material: yellow-white gold striped sandstone

Dimensions: 0.51x0.315x0.06 m

(bird) + (bird)

Μνημῖον [Π]ορφυρί-  
<α>ς Σαλαέου, ἀποθα<ν>οῦσα  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνόματος

- 4 καὶ καλῆς πίστεως  
ἐτῶν κ', ἐν ἔτι τλς',  
ἐν μηνὶ Πανέμου δ',  
ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου β'.

Ἀννιανός +

Monument of Porphyria (?),  
(daughter) of Salaeos, who  
died having a good name and  
good faith (at the age) of 20  
years, in (the) year 336, on  
(the) 4th (day) of (the) month  
Panemos, on (the) 2nd day of  
(the) Lord (Monday).

Annianus

Date: 4 Panemos 336 E.P.A. = 23 June AD 441.



## 17. Inv. no.: Z-380

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.54x0.35x0.10 m

+ + +

Μνημῖον Μάλ-  
χη Πέτρου, διακ(όνου),  
παυσαμένη με-

- 4 τὰ καλοῦ ἀνάμα-  
τος καὶ <κα>λῆς πίσ-  
τηως ἐτῶν ν',  
ἔτους τλς', μην(ὸς) ν

- 8 Δύστρου ιη', ἡμ(έρα)  
Κ(υρίου)ν ζ'. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
δὲς ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Malche,  
(daughter) of Petros, (the)  
deaconess, who died having  
a good name and good faith  
(at the age) of 50 years, in  
(the) year 337, on (the)  
18th (day) of (the) month  
Dystros, on (the) 6th day  
of (the) Lord (Friday).  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: 18 Dystros 337 E.P.A. = 4 March AD 443.



## 18. Inv. no.: Z-384

Material: yellow and purple sandstone

Dimensions: 0.425x0.28x0.08 m

Μνημῖον Κύρας  
Διονυσίου, ἀ-  
ποθανοῦσα

- 4 μετὰ καλοῦ  
ὀνόματος καὶ  
καλῆς πίστεως  
ἐτῶν ὀκτώ μικρώ-  
8 τρος, τοῦ ἔτους  
τριακοσσιοστοῦ  
πεντηκαστοῦ πρώ-  
του, μην(ὸς) Ἀπελλέου ιε',  
12 ἡμ(έρα) Κ(υρίου)ν ζ'. Θάρσι, οὐδὲς  
ἀθάνατος. +

Monument of Kyra,  
(daughter) of Dionysios,  
who died having a good  
name and good faith  
younger than eight years  
old, in the three hundred  
fifty-first year, on (the)  
15th (day) of (the) month  
Apellaios, on (the) 7th day  
of (the) Lord (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: 15 Apellaios 351 E.P.A. = 1 December AD 456.





## 19. Inv. no.: Z-412

Material: purple sandstone

Dimensions: 0.55x0.355 m (thickness unrecorded)

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-  
των Δεσπότης.

Μνημῖον Κύρας

4 Καϊάμου, ἀποθα-  
νούσης μετὰ καλ-  
οῦ ὀνόματος ἐτῶ-  
ν λ', ἐν ἔτι τνδ', ἐν8 μηνὶ Ἀρτεμεισί-  
ου ζι', ἡμέρᾳ Κ(υρί)ου ε'.  
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.

One (is) the God, the Lord  
of all. Monument of Kyra,  
(daughter) of Kaiamos,  
who died having a  
good name (at the age)  
of 30 years, in the year  
354, on (the) 17th (day)  
of (the) month Artemisios,  
on (the) 5th day of (the)  
Lord (Thursday). Be of good  
cheer, no one (is) immortal.

Date: 17 Artemisios 354 E.P.A. = 7 May AD 459.



## 20. Inv. no.: Z-387

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.40x0.26x0.08 m

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντων  
Δεσπότης. Μνη-  
μῖον Ἀλφίου

4 Παύλου, ἀποθα-  
νόντος μετὰ κα-  
λοῦ ὀνόματος  
ἐτῶν ἑβδομή-  
8 κοντα, τοῦ ἔτους  
την', δευτέρας ἰνδικ(τιῶνος),  
ἐν μηνὶ Περιτίου  
κδ'. Θάρσει, οὐδὶς  
12 ἀθάνατος.

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.  
Monument of Alphios,  
(son) of Paulus, who  
died having a good  
name (at the age) of  
seventy years, in the  
year 358, in (the) second  
indiction, on (the) 24th  
(day) of (the) month Peritios.  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: 24 Peritios 358 E.P.A., 2nd indiction = 8 February AD 464.



## 21. Inv. no.: Z-410

Material: reddish sandstone with stripes

Dimensions: 0.26x0.40 m (thickness unrecorded)

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

4 [-----]

[-----]

[-----]

[ca. 7] ἐτῶν ε',

8 μηνὸς Δεσίου γ',  
ἐν ἔτι τνθ', ἐν ἡμ(έρα) γ'.  
Θάρσει, οὐδὶς ἀθά-  
νατος. *vacat*

.....  
(at the age) of 15 years, on (the)  
13th (day) of (the) month Daisios,  
in the year 359, on (the) 3rd day  
(Tuesday). Be of good cheer,  
no one (is) immortal.

Date: 13 Daisios 359 E.P.A. = 2 June AD 464.



## 22. Inv. no.: Z-379

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.515x0.24x0.075 m

+

Μνημῖον Γερμα-  
νοῦ Ἰακώβου,  
ἀποθανόντος

- 4 μετὰ καλοῦ  
ὀνόματος ἐτ(ῶν) κέ',  
ἐν ἔτι τξή', μη(νὸς) Ἀρτε-  
μησίου λ', ἡμ(έρα) γ'. Θάρ-  
8 σι, οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Germanus, (son) of  
Iakovos, who died having  
a good name (at the age)  
of 25 years, in (the) year  
368, on (the) 30th (day) of (the)  
month Artemisios, on (the)  
3rd day (Tuesday). Be of good  
cheer, no one (is) immortal.

Date: 30 Artemisios 368 E.P.A. = 20 May AD 473.



## 23. Inv. no.: Z-395

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.295x0.23x0.06 m

Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάντω(ν)  
Δεσπότες. Μνημῖ-  
ον Μαρίας Παύλο-

- 4 υ, ἀποθανούσας  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-  
ματος καὶ καλῆς  
πίστεως ἡτῶν  
8 εἴκουσι πέντε,  
ἐν ἔτι υ', ἐν μη(νὶ) Δύ-  
στρου κ', ἐν ἡμέ-  
ρᾳ Κυρίου ε'. Θάρσι,  
12 θυγάτερ, οὐδὶς  
ἀθάνατος.

+

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all. Monument  
of Maria, (daughter) of  
Paulus, who died having a  
good name and good faith  
(at the age) of twenty-five  
years, in the year 400, on  
(the) 21st (day) of (the) month  
Dystros, on (the) fifth day  
of (the) Lord (Thursday).  
Be of good cheer, daughter,  
no one (is) immortal.

Date: 21 Dystros 400 E.P.A. = 7 March AD 506.



## 24. Inv. no.: Z-383

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.32x0.23x0.10 m

+ Εἷς Θεός, [ὁ] πάν-  
των Δεο[π]ότης.  
Ἐνθάδ[ε κ]εῖτε

- 4 Μα [... Πέ]τρου,  
ζήσα[σα ἔτ]η ογ'  
μετὰ καλοῦ ὀνό-  
ματος, ἀποθανοῦ-  
8 σα μηνὶ Ἀρτε-  
μεσίου ζκ', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)  
πέμπτῃς, υς'.  
Εὐμοίρι, οὐδὶς  
12 ἀθάν ν ατος.

One (is) the God, the  
Lord of all.  
Here lies Ma...,  
(daughter) of Petros (?),  
who lived 73 (?) years  
having a good name, and  
died on (the) 26th (day)  
of (the) month Artemisios,  
in (the) fifth indiction,  
(in the year) 406.  
Have a good fortune,  
no one (is) immortal.

Date: 26 Artemisios 406 E.P.A., 5th indiction = 16 May AD 511.





## 25. Inv. no.: Z-391

Material: white and purple sandstone

Dimensions: 0.38x0.275x0.06 m

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πᾶν-  
των Δεσπ[ότης].

Μνημῖον Κύ[ρας]

4 Ἡλιοῦ, ζήσασα μ[ε]-  
τὰ καλοῦ ὀνόμ(ατος)  
ἔτη ιη', ἀποθ(α)ν(ούσης)  
μηνὶ Ἀρτεμη-

8 σίῳ α', ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ', ἔτ(ους)  
υλ'. Θάρσι, οὐδι-  
ς ἀθάνατο<ς>. +

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.

Monument of Kyra,

(daughter) of Elias, who

lived 18 years having a  
good name, and died on  
(the) 1st (day) of the month

Artemisios, in (the) 13th  
indiction, in (the) year 430.

Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: 1 Artemisios 430 E.P.A., 13th indiction = 21 April AD 535.



## 26. Inv. no.: Z-397

Material: yellow sandstone

Dimensions: 0.68x0.40x0.16 m

+ Ἐνθάδε κτε  
Θεόδ<ω>ρος Γεω-  
ργίου, ζήσας ἡμ-

4 έρας π(έν)τε, ἐν μην(ὶ) Ξ-  
αθ<ι>κοῦ, τοῦ <ε>τ<ους> νοθ'.

Here lies Theodoros,

(son) of Georgios,

who lived five days

(and died) in the month

of Xanthikos, in the

year 479.

Date: Xanthikos 479 E.P.A. = 22 March - 20 April AD 584.



## NON-DATED INSCRIPTIONS

## 27. Inv. no.: Z-372

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.48x0.30x0.09 m

Μνημῖον

Ἀλουούφα Ἀ-

βδ&lt;άλ&gt;γου κὲ Σίλθ-

- 4 α κὲ Ἐνη, θυγά-  
τηρ αὐτῇ(ς), πα-  
ρθένον.

Monument of

Alououfas, (son) of

Abdalges, and of

Siltha and of her  
virgin daughter

Enne.

Date: Possible date that of the earthquake of AD 363

(due to the lettering and the common burial, cf. inscr. no. 22).



## 28. Inv. no.: Z-377

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.465x0.31x0.06 m

+

Μνημῖ-

ον Ὀκεῦ-

λου, Φαι-

- 4 νοισί(ου).

+ ρ

Monument

of Okeilos,

from Feinan.

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.

Note: The text is almost identical to that of inscr. no. 268.



## 29. Inv. no.: Z-386

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.28x0.29x0.08 m

Μνημῖον

Δημητρί[ο]υ

Ζήγ[ωνος?]

- 4 ΛΗΤ[...]

Μ[.....]

Monument of

Demetrios,

(son) of Zenon (?)

.....

Date: 2nd half of 4th c. AD.



## 30. Inv. no.: Z-413

Material: brownish sandstone with white stripes  
 Dimensions: 0.27x0.38 m (thickness unrecorded)

Μνημῖον Παύ-  
 λου Ἀβδαλμί-  
 θαβος, Πετρέ-  
 4 ος, ἡτῶν ἡ΄.

✠ (palm branch)

Monument of Paulus,  
 (son) of Abdalmithabos  
 (or Abdalmithabos, son  
 of Paulus), from Petra,  
 (who died at the age)  
 of 8 years.

Date: last quarter of 4th c. AD.



## 31. Inv. no.: Z-388

Material: reddish sandstone  
 Dimensions: 0.44x0.30x0.065 m

Μνημῖον  
 Ἐφθαίου Ἀρ-  
 [τ]εμίου, ἄ-  
 4 ποθανάν-  
 τος ἡτ(ῶν) ν΄.

+

Monument of  
 Efthaos, (son)  
 of Artemios,  
 who died  
 (at the age) of  
 50 years.

Date: late 4th-early 5th c. AD.



## 32. Inv. no.: Z-396 (Umm-Tawabeen)

Material: yellowish sandstone  
 Dimensions: 0.58x0.37x0.21 m

Ὅκτῳ σὺν  
 δεκάδεσει βι-  
 οὺς ἔτη τετρά-  
 4 αι, κεῖται Λυσί-  
 ας ἐν τύμβῳ  
 τῷδε κατα-  
 φθίμενος.

(Here) lies Lysias  
 who, having lived  
 eight years in addition  
 to four decades, is  
 buried in this  
 tomb.

Date: late 4th - early 5th c. AD.

Bibl.: Corbo 1963-64, pp. 235-236, no 4.



## 33. Inv. no.: Z-405

Material: yellowish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.285x0.18x0.045 m

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Ἰωάννης  
Ἰσιδώρου, ἀποθα-  
νόντος μηνῶν δέ-4 [κα ca. 11]  
[-----]Monument of  
Ioannes, (son)  
of Isidoros,  
who died ten  
months old  
.....

Date: 1st quarter of 5th c. AD.

## 34. Inv. no.: Z-409

Material: yellowish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.485x0.42x0.08 m

(sun-disc)

Μνημῖον Μα-  
τρώνη Σίλου,  
παυσομένης με-  
4 τὰ καλοῦ ἀνό-  
ματος καὶ καλῆς πίστεως [...] [...]  
[....] ἔτους τριακοσσειοστοῦ  
[....] μηνὸς Δεσίου ὀκτάδι  
8 εἴκοσι, ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου ἐβδόμη.  
Θάρσι, Ματ-  
ρώνα, οὐδὲς ἀ-  
{ἀ}θάνατος, ἐτ- +  
12 ν ὦν  
vacat νη'. vacat

Monument of  
Matrona, (daughter) of Silas,  
who died having  
a good name and  
good faith . . . .  
. . . . in the three hundred  
. . . . year, on the twenty-eighth  
of (the) month Daisios,  
on (the) seventh (day) of (the)  
Lord (Saturday).  
Be of good cheer, Matrona,  
no one (is) immortal.  
(She died at the age)  
of 58 years.



Date: 1st quarter of 5th c. AD.

## 35. Inv. no.: Z-394

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.575x0.30x0.10 m

+

Μνημῖον Ὀββης, ἀπο-  
θανούσης μετὰ καλῆς  
πίστεως καὶ καλοῦ  
4 ὀνόματος ἐτ(ῶν) ιβ',  
ἐν μηνὶ Λῶου δ',  
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυρίου  
τετάρτη. Θάρσι, οὐ-  
8 δις ἀθάνατος.

Monument of Obbe,  
who died having a good  
faith and good name  
(at the age) of 12 years,  
on (the) 4th (day) of (the)  
month Loos, on the fourth  
day of (the) Lord (Wednesday).  
Be of good cheer, no one  
(is) immortal.



Date: 2nd quarter of 5th c. AD (4 Loos = 23 July).

## 36. Inv. no.: Z-393

Material: greenish-yellow sandstone

Dimensions: 0.47x0.275x0.09 m

+ + + +

Εἷς Θεὸς Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστ)έ. +

Μνημῖον τῆς

δούλης Σου Οὐα-

4 λεντῖνα, ἀποθα-  
νοῦσα μετὰ κα-  
λοῦ ὀνόματος  
καὶ κα[λῆς ...]

8 [- - - -]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

One (is) the God,  
Jesus Christ.Monument of His  
servant Valentina,  
who died having  
a good name and  
good ....

Date: mid-5th c. AD.



## 37. Inv. no.: Z-407

Material: reddish sandstone

Dimensions: 0.49x0.31x0.07 m

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

4 [- - - -]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

8 [- - - -]

Θάρσι, Σαώλα,

οὐδὲς ἀθάνα-

+ τος. +

.....

Be of good cheer,  
Saolas, no one  
(is) immortal.

Date: mid-5th c. AD.



## 38. Inv. no.: Z-376

Material: white sandstone

Dimensions: 0.26x0.16x0.07 m

+ Εἷς Θεός, ὁ πάν-

των Δεσπότης.

Μνημῖον

4 ΠΑ[ca.7]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

[- - - -]

8 [- - - -]

One (is) the God,  
the Lord of all.  
Monument of

.....

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD.



39. Inv. no.: Z-382  
Material: white sandstone  
Dimensions: 0.37x0.275x0.06 m

+  
Μνημῖο<v>  
Κασσίς(ου)  
Ἀμύ + ντου.

Monument  
of Kassisos,  
(son) of Amyntas.

Date: 2nd half of 5th c. AD.

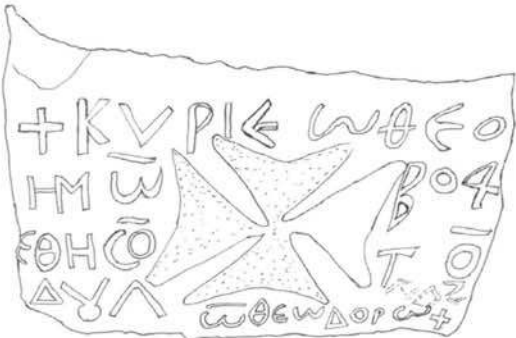


40. Inv. no.: Z-408 (Kh. Sheikh 'Isa)  
Material: white sandstone  
Dimensions: 0.29x0.50 m (thickness unrecorded)

+ Κύριε ὦ Θεός<ς>  
ἡμῶ(ν), βο- +  
ἐθησο(ν) + τὸ(ν)  
4 δοῦλω(ν) Θεώδορω(ν). +

Lord our God,  
help (Your) servant  
Theodoros.

Date: 6th c. AD.



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## INDICES

All indices refer to inscription numbers which are accompanied by line numbers of smaller size following a period. Each entry (excluding the personal names) is given in the dictionary form in bold and then come the word's inflected, abbreviated or vernacular forms. The brackets of restoration are kept but the dots of doubtful letters are not indicated. The partially preserved words or phrases are denoted as mutilated (mut.), those completely lost as restored (rest.), while those inadvertently omitted by the letter-cutter as completed (compl.). The article and the conjunction καί are not included in the index of Greek vocabulary.

### 1. DIVINE NAMES

#### a. Pagan

**\*Αρης:** \*Αρεως 12.9, 21.7, 54.12, 69.7, 82.10, 211.9; \*Αρεος 216.8; cf. also Index 5f  
**\*Αφροδίτη:** \*Αφροδίτης 28.7, 38.8-9, 63.8, 64.7, 75.6, 87.8  
**\*Οφροδίτης** 70.7, 281.9; cf. also Index 5f  
**\*Ερμής:** \*Ερμού 10.7, 11.7, 42.9-10, 65.9, 66.8; cf. also Index 5f  
**Ζεύς:** Διός 5.8, 31.10, 39.6, 51.6, 60.6, 67.11; cf. also Index 5f  
**\*Ήλιος:** \*Ηλίου 41.7, 45.7-8, 52.13, 71.11, 72.7; cf. also Index 5f  
**Κρόνος:** Κρόνου 25.6, 44.9, 93.7; cf. also Index 5f  
**Σελήνη:** Σελήνης 7.8-9, 23.8-9, 24.10, 56.6, 74.6; cf. also Index 5f

#### b. Christian

**Αω:** 63, 69, 86, 87, 125, 135, 148, 175, 255, 303, 311, 322-324, 341  
**Δεσπότης:** cf. Θεός  
**Θεός:** εὐλογητός ὁ Θεός 154.1  
ὁ Θεός ἀθάνατος 11.9  
ὁ Θεός ἀναπούσι σ<έ> 225.15  
ὁ Θεός καὶ ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) αὐτοῦ 28.8  
δοξάσι τὸν Θεόν 246.10  
εἰς Θεός: 20.1, 23.12, 86.1, 93.1, 102.1 (mut.), 114.1, 116.1, 117.1 (rest.), 142.1, 150.1, 153.1, 158.1, 164.1, 167.1, 174.1, 176.1, 179.1, 184.1, 186.1 (mut.), 187.1, 188.1, 190.1, 193.1, 195.1, 198.1, 199.1, 200.1, 201.1, 203.1, 205.1-2 (rest.), 206.1, 207.1, 303.1-2, 304.1; εἰς Θεός 98.1  
εἰς ὁ Θεός 264.1  
εἰς Θεός βοηθός 192.1  
εἰς Θεός ὁ βοηθῶν 159.1; εἰς Θεός ὁ βοηθῶν 197.1  
εἰς Θεός ὁ μόνος 71.1-2, 305.1-2, 306.1-2; εἰς Θεός μάνος 171.8-9  
εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης 101.1-3, 156.1-2, 162.1-3, 196.1-2, 202.1-2 (rest.), 209.1-2, 210.1-2, 215.1-3, 216.1-2 (mut.), 220.1-3, 221.1-2 (mut.), 222.1-2, 224.1-2, 226.1-3, 227.1-4, 230.1-2, 231.1-2, 233.1-2, 234.1-2, 235.1-2, 242.1-2,

247.1-2 (mut.), 248.1-2, 253.1-3, 257.1-2 (mut.), 309.1-3, 310.1-2, 311.2-3; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης 246.1-2, 250.1-2; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπ(ότης) 255.1 (rest.), 261.1-2, 263.1-2; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπ(ότης) 262.1-2; ἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης 225.1-3; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης 252.1-2; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότης 214.1-2, 237.1-3, 238.1-3, 251.1-2, 307.1-2, 308.1-2 (compl.); εἰς Θεός ὁ πόντων Δεσπότης 219.1-2  
εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότες 236.1-2, 239.1-3, 240.1-2, 244.1-3; εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπότες 241.1-3; εἰς Θεός ὁ π(άντων) Δεσπότες 245.1-2  
εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δεσπάτης 218.1-2; εἰς Θεός ὁ πόντων Δεσπάτης 229.1-2  
εἰς Θεός ὁ πάντων Δησπότης 232.1-3; εἰς Θεός ὁ π(άντων) Δησπάτης 225.1-3  
**\*Ἰησοῦς:** ὁ Κ(ύριος) Ἰη(σοῦς) ἀναπαύση 125.8  
<Κ>(ύρι)ε Ἰη(σοῦ) ἀνάπ<α>(υσον) 106.9  
Χ(ριστὲ) Ἰη(σοῦ) σ(ῶσον) 150.11  
**Κύριος:** cf. Ἰησοῦς  
εὐλογητός <ὁ> Κ(ύριος) 152.1  
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## 7. NUMERALS (excluding numerical letters)

### a. Cardinals

**εἷς**: cf. Index 1b, s.v. Θεός; cf. also  
ἐνενήκοντα  
**δύο**: δύο 10.4, 84.3; cf. also εἴκοσι  
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**τρῆς**: τρεῖς 45.4  
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**πρώτος**: cf. τριακοστός, πενηκοστός,  
τριακοσιοστός  
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δέκατος  
**δεύτερος**: cf. εἰκοστός, τριακοστός  
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ἑνατος: cf. τεσσαρακοστός, ἑνενηκοστός  
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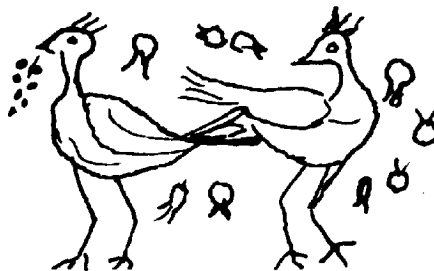
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# PHOTO PLATES

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Inscr. 1



Inscr. 3



Inscr. 4



Inscr. 5



Inscr. 6



Inscr. 7



Inscr. 8



Inscr. 9



Inscr. 11



Inscr. 13



Inscr. 14



Inscr. 15





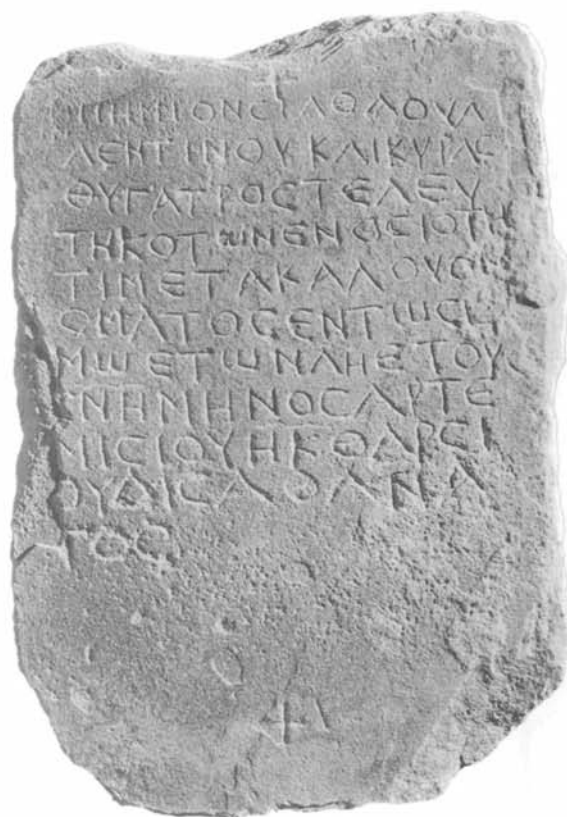
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Inscr. 21



Inscr. 22





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Inscr. 24



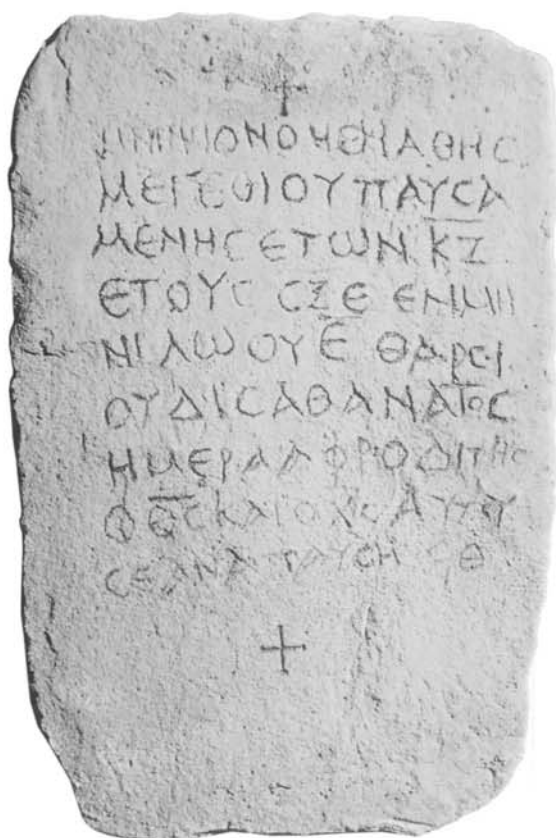
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Inscr. 27



Inscr. 28



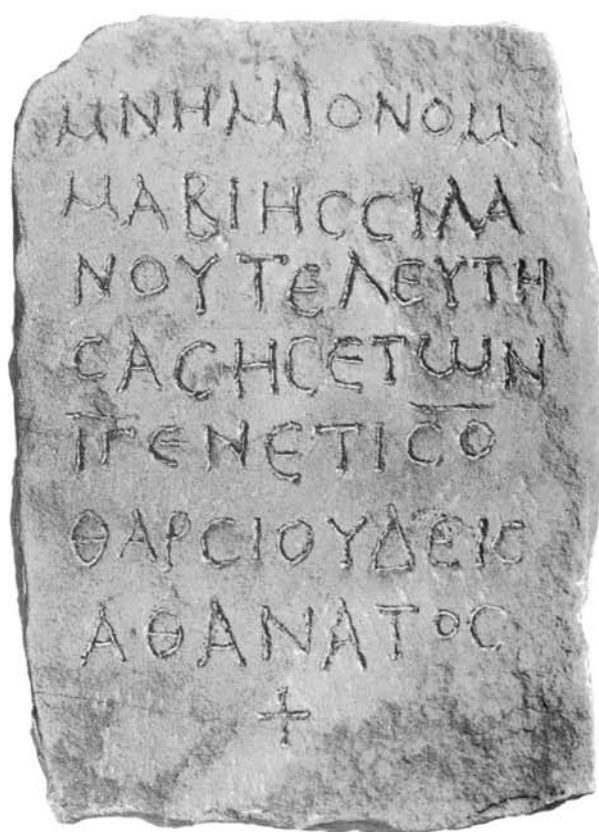
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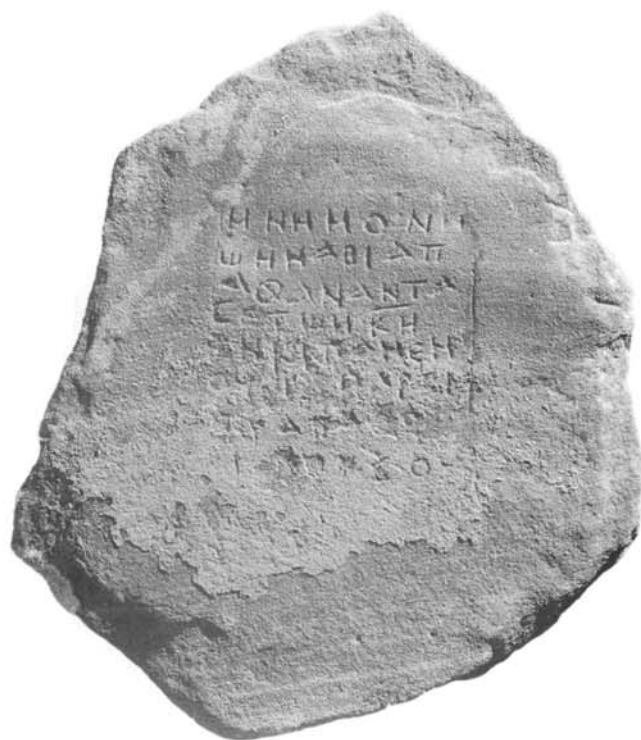
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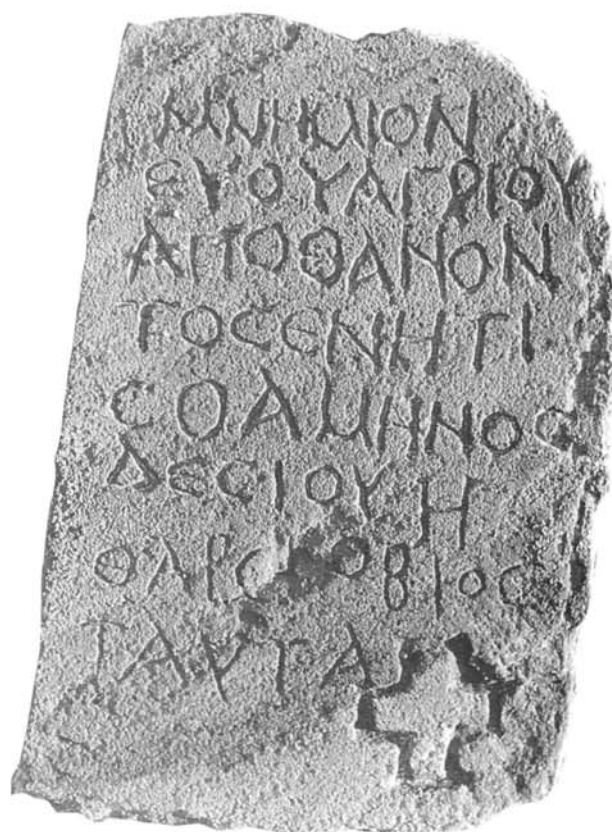
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Inscr. 35



Inscr. 36



Inscr. 37



Inscr. 38

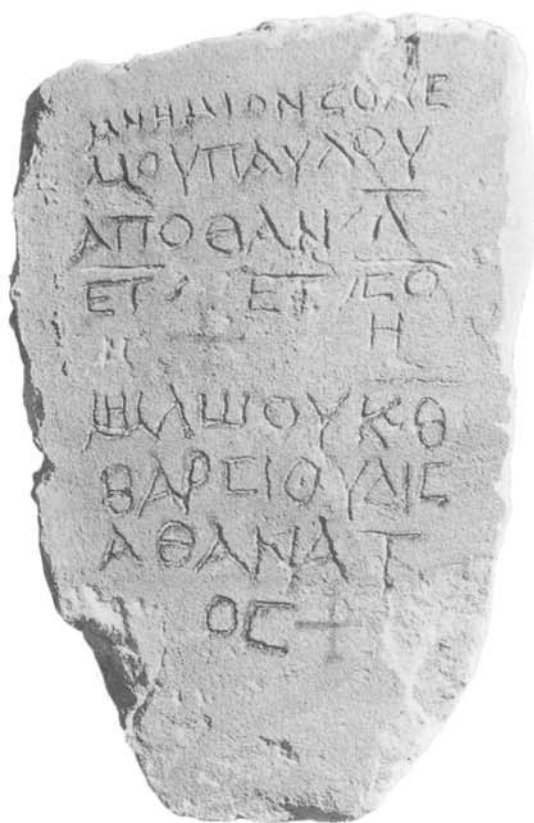


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Inscr. 40





Inscr. 43



Inscr. 44



Inscr. 45



Inscr. 46



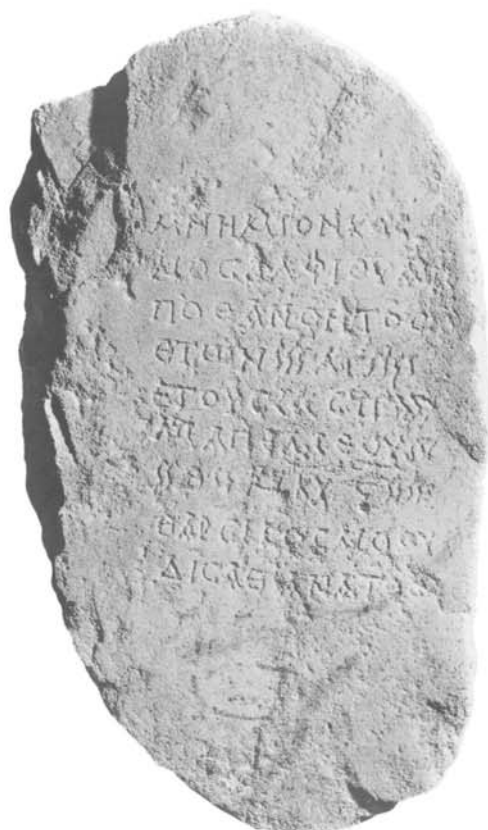
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Inscr. 48



Inscr. 49



Inscr. 50



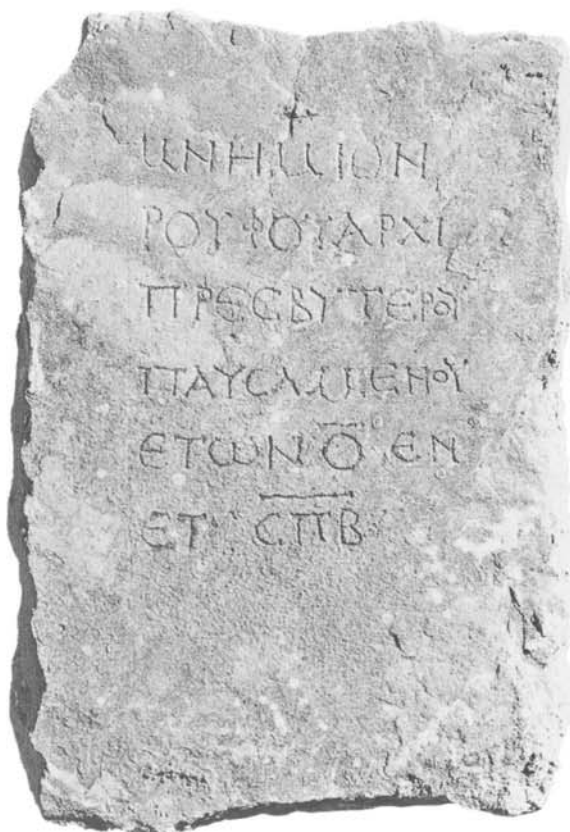
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Inscr. 53



Inscr. 54



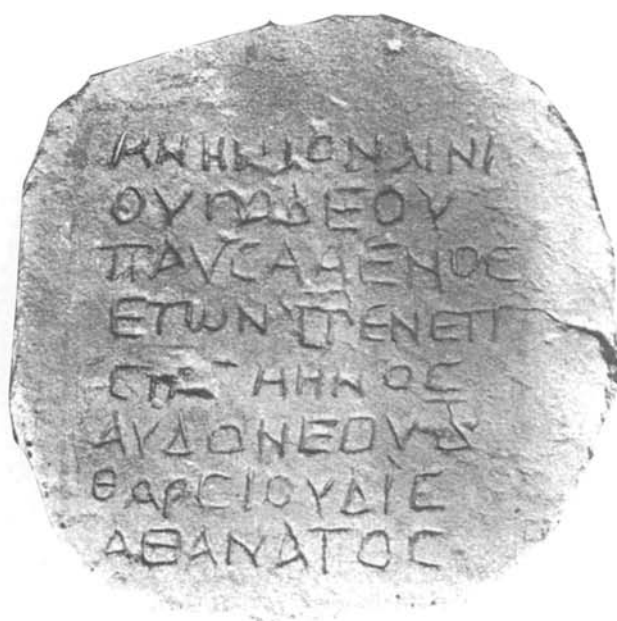
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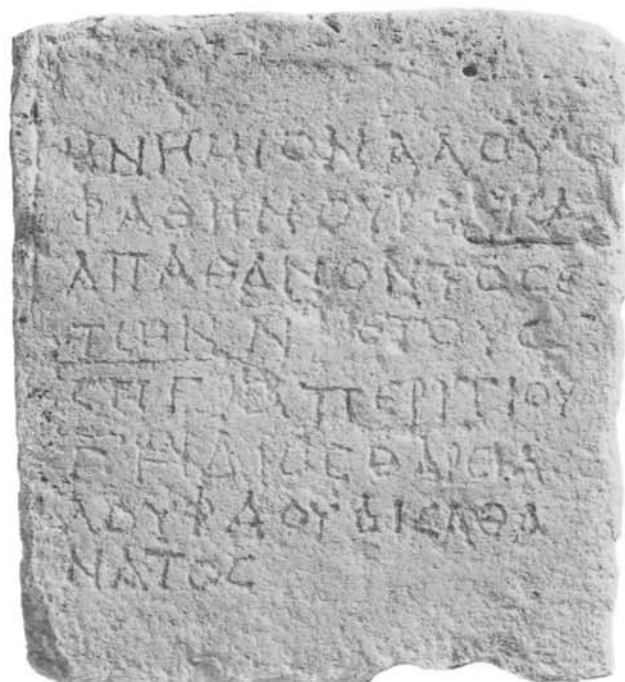
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Inscr. 58



Inscr. 59



Inscr. 60





Inscr. 61



Inscr. 62



Inscr. 63



Inscr. 64



Inscr. 65



Inscr. 66



Inscr. 67



Inscr. 68



Inscr. 69



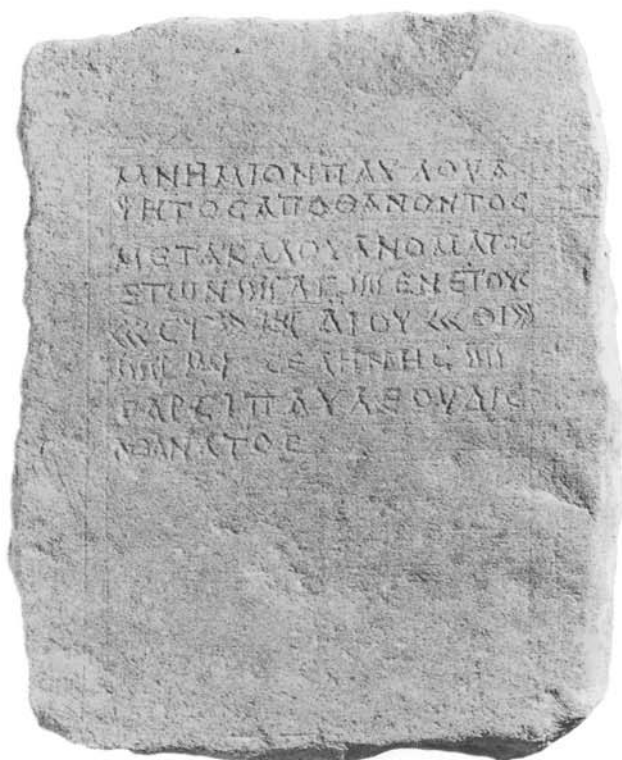
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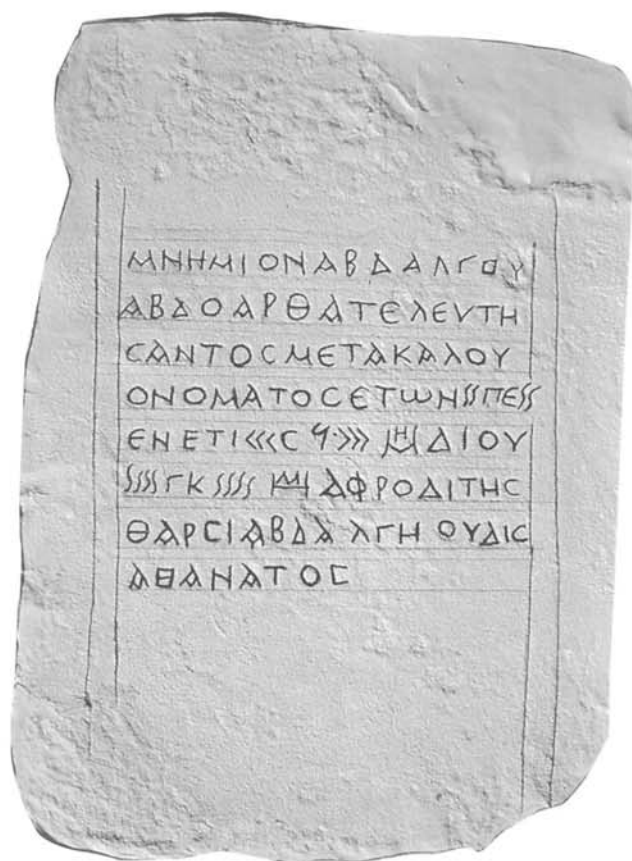
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Inscr. 73



Inscr. 74



Inscr. 75



Inscr. 76



Inscr. 77





Inscr. 79



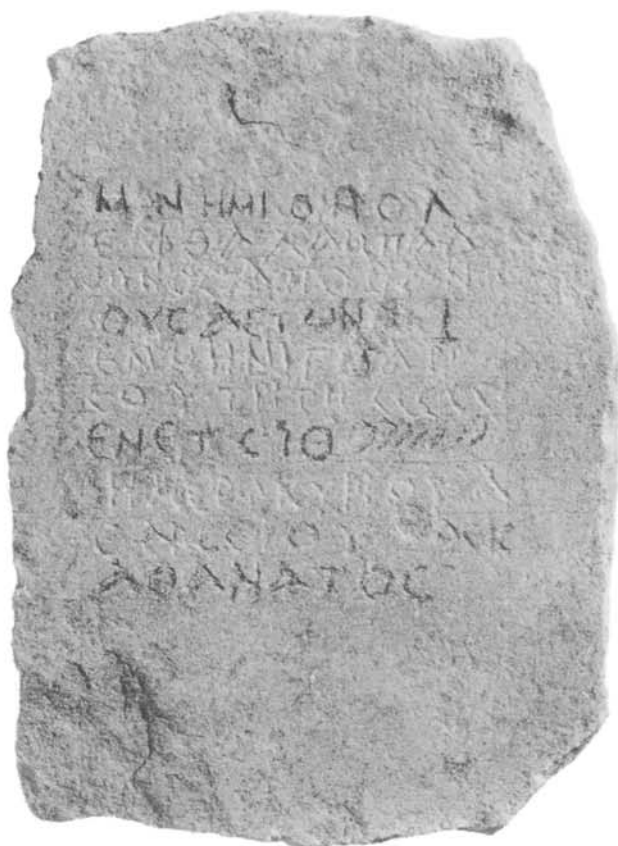
Inscr. 81



Inscr. 82



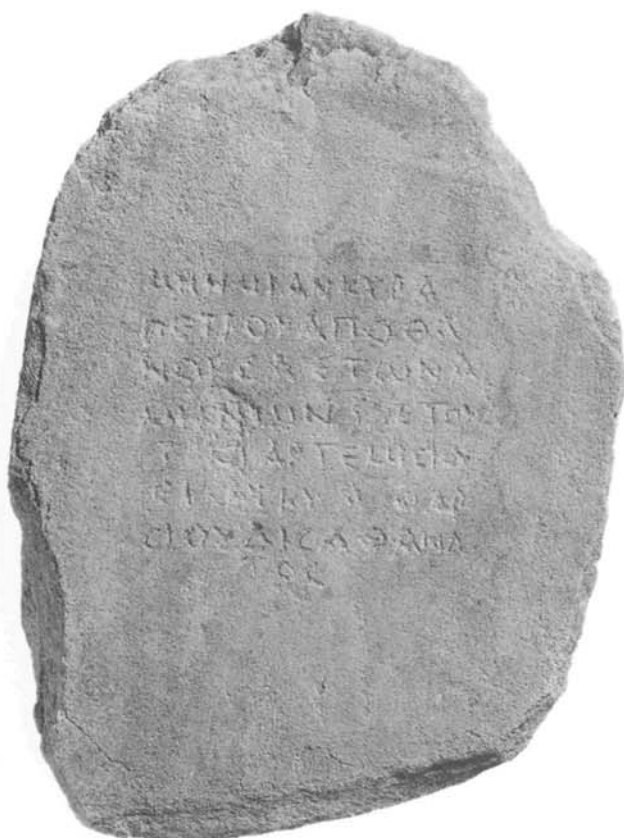
Inscr. 84



Inscr. 85



Inscr. 86



Inscr. 88



Inscr. 90



Inscr. 91



Inscr. 92



Inscr. 93



Inscr. 94



Inscr. 95



Inscr. 97



Inscr. 98



Inscr. 99





Inscr. 101



Inscr. 102



Inscr. 103



Inscr. 104



Inscr. 105



Inscr. 106



Inscr. 107



Inscr. 108



Inscr. 109



Inscr. 111



Inscr. 114



Inscr. 115



Inscr. 116



Inscr. 117



Inscr. 118



Inscr. 119

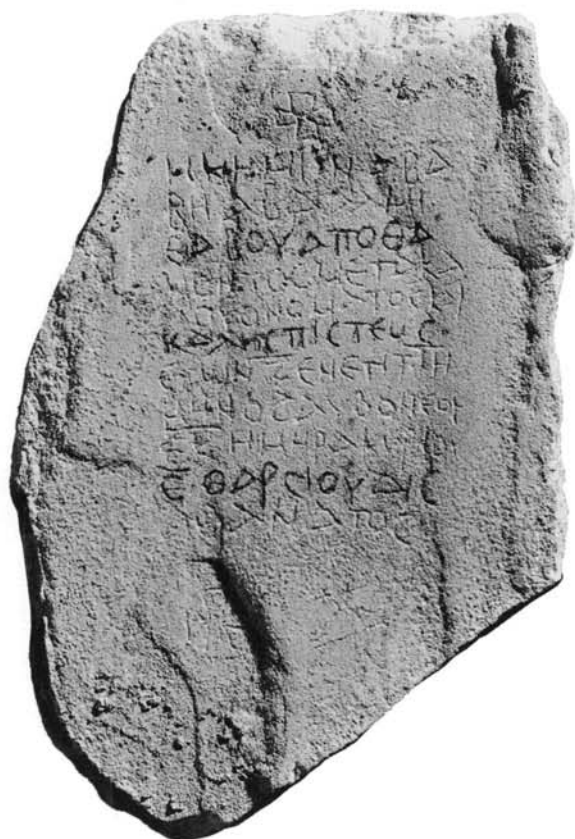




Inscr. 120



Inscr. 121



Inscr. 123



Inscr. 124



Inscr. 125



Inscr. 126



Inscr. 127



Inscr. 128



Inscr. 129



Inscr. 132



Inscr. 133



Inscr. 134







Inscr. 140



Inscr. 141



Inscr. 142



Inscr. 143



Inscr. 144



Inscr. 145



Inscr. 146



Inscr. 147



Inscr. 151



Inscr. 152



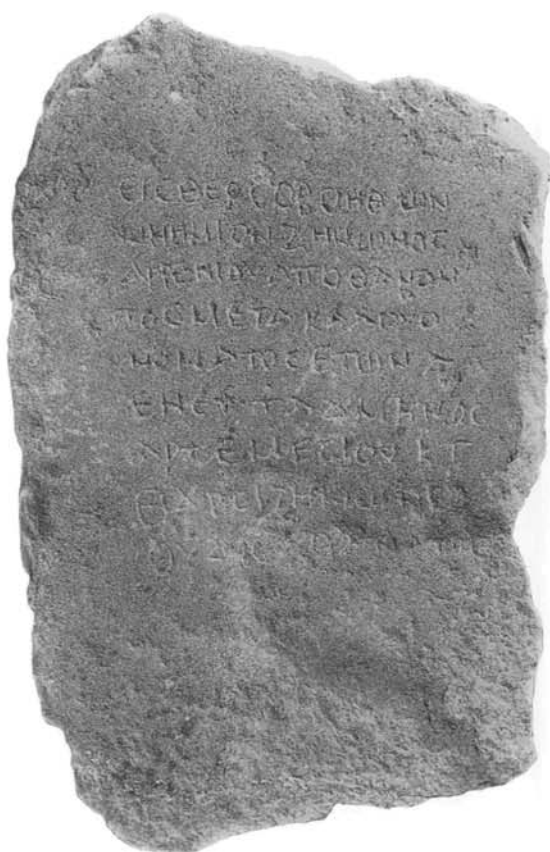
Inscr. 153



Inscr. 155



Inscr. 157



Inscr. 159



Inscr. 160



Inscr. 161





Inscr. 162



Inscr. 163



Inscr. 165



Inscr. 166



Inscr. 167



Inscr. 168



Inscr. 170



Inscr. 171



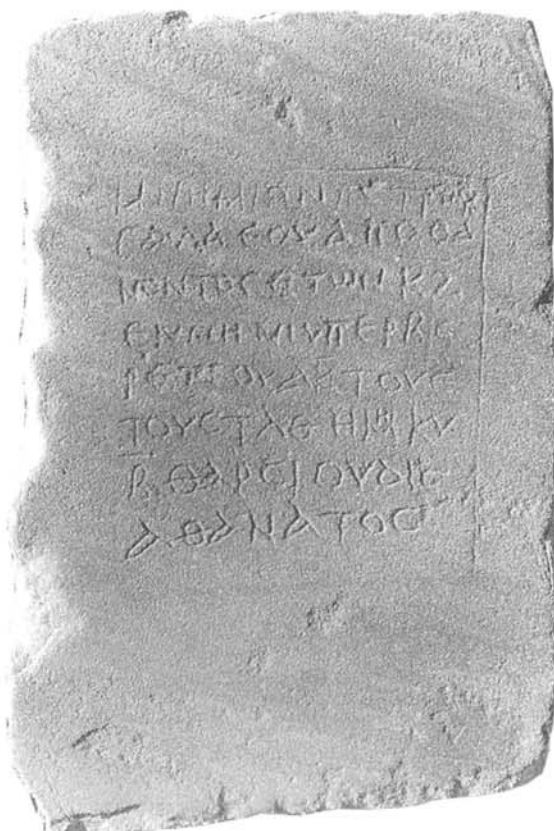
Inscr. 173



Inscr. 174



Inscr. 175



Inscr. 177



Inscr. 178



Inscr. 179



Inscr. 180



Inscr. 181

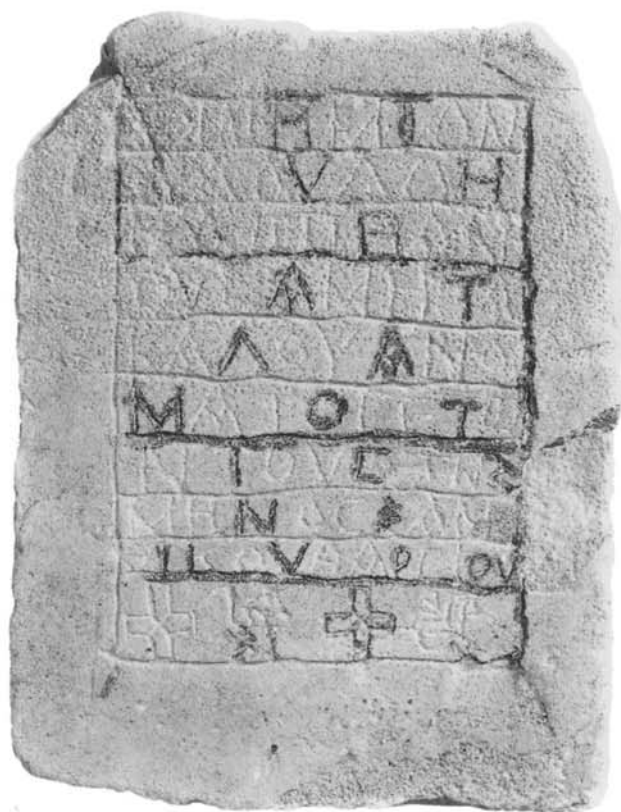




Inscr. 182



Inscr. 184



Inscr. 185



Inscr. 186



Inscr. 187



Inscr. 188



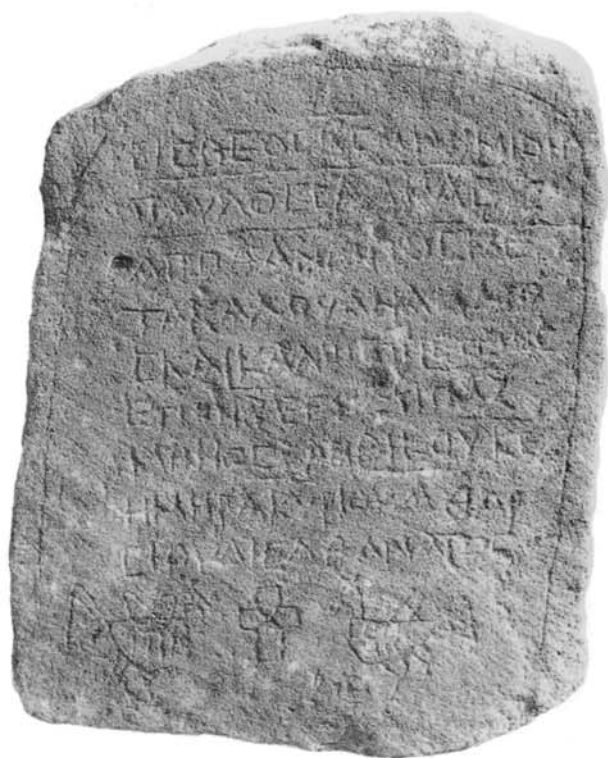
Inscr. 189



Inscr. 190



Inscr. 191



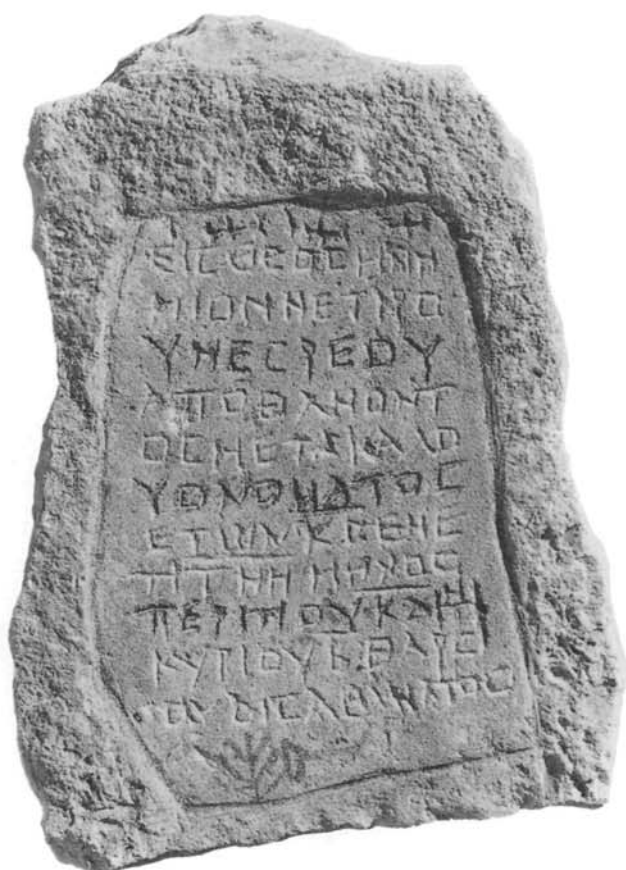
Inscr. 192



Inscr. 194



Inscr. 197



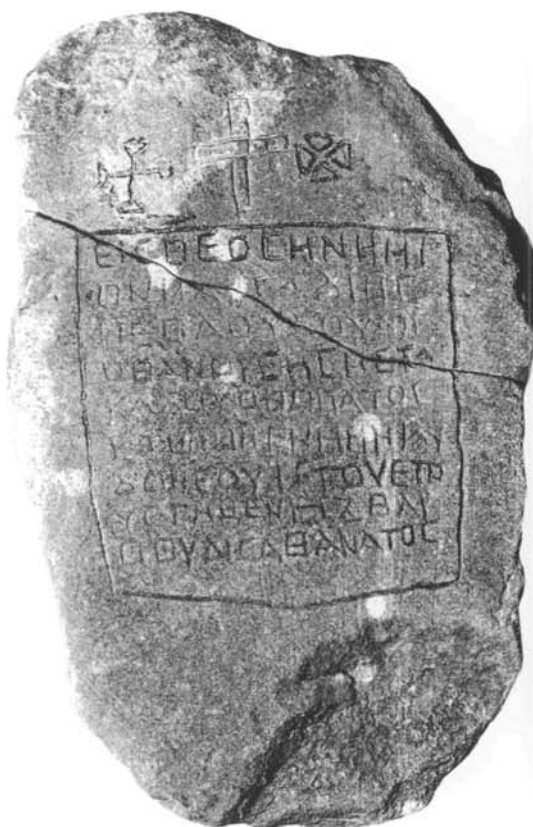
Inscr. 198



Inscr. 199



Inscr. 200



Inscr. 201





Inscr. 202



Inscr. 203



Inscr. 204



Inscr. 205

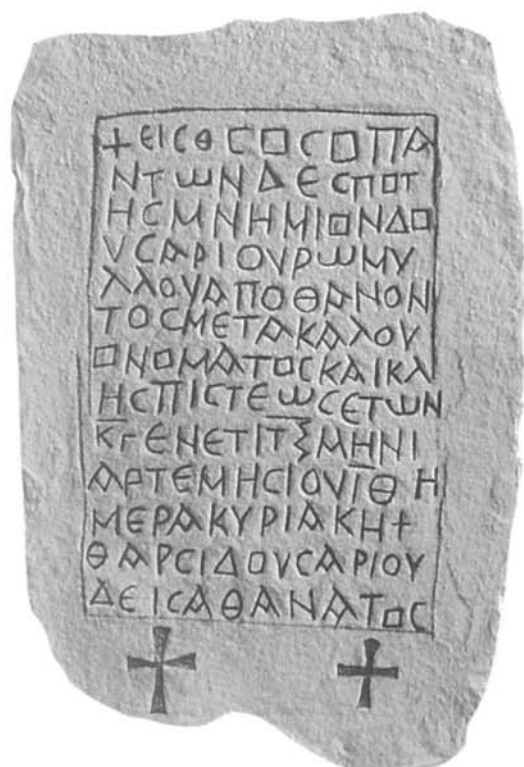




Inscr. 211



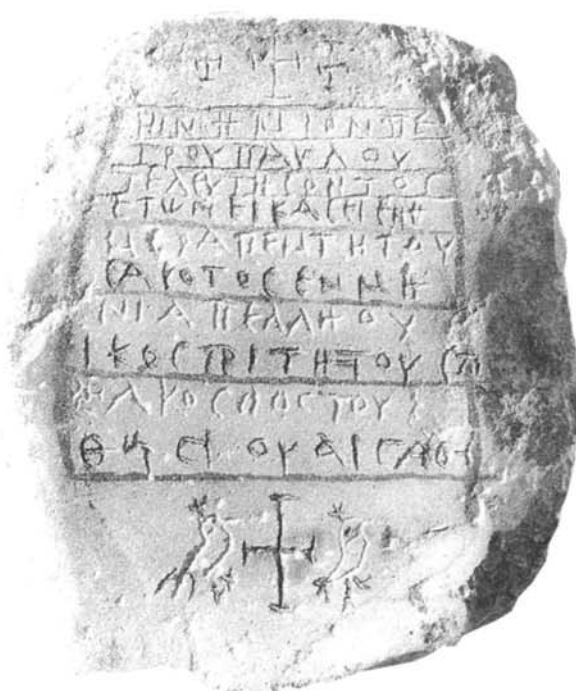
Inscr. 213



Inscr. 215



Inscr. 216



Inscr. 217



Inscr. 218



Inscr. 219



Inscr. 220





Inscr. 221



Inscr. 223



Inscr. 224



Inscr. 226



Inscr. 228



Inscr. 230



Inscr. 231



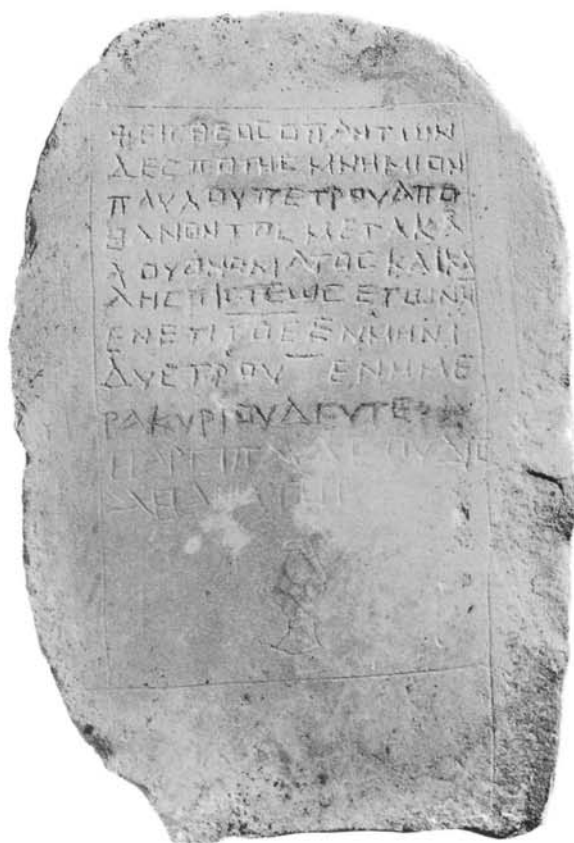
Inscr. 232



Inscr. 233



Inscr. 234



Inscr. 235



Inscr. 236



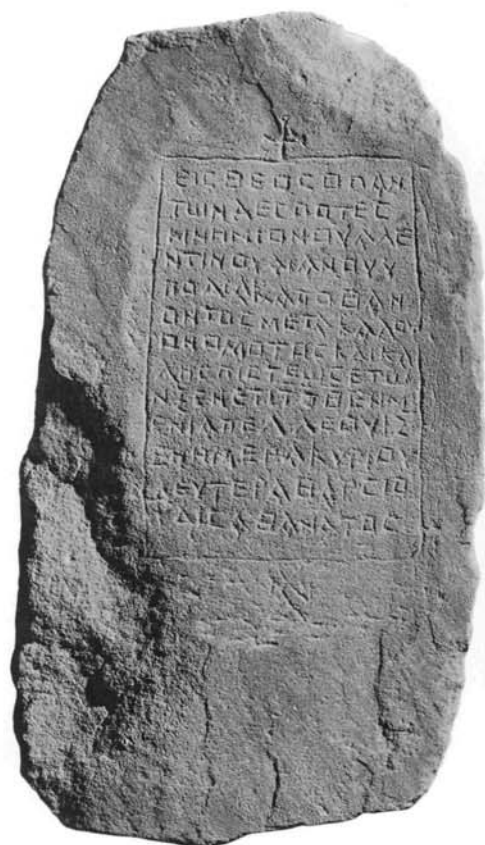
Inscr. 237



Inscr. 238



Inscr. 239



Inscr. 240





Inscr. 241



Inscr. 242



Inscr. 243



Inscr. 244



Inscr. 246



Inscr. 247



Inscr. 248



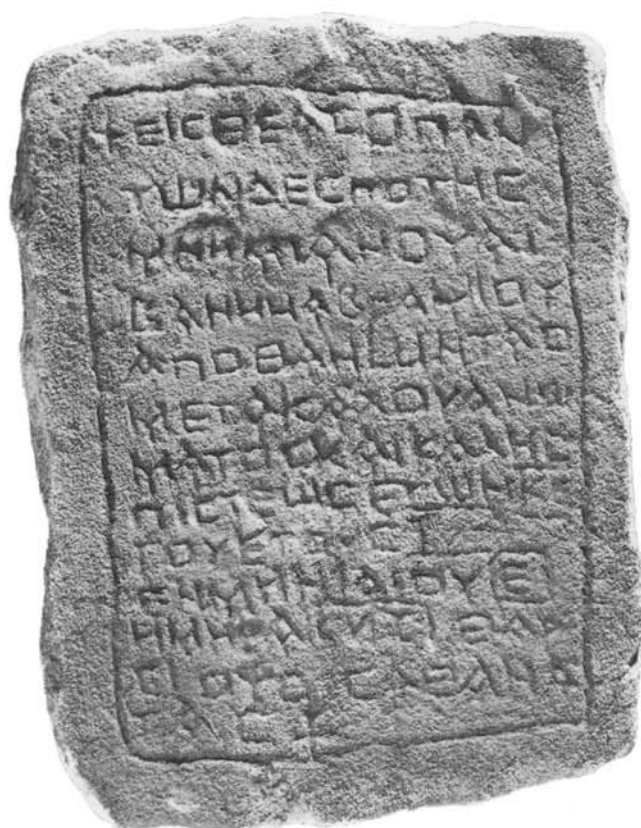
Inscr. 249



Inscr. 250



Inscr. 251



Inscr. 252



Inscr. 253





Inscr. 254



Inscr. 256



Inscr. 257



Inscr. 258

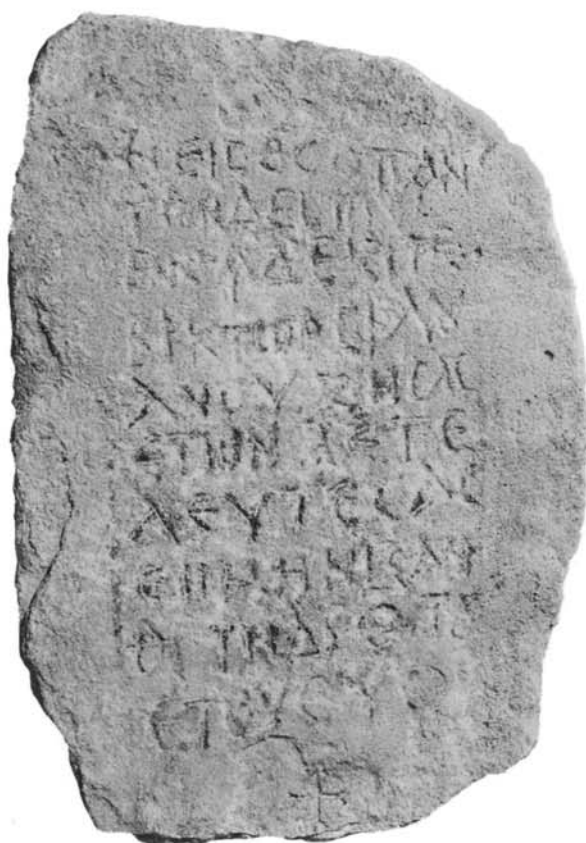




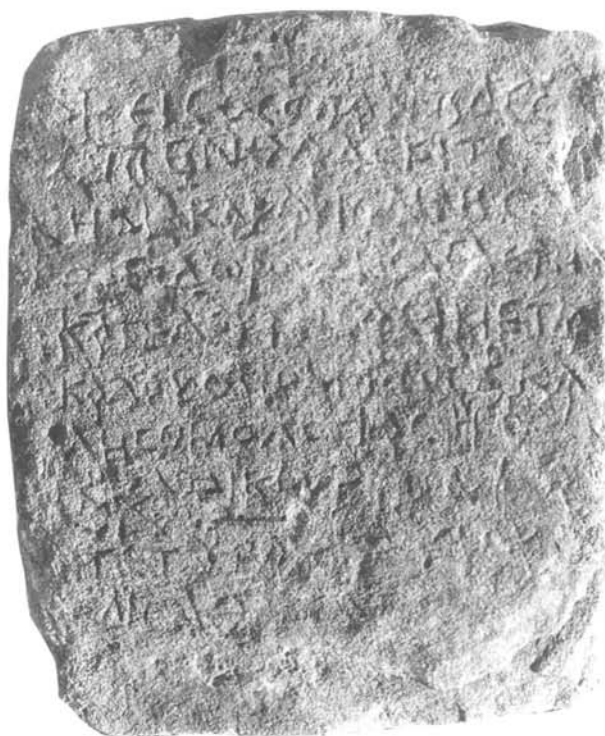
Inscr. 259



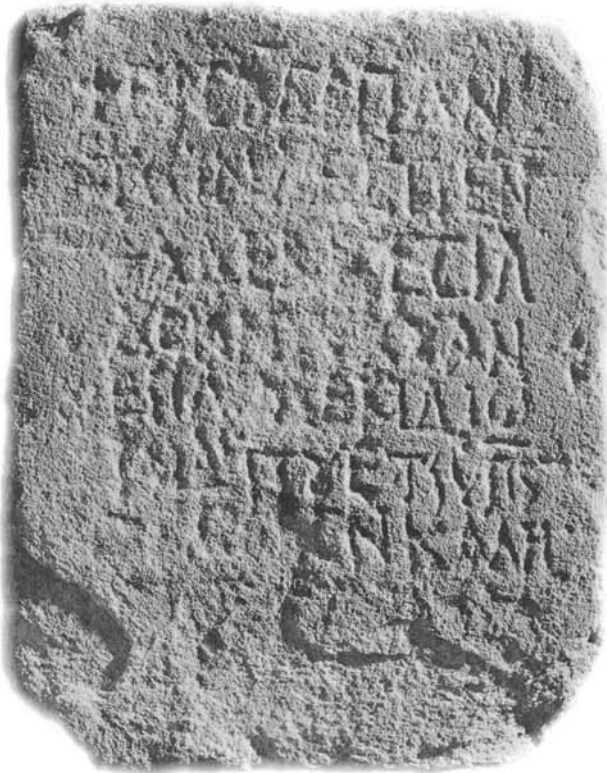
Inscr. 260



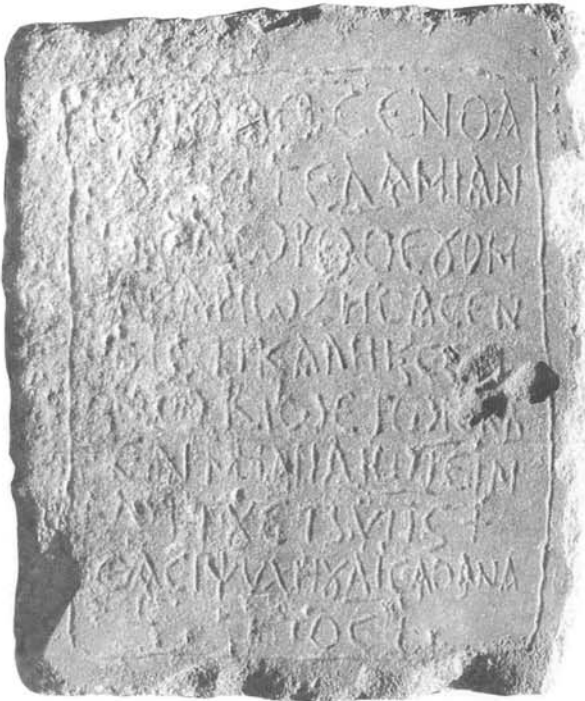
Inscr. 261



Inscr. 262



Inscr. 263



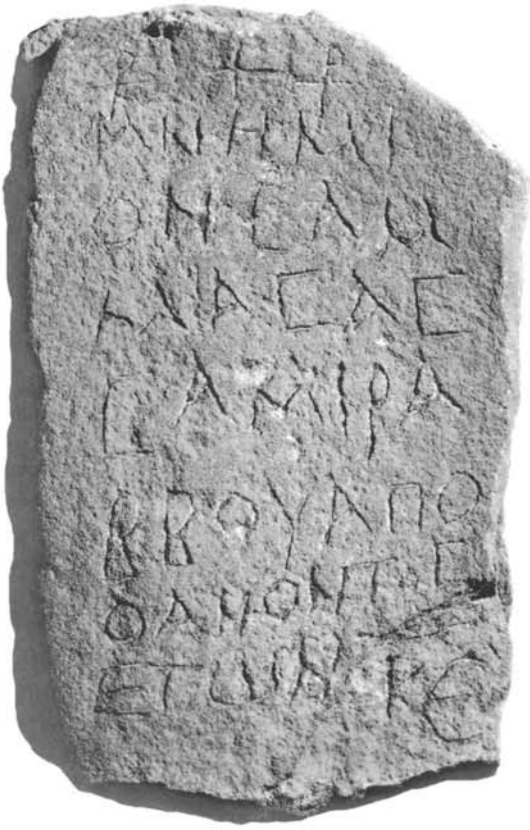
Inscr. 264



Inscr. 265



Inscr. 266



Inscr. 267



Inscr. 268



Inscr. 269



Inscr. 270



Inscr. 272



Inscr. 273



Inscr. 274



Inscr. 275

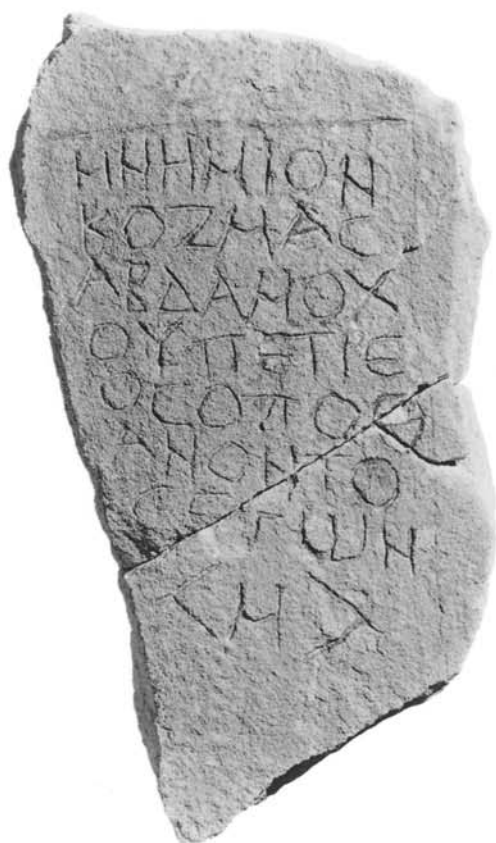




Inscr. 276



Inscr. 277



Inscr. 279



Inscr. 280



Inscr. 281



Inscr. 282



Inscr. 284



Inscr. 285



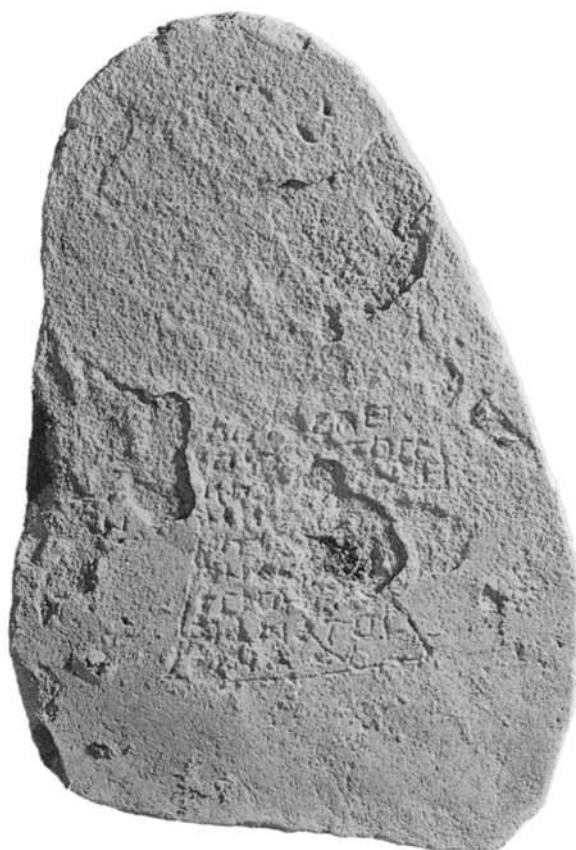
Inscr. 286



Inscr. 287



Inscr. 288



Inscr. 291



Inscr. 292



Inscr. 293



Inscr. 294



Inscr. 295





Inscr. 296



Inscr. 297



Inscr. 298



Inscr. 299



Inscr. 301



Inscr. 302



Inscr. 303



Inscr. 304



Inscr. 305



Inscr. 306



Inscr. 307



Inscr. 308



Inscr. 309



Inscr. 310



Inscr. 311



Inscr. 312





Inscr. 313



Inscr. 314



Inscr. 315



Inscr. 316



Inscr. 317



Inscr. 318



Inscr. 319



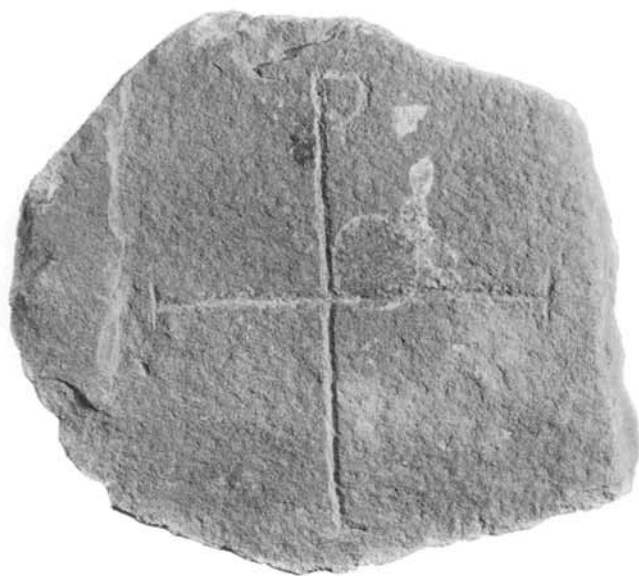
Inscr. 320



Inscr. 321



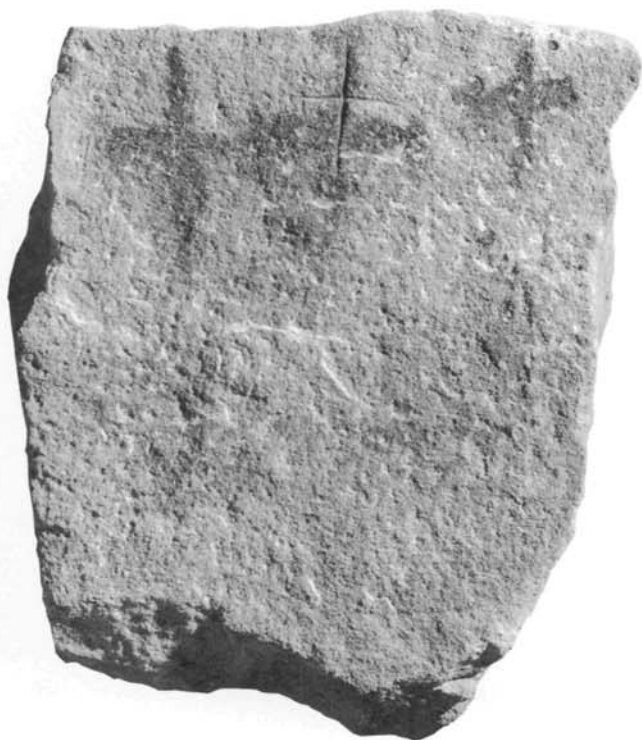
Inscr. 322



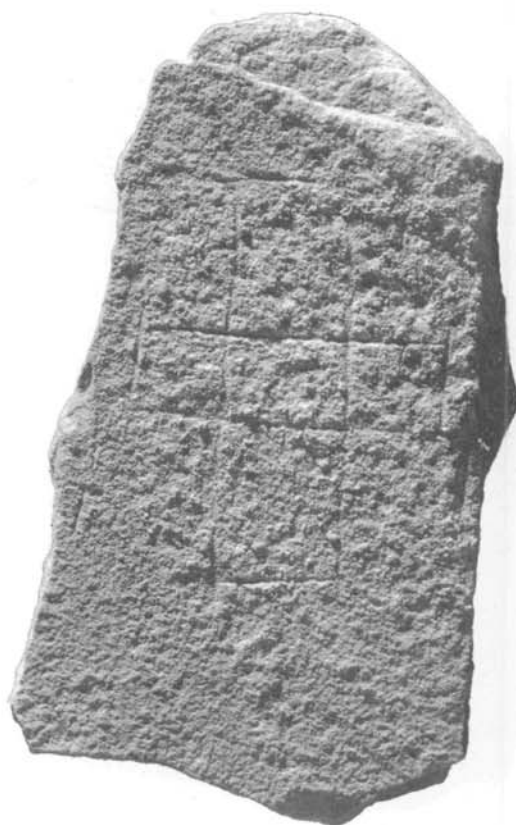
Inscr. 323



Inscr. 324



Inscr. 325



Inscr. 326

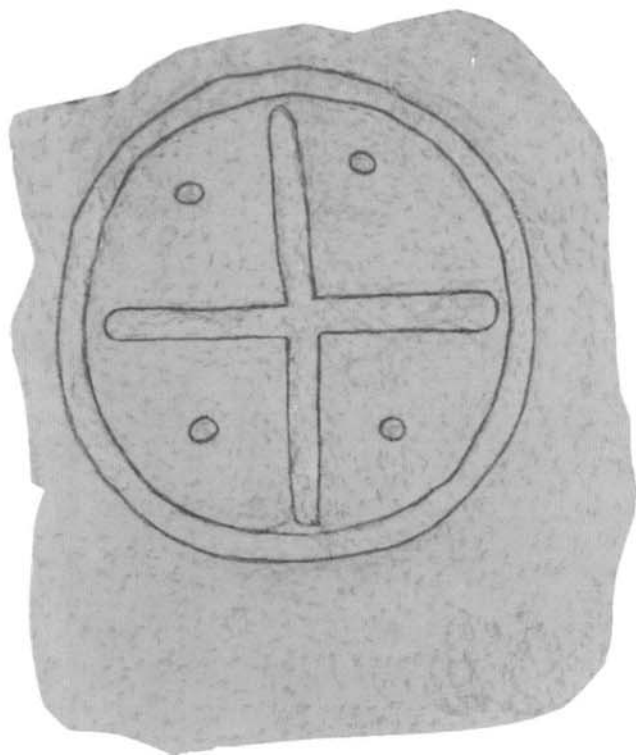


Inscr. 327



Inscr. 328





Inscr. 329



Inscr. 330



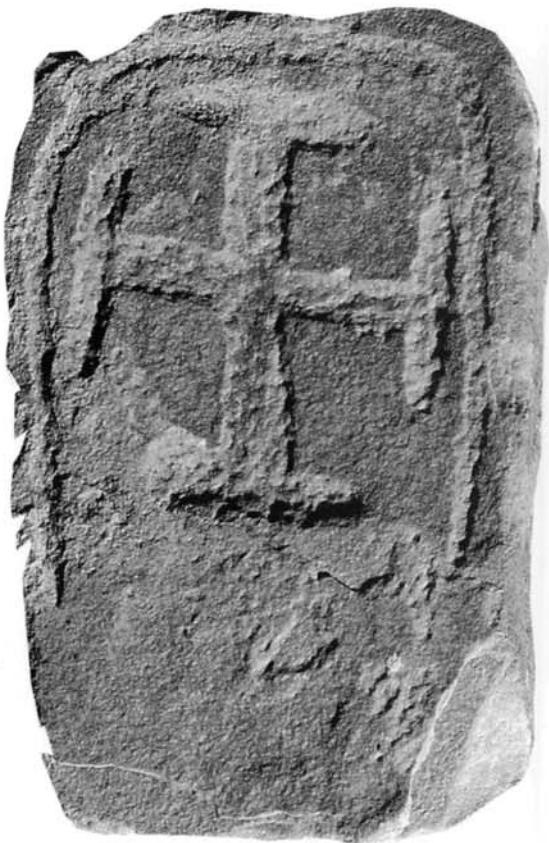
Inscr. 331



Inscr. 332



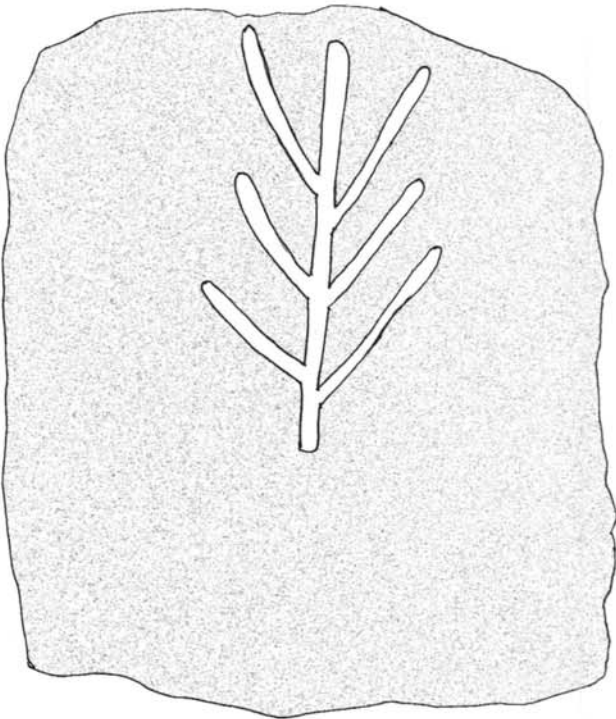
Inscr. 333



Inscr. 334



Inscr. 335



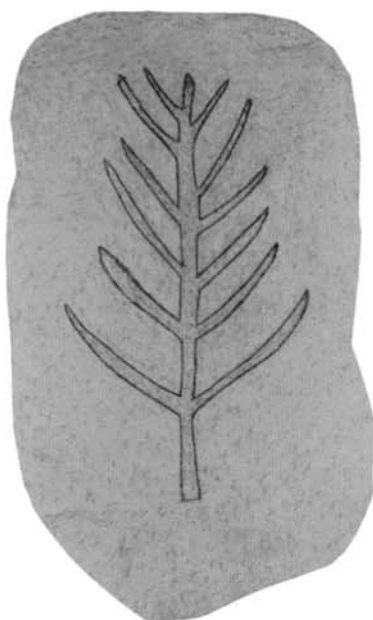
Inscr. 336



Inscr. 337



Inscr. 338



Inscr. 339



Inscr. 340



Inscr. 341



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# COLOUR PHOTO PLATES

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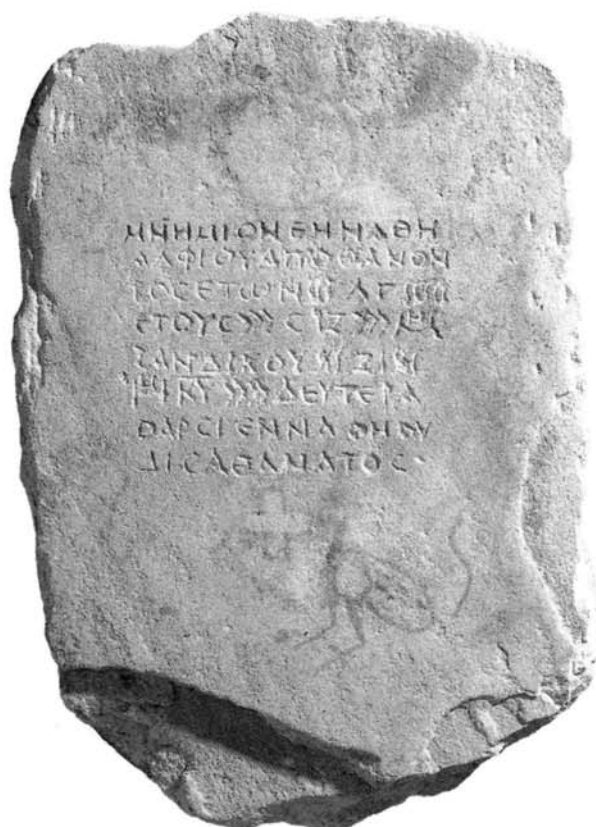




*Detail of the Madaba mosaic map depicting the city of Zoora*







Inscr. 2



Inscr. 10



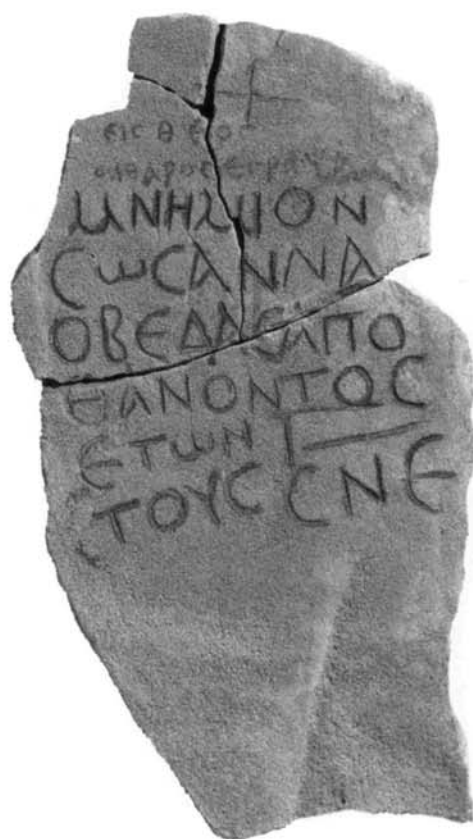
Inscr. 12



Inscr. 17



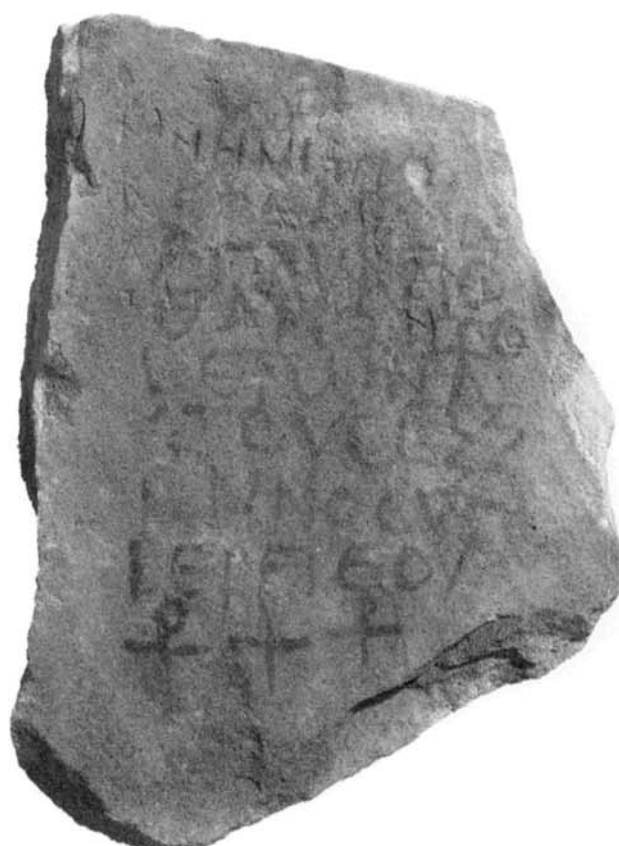
Inscr. 18



Inscr. 20



Inscr. 30



Inscr. 32



Inscr. 41



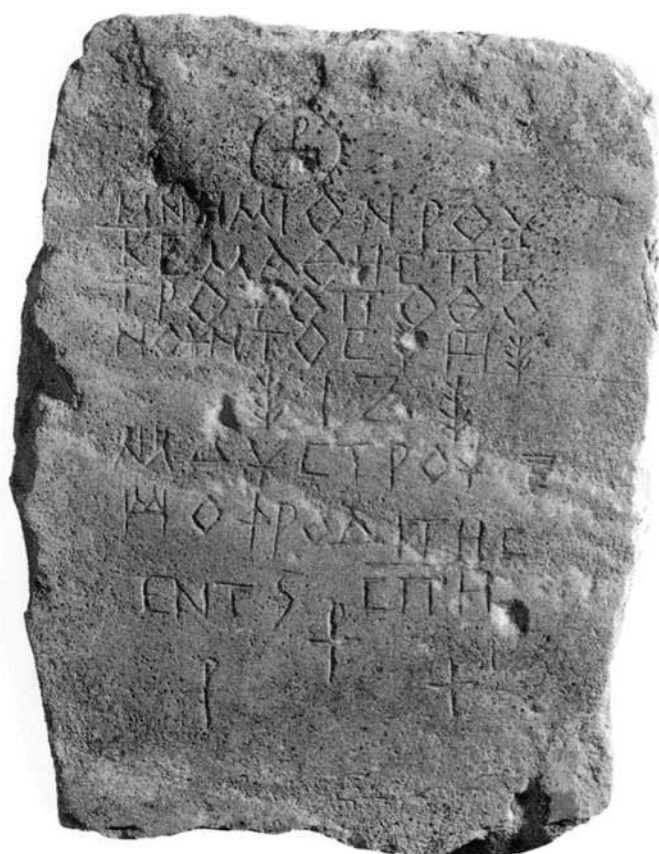
Inscr. 42



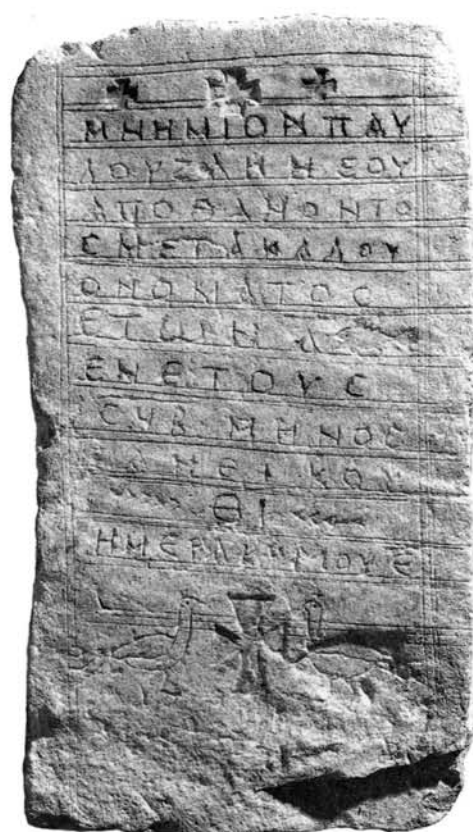
Inscr. 51



Inscr. 57



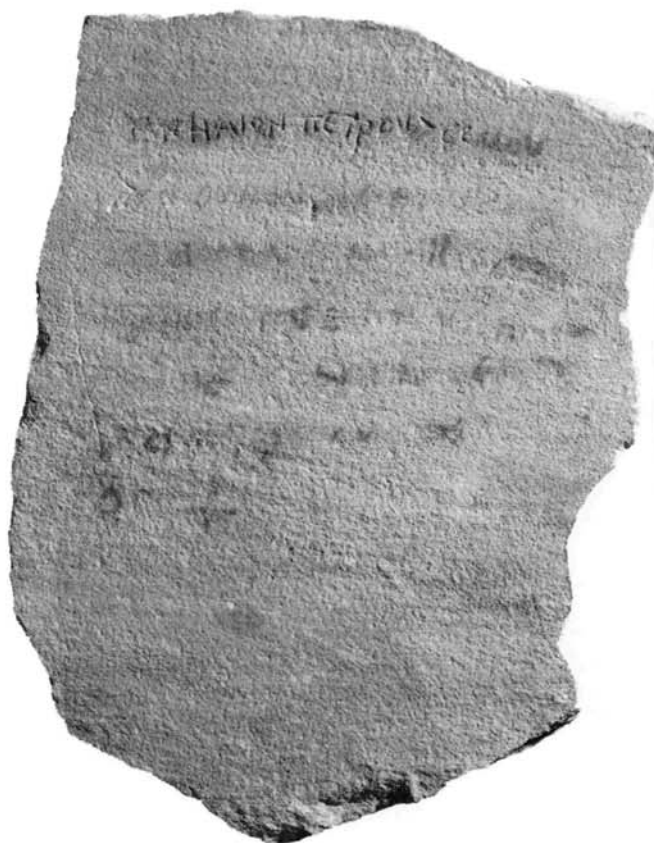
Inscr. 70



Inscr. 78

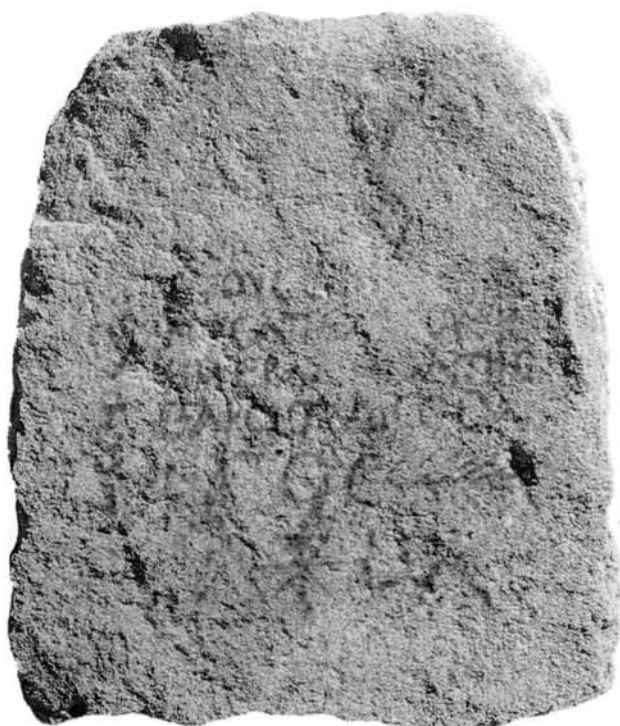


Inscr. 80



Inscr. 83





Inscr. 87



Inscr. 89



Inscr. 96



Inscr. 100



Inscr. 110



Inscr. 112



Inscr. 113



Inscr. 122



Inscr. 130



Inscr. 131



Inscr. 137



Inscr. 148

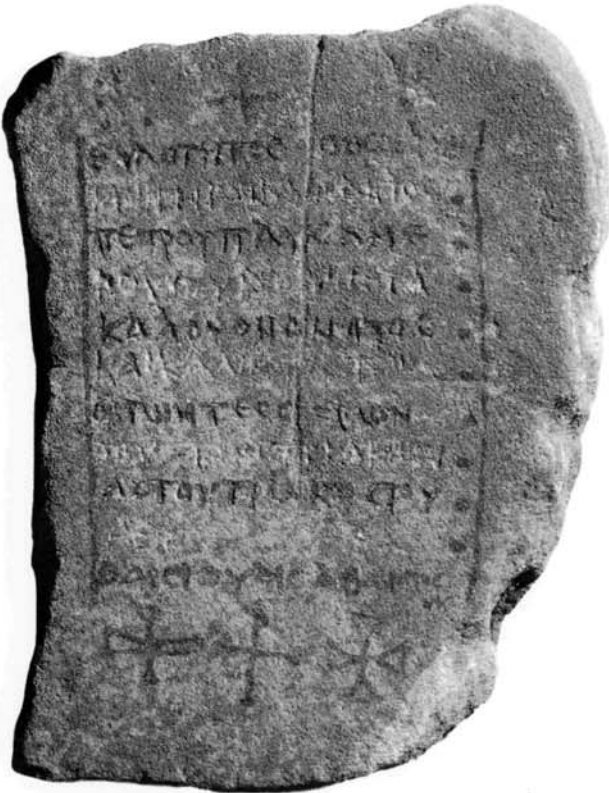




Inscr. 149



Inscr. 150



Inscr. 154



Inscr. 156





Inscr. 158



Inscr. 164



Inscr. 169



Inscr. 172



Inscr. 176



Inscr. 183



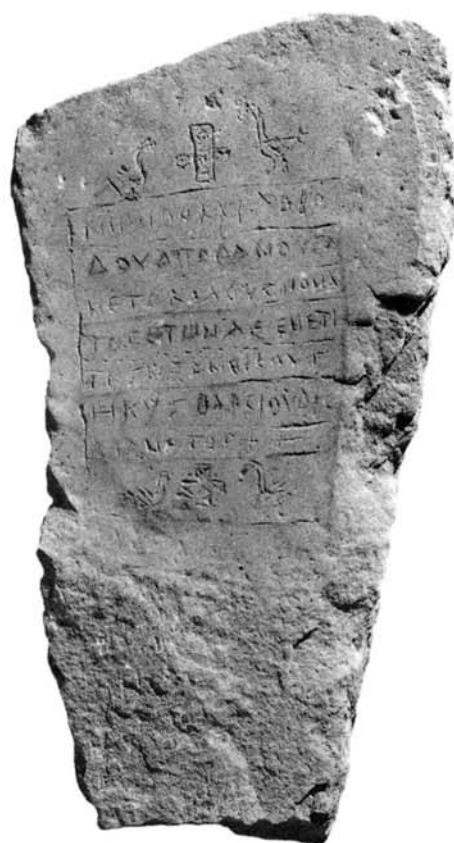
Inscr. 193



Inscr. 195



Inscr. 196



Inscr. 208



Inscr. 212



Inscr. 214



Inscr. 225



Inscr. 227



Inscr. 229



Inscr. 245





Inscr. 255



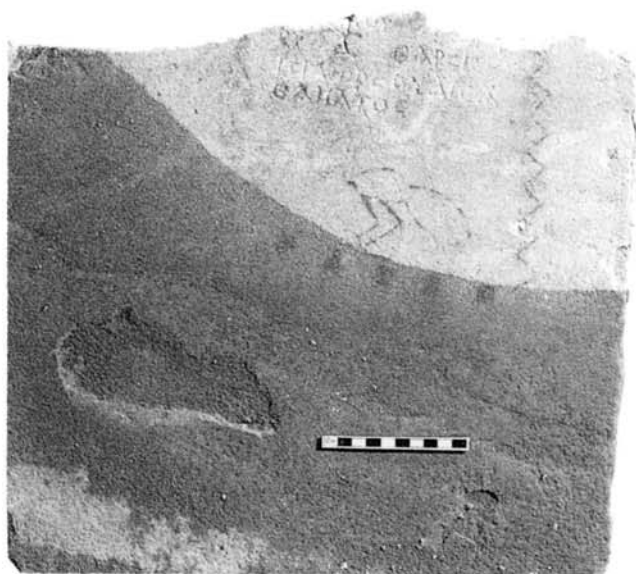
Inscr. 271



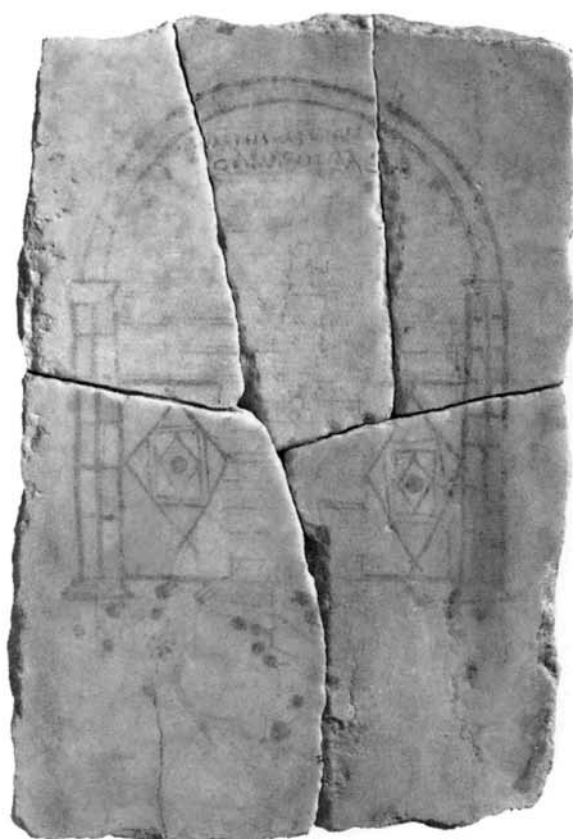
Inscr. 278



Inscr. 283



Inscr. 289



Inscr. 290



Inscr. 300





